A. PLUMPTRE,

TRAVELS

IN

THE MOREA, ALBANIA,

AND OTHER PARTS OF THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

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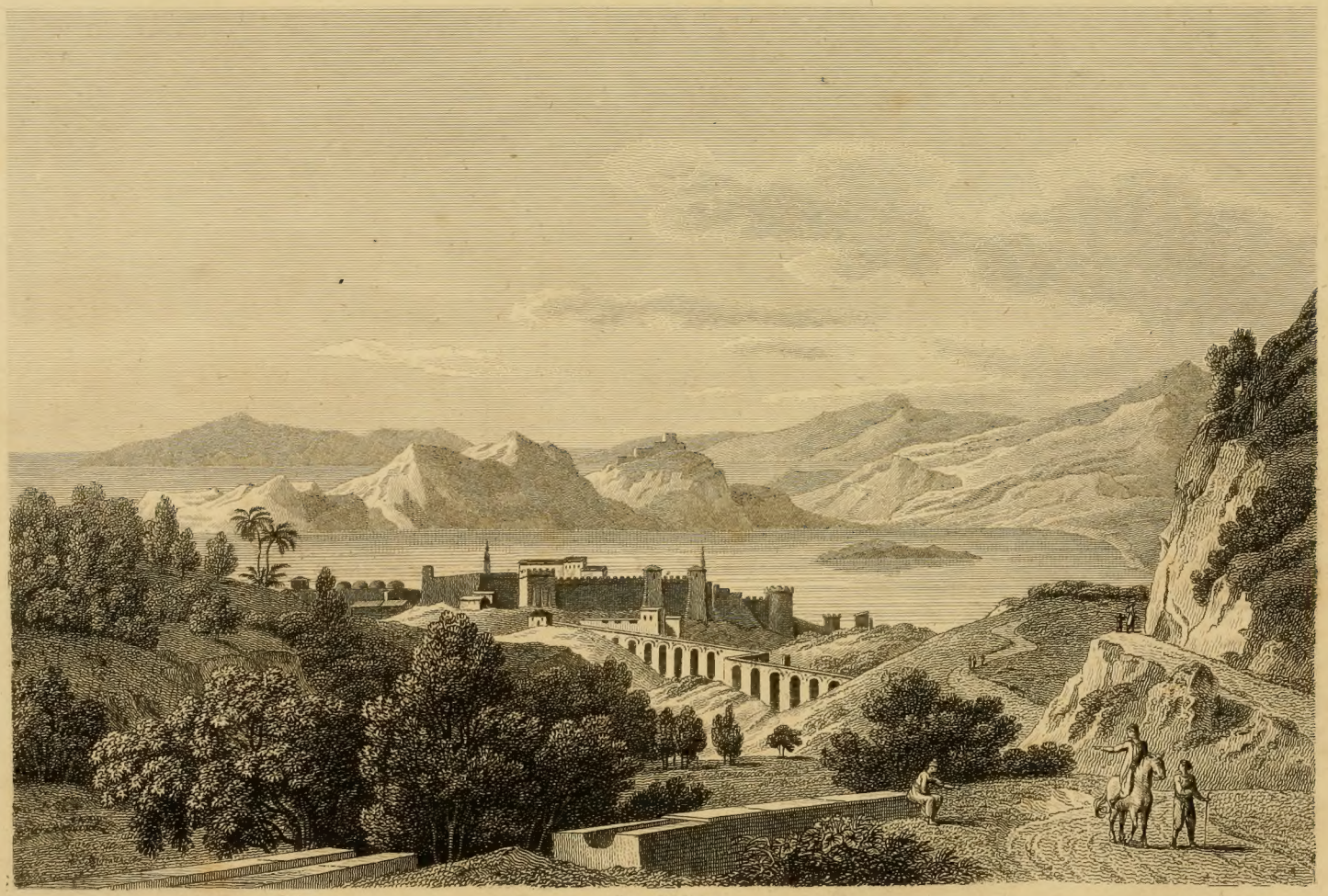

Engraved by J. Storer

View of the town of Navarin, with its port & the island of Sphacteria.

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TRAVELS

IN

THE MOREA, ALBANIA,

AND OTHER PARTS OF THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE,

COMPREHENDING

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THOSE COUNTRIES;

THEIR PRODUCTIONS;

THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND COMMERCE OF THE INHABITANTS:

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT STATE OF GREECE:

AND AN HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ANCIENT EPIRUS.

BY

F. C. POUQUEVILLE, M. D.

MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY

ANNE PLUMPTRE.

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PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION.

THE present situation of modern Greece is little known to other countries. By Monsieur Choiseul Gouffier, in his *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, we have been made tolerably well acquainted with its antiquities; while Monsieur Felix Beaujour has given us a very complete idea of its commerce. From Messieurs Tournefort and Olivier we have no information, excepting with regard to the islands; and the accounts given by most other travellers are very incomplete and incorrect.

Forced into the country by the chances of war, and placed in a situation which enabled me to examine some of the most interesting parts of Greece *, it appeared to me that in submitting to the public

* It appears somewhat extraordinary that so excellent, so amiable, so candid a writer as Monsieur de Chateaubriand, and above all, one who had taken so much pains to investigate the merits of various authors who had preceded him in writing upon modern Greece, should fall into so great an error as he has done with regard to the present work. Or if he has understood rightly the means of information furnished to Dr. Pouqueville, it is scarcely less extraordinary, that in mentioning his Travels he should express himself with so little clearness and precision, as to lead others into the supposition that the doctor wrote merely on hearsay evidence, not from his own knowledge of the places he mentions. "The best guide," he says, "for the Morea would certainly be Monsieur Pouqueville, if he could have seen all the places he describes, but unfortunately he was a prisoner at Tripolitza." It is very true that Dr. Pouqueville was carried there as a prisoner; but we find that during a stay of several months he had, through the indulgence of the pasha, perfect liberty to go about the country; a liberty of which he availed himself to visit in person all the most celebrated parts: what he writes, therefore, concerning the Morea is really from his own knowledge and observation. The sole objection which Monsieur de Chateaubriand finds to the work being thus obviated, it may be hoped that the testimony in its favour given by such a man will sufficiently justify a translator in submitting an English version of it to the public. With regard to the part that concerns Albania, though Dr. Pouqueville does not appear there in the character of an eye-witness of what he records, yet his information is drawn from those who were upon the spot, and confided the notes they had made to his care, expressly that he might arrange them for publication.—TRANSLATOR.

the details I collected with regard to the Morea and Albania, a work would be offered carrying with it, at least, the recommendation of treating upon many subjects entirely new. To these I have added various particulars relating to Constantinople, on which no writer upon that capital has hitherto touched: and, finally, I have traced several itineraries over different parts of the Turkish empire, which I trust will be found both new, and by no means devoid of interest. That the reader may, however, be better enabled to form his own judgement of the means of information afforded me, and of my industry in, and capacity for, availing myself of them, I will in few words relate the circumstances which gave occasion to the voyage that led to my becoming a captive in the Morea.

I left France in quality of a physician attached to the Commission of Arts and Sciences, destined to accompany the French army of the East upon their Egyptian expedition. The entire loss of my health, soon after my arrival in Egypt, obliged me to relinquish my situation there, and I obtained permission to return to Italy. I embarked in consequence on board a tartane of Leghorn, with Monsieur Bessières, a member of the same Commision with myself; Monsieur Poitevin, a colonel of the *corps de génie*, then just beginning to recover from a long illness which had brought him to the brink of the grave; Monsieur Charbonnel, a colonel of artillery; Monsieur Fornier, a commissary of war; Monsieur Beauvais, an adjutant commandant; Monsieur Girard, a member of the Commission; Messieurs Joie and Bouvier, officers of the navy; Monsieur Guerini, a barefooted Carmelite, and a member of the Inquisition at Malta; and one of the guides of general Bonaparte, by name Matthew. Some servants and an Egyptian cahonas * completed the list of passengers.

Colonel Charbonnel had been afflicted with a violent ophthalmia and an obstinate dysentery, which could not be subdued; yet desirous of not abandoning his profession, he received from the ge-

* A cahonas is a sort of pioneer, or courier, in the service of the beys of Egypt.

neral-in-chief an order to repair to Malta, where he was to serve when recovered. He was therefore to have quitted us at Messina, and thence to have proceeded to Malta; but our ill stars, or rather the ignorance and obstinacy of our mariners, frustrated all our plans in the manner that will be seen. Separated from Messieurs Bessières and Charbonnel, with the former of whom I was united in the strongest ties of friendship, the sequel will show how I have been enabled, by the assistance of their notes, to make the reader more acquainted with Albania, a country the very name of which was, till very recently, scarcely known among the polished nations of Europe.

In what concerns the Morea and Constantinople, I have dwelt little upon circumstances relating to myself alone; I have sacrificed my journal, and the history of many little adventures that occurred in the course of my rambles, to objects which appeared to me of much greater importance. If I should be accused of mingling imagery too liberally with my descriptions, I must entreat the reader to recollect that I was travelling over the classic spots which inspired the great poets of antiquity; and that I wished to paint the manners of the Arcadians in all their genuine simplicity and naïveté. In speaking of Constantinople, I have endeavoured to avoid repeating things that have been mentioned by many other travellers; but I trust that in the accounts given of the Imperial castle of the Seven Towers, and of the gardens and harem of the Grand Signor, I am offering details wholly new *.

Such is the fruit of my labours during a captivity of three years. That they were to me years of vexation and turmoil, that my views and my wishes were often crossed, will be easily believed. Yet if my work should be favourably received, if the objects to which I have aspired in compiling it should be accomplished, I shall never regret the sufferings I underwent, or the dangers to which I was often exposed in obtaining my information.

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, in which an account of the Grand Signor's gardens and harem is given, had not appeared when the original of the present work was published.—TRANSLATOR.

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Map
OF THE
MOREA, ALBANIA,
And other parts Illustrative
OF
B O S N I A
B U L G A R I A
B L A C K
Sophia
ADRIANOPLE
CONSTANTINOPLE
Salonica
Lemnos
Athens
Thebes
Andros
Mitylene
Pergamo
Mondania
SMYRNA
GULF OF
SCALA NOVA
Naxia
Melassa
Moglah
RHODES

B U L G A R I A
Sophia
Bazardgik
Philippopolis
Haskiva
Hebidae
ADRIANOPLE
Kuyaritz R.
Usum R.
Dimotuc or Demotica
Eskibaba
Bourgas
R. Ergen
Arda R.
Zerna R.
M. Rhodope
Nicopoli
R. Maritza or Hebrus
Tricala
Lemboli
Contessa
Gulf of Contessa
Samathraki
Ibro
Gallipolli
Straits of the Dardanelles
Lemnos I.
Tenedos
Trouda or Eski Stamboul
Lectum P.
Adramytti
Gulf of Adramyth
LESBOS
Mitylene
Bergamo
Sumeli
Ak hisar
Sarabat R.
New Pfokis
Sarabat R.
Koudgeh R.
Biga
Balikesri
Ulubad
BURSA
Moudania
Ghio
Is Nik
Is Nikmid
Prince of Asia
Pera
CONSTANTINOPLE
Sibyri
Erekli
Rodosto
Tchorlu
Derkus
Midieh
Eskibaba
Kara Sinai or Black R.
Imbeli or Strumona R.
Mesto R.
Kuyaritz R.
Dulmi
Kustendil or Justiniana
R. Maritza or Hebrus
Despoto
Dag
B L A C K
S E A
S E A O F M A R M A R A
A S I A

TRAVELS

IN

THE MOREA, ALBANIA,

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THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from Egypt.—Capture by a Barbary corsair.—Carried to the Morea.—Description of the coast of that peninsula from Castel Tornèse to Navarin.—Arrival at Navarin.—Audience of the Bey.—Topography of Navarin.—Description of the town and its environs.

IT was on the sixth of November 1798 that I embarked on board a tartane of Leghorn, called *La Madonna di Monte-Negro*, in company with the gentlemen mentioned in the Introduction. We sailed from the new port of Alexandria at seven in the evening, the weather being stormy, and were fortunate enough to escape the English, Turkish, and Russian fleets by which it was blockaded. On the morrow at sunrise the shores of Libya appeared only under the form of a dark line in the horizon, and soon after we lost sight of them entirely. The wind blew tempestuously, and the sea ran high: this continued till the tenth, when we arrived within sight of the island of Candia. Here a profound calm came on, accompanied with stifling heats, so that ten days elapsed before we could proceed on our route. Alas! why did we arraign Heaven for being thus adverse to our wishes? They were heard in the end but too soon.

On the twenty-fourth our sailors, instead of making for the light-house of Messina as they pretended, ran us to the gulf of Squilacea on the coast of Calabria; and notwithstanding that the sun, which appeared about noon, showed

them the summits of the Appenines, they continued obstinately to direct their course the same way. The night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth proved the destruction of all our hopes, and the commencement of our misfortunes. We had been descried in the evening by a Barbary corsair from Tripoli without our having perceived him, and a calm which prevented our proceeding gave him an opportunity of bearing down upon us with his oars.

Free from any suspicion of danger, we were reposing in perfect tranquillity. Half the night was past; the moon then at the full illumined the coast of Calabria, and a profound silence reigned in our frail bark, when on a sudden the sailors who were on guard upon deck perceived the corsair approaching. They softly awoke their comrades, and in concert with a Provençal pilot hoisted out the boat, only interrupting our sleep to render us the witnesses of their desertion. We could have detained them; but the boat being too small to contain us all, we suffered the rascals to depart, resigning ourselves patiently to our fate. The corsair fired upon us immediately; and as we could not answer, being destitute of arms, it advanced, still continuing its fire. The cries of the crew, the noise of the fire-arms, the clashing of the swords drawn for boarding us, increased every moment as they approached. We had hoisted our colours and held out signals of peace, when the corsair having reached us the people sprung upon our deck. Their audacity only increased when they found not a man among us with arms, but all wearing an aspect of peace and submission. Many of us were struck down and cruelly beaten by them; we were completely plundered in an instant, and at length put in chains.

Hitherto the Barbaresques had supposed us Neapolitans, a people who seem formed for their prey; but as soon as the captain discovered us to be French, he affected a very different behaviour. Those who had been ironed were released, and he made many protestations of friendship and kindness: these we knew perfectly well how to appreciate. He promised to restore every thing that had been taken from us, and swore a thousand times by his own head that we should be conducted in safety to Corfu. As to the tartane which had been abandoned by its crew, and in which he found an old Tuscan flag, he adjudged it to himself and sent it to sea, having first put on board a prize-master with ten of his own sailors: for ourselves, we were ordered on board his ship. His people soon began to break open our trunks, and to take possession of whatever they chose among our effects; while it would have been utterly in vain for any one of us to utter a word of remonstrance against their depredations.

When day came on, the captain, who was a Dulcignote*, by name Orouchs, permitted me, as well as Messieurs Fornier and Joie, and the guide Matthew, to return to the tartane and seek for some better clothes, our own having been torn to pieces. We were then to rejoin him, and proceed, as he said, immediately to the place of our destination. But scarcely were we on board the prize when one of the pirates at the mast-head announced a vessel in the horizon, and in fact we soon perceived a frigate in full sail directing its course towards us. The reis Orouchs immediately hailed the officer who commanded the tartane, and ordered him to sail away directly for Tripoli. This order was like a thunder-stroke to us, as it separated us entirely from our friends: but we had no power of resistance. In about ten minutes after, the frigate fired at us to bring us to; but the captain refused, and immediately hoisted the French flag. This trick, in saving himself, completed our ruin. The frigate, which appeared to be a Neapolitan, bore away, continuing to give chase to the corsair.

We had no reason to congratulate ourselves upon the auspices under which the night following our capture commenced. Our captors had become suspicious; we on our side observed them with close attention, we were even meditating some daring stroke, when we were hurried below deck and shut up under the hatches. Notwithstanding this they seemed still to consider themselves as far from secure, and kept a vigilant guard all night lest they should be surprised by us. It was not without reason, I must confess, that they were thus cautious, since though we were reduced nearly to the impossibility of executing any decisive blow, we did not the less discuss different plans for extricating ourselves from our perilous situation: they were, however, of necessity no sooner formed than rejected. We resolved to abide by the only one at all practicable, totally deprived as we were of arms, and this was to endeavour to win the reis over to our interests.

By means of the *lingua Franca* we could make ourselves understood by him, and we were not without hopes that he might be induced to listen to us, as he owed his liberty to General Bonaparte: the latter had released him with many other Mussulmans from captivity when he took possession of Malta. The reis besides knew the French well, having accompanied our army into Egypt as

* An inhabitant of Dulcigno, the ancient *Olcinium*, a town in Turkish Albania, situated upon the little river Boïana, six leagues west of Antivari, and eight leagues from Scutari Its inhabitants are almost all pirates, some serving under the flag of Barbary, others setting up for themselves and infesting the Adriatic. They have a cast of countenance which strongly denotes treachery and cruelty.

servant to General Dumas: from thence he had escaped through the intervention of the bey of Bengaze*, and was thus enabled to resume his ancient occupation.

As the reis was ignorant of our being at war with the Ottoman Porte, we gave him to understand that it would be more for his interest to land us on the island of Zante, from which we could not be far distant, than to carry us to Tripoli. We added, that for so doing he would be liberally rewarded by the French commandant, and that he need not fear our reclaiming any thing from him, since the corsair had carried away the greatest part of our effects. We insinuated to him besides, that he might there get rid of his crew, sell the tartane to great advantage, relinquish the perilous trade he was now following, which had already thrown him once into captivity, and live in future at his ease wherever he might choose. These ideas seemed grateful to him, and the wind, which forbade our making the coast of Africa, decided him to follow our counsel. After a short conversation, therefore, with his crew, the direction of the vessel was changed, and he steered for Zante.

On the morrow, being the 28th of November, we perceived early in the morning the shores of this delicious island, which seemed to us a haven of security. All our sails were set, and we were on the point of gaining the land, when suddenly the crew of the reis, alarmed at the danger they must run supposing hostilities to exist, revolted and veered about, exclaiming that they were betrayed. We were like people thunderstruck; our flattering hopes were in a moment dispersed, and our fate seemed, from this disappointment, even more cruel than before. All we could obtain was, to be conducted to the Morea; it was the country of our pilot, and he said he was perfectly acquainted with its ports. The night came on with a very heavy sea, and our sails were torn by the impetuosity of the wind. In the morning we were upon the coasts of the Morea below Cape Tornèse, opposite the mouth of the little river Peneus. Here we were detained the whole day by a dead calm. Our crew employed themselves in repairing the sails, in disputing about the division of our spoils, and in burning some manuscripts which I had carefully preserved. On our side we collected from among the sand, which served as ballast to our vessel, a few scattered morsels of biscuit, since none remained on board either for the Turks or ourselves. A little rice and about half a barrel of water formed the whole stock for our sustenance.

* This bey was then at Alexandria. Bengaze is a town in the gulf of Sydra, upon the coast of Africa, anciently called the Syrts.

From the point where we were now detained by the calm, Mount Pholoë, known at present by the name of Dimizana, was to be distinguished by two lofty pyramids which crown its majestic summit. I saw it for the first time, and my imagination immediately transported me into the valleys of Elis, and upon its amphitheatres, whither the people resorted to be spectators of the Olympic games. The shore near us was somewhat elevated, and covered with wood, forming an arch over the sea which its angry waves could not reach. Upon the left, to the north west, we saw Gastouni, situated a good league inland, at a little distance from the right bank of the Igliako, the ancient Peneus. The minarets of this town were confounded with the white rocks which crown the shore; these rocks render a little port in the neighbourhood very difficult of access.

We now entered the gulf of Tornèse, formerly that of Chelonita: we did not make more than two leagues of way on this day, constantly tacking about within the gulf. It was impossible to be in a better situation for taking an accurate survey of the coast. The first and second of December we pursued our route towards Navarin, never being at any considerable distance from the shore; we only stood out somewhat, in order to sail round the little island of Pontico. Here there is a pretty considerable fishery: from this circumstance its ancient name of Ichtys was probably derived: there is also tolerable anchorage at the mouth of a little river which is no doubt the Jardan; it is now known to the Greeks by no other name than that of Riaki or the rivulet: from thence Mount Pholoë or Dimizana is plainly to be seen. The shore is in this place woody, the gulf is at most a league in depth, and a chain of reddish mountains extending to the north shelter it when the wind blows from that quarter.

At half a league distance, descending the shore towards the mouth of the Alpheus, the coast continues to present a pleasing aspect, and some houses are to be seen, with a chapel dedicated to the holy Virgin, whom the Greeks call *Panagia Staphylion*, or Our Lady of the Grapes; perhaps, because the vines of this district afford exceedingly good wine. About two leagues to the east is the town of Golinitza, half a league distant from the sea; it stands upon the right bank of a little river which loses itself among the sands. These sands separate the sea from the coast; the latter consists of strata of argillaceous earth of a deep red colour. From hence to the mouth of the Alpheus the coast is scattered over with lakes, with fisheries, and with salt-works. The shore whence the latter river issues to discharge itself into the sea is elevated upon the right bank, and

the rocks joined to the bar at its mouth must, I should presume, render the navigation dangerous even for small barks.

Below the mouth of the river the coast continues for four or five leagues to be scattered over in the same way with lakes, fisheries, and salt-works, intermixed with some habitations. After that it is interspersed with downs covered with verdure, with woods, and with forests. Some smoke which we saw rising indicated a village, where our pilot told us there was an Albanian garrison; it had, he said, been recently augmented on account of the war. All the country we had now coasted is called Kaloskopi, or Belvedere.

On the morrow we found ourselves very near Cape Conello, and saw distinctly a part of Arcadia, built upon the ruins of Cyparissa*. This town formerly gave its name to the whole gulf we were now navigating, though both that and the gulf have taken the modern name of Arcadia. The town appeared bounded on the south by a lofty mountain covered with verdure; and to judge by the number of fires we could discern, the mountain must be interspersed with villages, or at least with habitations.

In order to double Cape Conello, we bore away towards the Strophades, which are a cluster of little green islands without trees, and on which I could not discern any habitations. We were told, however, that there is a monastery there, dedicated to our Saviour. We passed the night under the shelter of a little island, which I presume to be Proti, but the weather was so calm that it was not judged necessary to cast anchor. Vessels commonly moor between Proti and the main land; on the latter is an inscription in vulgar Greek, warning mariners to be upon their guard: "*He who passes the night between Proti and Peloponnesus, if he do not keep upon the watch, will on the morrow become a prey to the corsairs of Barbary.*" This islet is uninhabited, and covered with furze. We knew that there was anchorage between that and the peninsula of the Morea; and we learned afterwards that this is the port, as it may be called, to Gargaliano, a little Greek town whither the inhabitants of Navarin trade for salt. The town cannot be seen from the sea, because it stands on the other side of a mountain, the ancient Egalea, and faces the north-east.

At length, on the third of December, before sunrise, the *mistral* or north wind began to blow, and the sea to run pretty high, so that we had soon the happiness of finding ourselves carried into the port of Navarin. Devoured by hunger, de-

* Cyparissa, according to the maps of the learned Monsieur Barbié du Bocage, was about four leagues distant from the Neda, and this is the exact distance of Arcadia.

stitute of provisions, disappointed in our projects, with the dreaded image of Africa before our eyes, we hailed with joy the wind which drove us upon the coasts of the Morea, regardless of any hardships to which we might there be subjected.

Scarcely had we cast anchor when we were accosted by a young Zantiot, who was rowing about in a *monoxylon*, a sort of little bark hollowed out of a single piece of wood; he informed us that the Ottoman Porte had declared war against France, and that Corfu was besieged, the islands of Cerigo, Zante, Cephalonia, and Saint Maure having been previously taken. He afterwards quitted us, to hasten and carry the news of our arrival into the town. Our reis now felt that he had committed a great fault in throwing himself into the hands of the Turks; and, affecting an air of friendship, assured us that we should depart for Tripoli before night, where we should be under the protection of the bey, who was the friend of France. But he was no longer the master of his actions. An instant after the port captain, who as a mark of distinction had a small plate of white marble slung round his neck, came on board our vessel. By his looks and gestures it was easily to be discerned that he did not come as a friend. The reis went on shore with him in order to present himself before the *vechil*, or commercial agent of the bey of Tripoli.

He returned very shortly, and we saw the shore lined with people who seemed attracted by curiosity. Some Greeks hastened on board the tartane, to make purchases from our spoils. The corsairs sold them whatever they did not wish to keep themselves, amongst which was an image of *La Madonna di Monte-Negro*. This was bought by a papas for two piastres*. Towards evening we were ordered on shore to be presented to the bey. We found him in the midst of his divan, seated upon a sofa with an air of great silence and gravity. He received us at first with much austerity; but at the sight of two trunks, containing the remainder of our effects, his features began to assume a more complacent aspect. A seal was put upon the trunks, and the examination of them deferred to the next day. Not a single question had as yet been put to us; but at length the drogman of the bey began our examination. We answered him in the manner which we thought would best suit our own purposes; carefully avoiding all disclosures that might furnish him with any information of importance. The bey afterwards assigned us apartments for the night in his own house, under the guard of a numerous body of Albanians. The tartane he reserved for himself, as he observed that the crew had no documents which could prove that they were not

* A piastre is about sixteen pence English money.

pirates. The cahouas, who was accompanying us to France, was ordered to be put in irons, first receiving some dozen strokes of the bastinado upon the soles of his feet.

Supper was served to us in a copper vessel tinned, round which we seated ourselves: an Albanian even brought us wine. The drogman came and favoured us with his company. He soon began to request that we would make him a present of our cravats: they seemed indeed to be the general object of desire among all the officers of the bey, since they never ceased to importune us for handkerchiefs *(mandilia)*. This drogman, by name Nicholas, was a Venetian Greek, a native of Cephalonia, by trade a tailor. He was, besides, commercial agent to Great Britain in this port. He proposed to us that we should let him mend our clothes, and took an opportunity, as he busied himself in examining them for this purpose, to steal from my companion Fornier a trinket, which he had preserved from the rapacity of the corsairs by slipping it within the lining of his pantaloons.

Supper being concluded, we laid ourselves down on a mat which was spread upon the floor, and had already slept some hours when the bey came to awaken us. He broke the seals which had been put upon our trunks; and, appropriating to himself whatever he had a mind to, resealed them in concert with his chancellor. At day break we were roused by the song of an imam offering up his prayers in an oratory close to the apartment where we were sleeping. Soon after the bey summoned us to the divan, to proceed in the examination of our trunks, when we had the mortification of seeing every one of the counsellors steal something according to his fancy. My books were the only things which passed in perfect safety through their hands. This done, they made many professions of friendship for us; and in virtue of the distinction attached in Turkey to the profession of a physician, I was permitted to go out, that I might attend an aga whose arm had been broken by the stroke of a musquet, in a tumult which had taken place a short time before.

As by this means I had an opportunity during a week that we remained at Navarin to explore the town and neighbourhood, I acquired a very competent knowledge of them. On the right in entering the port lies the town, which is called by the Turks Avarin, and by the Greeks Neo-Castron. It stands upon a promontory situated at the foot of Mount Temathia, and is not to be seen till after having passed two rocks which lie between the island of Sphacteria and the main land, and form the passage into the port. The principal gate is to the north-east, at the distance of ten minutes walk from the port; the town extends in length a quarter of a league from west to east, but is much less considerable in breadth.

Its fortifications consist of four regular bastions mounted with iron guns, but without carriages. These bastions, as well as the walls of the town, were built by the Turks in the year 1572, but were never repaired till after the war with the Russians in 1770. The garrison consists of about threescore janissaries commanded by an oda-bachi * from Constantinople, and a company of artillery at the head of whom is a baker; with a corps of two hundred Albanians, who all exercise some mechanical occupation. It is the place of residence of the bey.

There are only two gates to the town. The streets are dirty and narrow, following the inequalities of the ground, which inclines towards the west. They are filled with bombs and balls. The whole town commands the sea and the port, and protects the latter. An aqueduct, of which I did not obtain a sight, brings from a spring at the distance of about a league, a saponaceous kind of water by which alone the town is supplied. The house of the bey stands in the lower part of the town; and the bazar is down a street to the left, at a little distance in entering by the gate to the north-east. There is nothing remarkable to strike the traveller's eye, except some mutilated columns of marble which support the front of the principal mosque. Every house has a court planted with orange-trees; in the month of December, the time when I was there, they were loaded with fruit. Towards the east is the road which leads to Modon: to the left of this road are a number of gardens; and a quarter of a league further, in the same direction, is a large hamlet inhabited by Greeks: here are many modern ruins, monuments of the ravages committed by the Albanians in their last invasion. The soil is cultivated wherever it is capable of being so.

Navarin is the most spacious port in all the Morea; it extends from the present town to Pylos, or Esky Navarin (Old Navarin), that is to say for more than three leagues. To the south it is closed by the island of Sphacteria and the two rocks already mentioned. In depth it is about a league from Sphacteria to the main land: at a quarter of a league from the latter is a little islet well known to navigators, as vessels usually anchor within it. The passes to enter the port are three in number: the first and the most frequented is under the cannon of New Navarin. Through this the largest vessels may pass. The second, which lies between a high naked rock and the island of Sphacteria, admits only very small barks. I have been assured, however, that vessels of a hundred tons might risk the passage; but I would by no means be answerable for the consequences. Near this, on the point of the island of Sphacteria, a little fort has been erected, with a few old iron guns,

* A chief of the chamber, a sort of captain of the janissaries.

which commands the pass. The third pass lies at the western extremity of Sphacteria; but it is very difficult and dangerous, unless the vessel is guided by a pilot perfectly acquainted with the navigation.

The island of Sphacteria, celebrated in history by the massacre of the Lacedæmonians, who had taken refuge there after having been vanquished by the Athenians in a naval engagement, and now known by the name of Sfagia, is almost perpendicular on the side of the open sea. It is only inhabited by some fishermen, whose houses are on the reverse towards the port, and is defended by a fort on the main land above the ancient Pylos; a name which is preserved even to this day. It was upon the declivity of Mount Egalea, at Cape Coryphasium, that stood the town built by Pylos the son of Cleson, where Nestor received the young Telemachus, and gave him a car to transport him to Sparta. Perhaps the cavern might yet be found which served as a stable for the flocks of his grandfather Neleus and his own. The temple of Minerva would, however, be sought in vain; not the slightest vestige of it has been spared by Time. Pylos at present is nothing more than a village containing about sixty houses. Above is a fort, which is commanded by the summit of Mount Egalea. The inhabitants are all Greeks, except a few Turkish soldiers who guard the castle. The country about is arid and sandy.

At the foot of this ancient city is an inlet of the sea, which may be about half a league over in its largest diameter: it communicates with the port by a narrow channel capable of admitting only very small barks; by these it is much frequented for the purpose of shooting the wild ducks and geese with which it abounds. A little river, now called the Mouderi, the ancient name of which is not known, runs into the port to the north-east; the rest of the port to the north and the east is enclosed by high mountains thinly scattered over with pines. This superb port is capable of affording shelter to the most numerous fleet, and was chosen by sultan Ibrahim, in 1644, as the rendezvous of the naval armaments he had prepared for attacking the island of Candia; they consisted of more than two hundred vessels.

Between the port and the town of Navarin are some pleasant houses built upon a little creek to the right: it was here that we anchored. At some distance is a *vigla*, or observatory for watching what passes in the port: this building is surrounded by cypresses and tombs of the Mussulmans. The environs of the town are rocky, and not productive; yet a numerous garrison might be well maintained at Navarin on acccount of its vicinity to Philatrea and Arcadia, districts of great plenty situated more to the west.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Navarin.—Itinerary to Andreossa.—Canton of Calamatte.—Insults received by us on entering Andreossa.—Departure from that town.—The Hermæum, or Defile of Mount Ithome.—Leuctra.—Leondari.—Sources of the Eurotas.—Passage of Mount Boreas.—Sources of the Alpheus.—Arrival at Tripolitza.

The avidity of the bey being satisfied, he omitted nothing during the week we remained at Navarin which he thought might amuse us: the days were passed in his divan, or in walking about, and sometimes in visits. He dispatched his emina or intendant to the pasha, to inform him of our arrest; and by the same messenger we addressed a letter to that officer, claiming the neutrality of the Tuscan flag under which we were taken. Notwithstanding this reclamation, no other answer was given by him than an order that we should be sent to Tripolitza under a proper escort.

We accordingly quitted Navarin, the bey furnishing us with horses for the route, under the guard of fifty Albanians commanded by a belouck-bachi, a sort of serjeant or corporal. The sight of these people, with their cloaks, their red caps, their musquets, their enormous pistols and a poniard in their girdles, would on any other occasion have disposed me to laughter; but when I saw behind them the vechil of Tripoli, who was going to make an offering of our persons to the pasha, or to reclaim us, as he said, in order to send us to Africa, this appeared no subject for mirth.

We set out at nine in the morning. A number of Greeks were assembled at the foot of the mountain, and among them appeared our reis, come, as he asserted, to take his leave of us. We ascended Mount Temathia, having for the space of a league the port to our left, at the depth of two hundred feet perpendicular below us: after this we descended into a narrow valley, the direction of which seemed to me from the south-west to the north-east: our course was to the north-east. The mountains on both sides presented almost perpendicular masses covered with wood, and we passed a magnificent water-fall formed by the torrents which had broken themselves a natural channel among the rocks of

Mount Tomeus on our left. The valley was marshy, and divided by a little rivulet which seemed supplied only by the rains. Our Turks told us that the place abounded with hares, and that the bey often came there to shoot. After half an hour's progress through this valley, we ascended a small mountain, and entered a vast forest the abode of silence and repose. Here were abundance of oaks valuable for the service of the marine, as well as of those that furnish the gall-nuts, a considerable trade in which is here carried on. We found many trees which seemed of the greatest antiquity now falling by the hand of Time, and others which had been undermined by the shepherds lighting fires at their feet. The *cratægus azarolus* * presented us with its odoriferous fruits, and the rivulets were every where bordered by the oleander now in full bloom. Here were whole groves of wild olive-trees, interspersed with the plane and the ilex; while at intervals were to be seen the weeping-willow and the cytisus, with abundance of bay-trees: such were the objects by which we were surrounded. In quitting the forest we came to a no less delicious plain, where the air was perfumed with numberless bushes of myrtle and rosemary.

Two hours were passed in this delightful route, when we arrived on the bank of a little river which flows into the gulf of Coron. We alighted, and, without troubling ourselves with the name which it might have borne in ancient times, quenched our thirst with its waters, eating at the same time some figs with which we were fortunately provided. We could not be more than four leagues from Arcadia: a wood at the distance of about three quarters of a league from us closed the horizon on that side, and the eye ran over cultivated fields which extended themselves in this direction. Judging by the appearance of cultivation and the flocks which were grazing about, I presumed that there must be a village in the neighbourhood; but it was not within the compass of our view. Before us was a lofty forest, not more than a quarter of a league from the river, which joined the wood towards the west: towards this our course was directed. In another hour we passed a river about forty feet wide, which flows eastward: this may very probably be the Bias to which a son of Amychaon gave his name. A quarter of a league further, having ascended a stony height whence we could discern the gulf of Coron, we again alighted from our horses. Our Albanian escort, who preceded us nearly a league, had already carried terror into a farm

* The Neapolitan medlar, or azarole; a native of Italy, the south of France, and Carniola; the μεσπιλον of Dioscorides.

which stands in the neighbourhood. Here we found a number of poor Greeks in coarse garments, weeping and lamenting, having been beaten and pillaged by these ruffians. Their wives had probably taken refuge in a neighbouring wood, as we did not see a woman among them.

On quitting the farm our course was directed to the east, along a wide road paved in some parts, and hollowed down the side of the mountain we were descending. To the right we saw Balliada, the ancient Coronea, with the suburb of Nisi inhabited by Greeks, and soon after discovered the town of Coron, built on the site of the ancient Colonides. It is of a triangular form, and presents at a distance the appearance of a very considerable town, as it is in effect. From the goodness of its port, from its strength, and its population, it is considered as the richest trading town in the Morea. It besides possesses the advantage of being the residence of consuls general from almost all the powers of Europe, and of being the principal town of a canton. Its tributary towns are Avranio, Philipaki, Caracasilli, and Petalydi, upon the coast, Caicagli upon a neighbouring mountain, with Vounaria, Castelia, and Makriades, stretching to the north, in a circle of about three leagues. In another hour we reached a plain bordering the Pirnazza, the Pamissus of the ancients, when we quitted the military road, and directed our course over the fields. We were proceeding in the direction of Calamatte, our Turks having agreed to carry us thither for the purpose of making an exhibition of us: they informed us that there was already one Frenchman there detained as a prisoner.

I could never cease to admire the extent and fertility of this plain. To the north it is bounded by Mount Ithome, whose sides are covered with vines, and which extends eastward quite to Mount Taygetes or Penté-Dactylon. Although we were now in the month of December, Nature was not deprived of her rich clothing; the leaves of the fig-trees, as well as of innumerable mulberries, were only now turning yellow, while many of the olives were still loaded with fruit. These precious trees, planted at different epochs, amply recompense every year the labours of the husbandman; one portion bears fruit in abundance, while the others apparently barren are in reality nurturing the germs of the fruit which they are to produce the following year. The harvest in this way, whether it be owing to chance or be the effect of calculation, is so arranged that it requires less labour and fewer hands. The fields divided by hedges, or by lines of demarcation, show the value that is placed upon the lands.

We already approached the Pirnazza or Pamissus *, when our capricious conductors, who had previously in several instances made us feel their authority, and given us specimens of their insolence, suddenly changed their minds, and resolved to take a different route: instead of Calamatte we were now to be carried to Andreossa. I learnt in the sequel that this was a very fortunate circumstance for us, as the inhabitants of Calamatte are a very malicious evil-minded race. Such is their reputation all over the Morea; they are generally distinguished by the appellation of *Mavramatia*, or the men with black eyes.

The town of Calamatte, which we had come within sight of, and respecting which I acquired all possible information, appears clearly not to be, as some persons of the country assert, the ancient Thuria: the situation of that place must have been at the summit of an amphitheatre of hills to the east, where a little castle has been built by the Turks: I should rather presume Calamatte to have been Calamea. Be this as it may, it is now the chief town of a villaiéti or canton, the imposts arising from which belong to a sultana. Situated at a short distance above the left bank of the Apsaria, a little river which flows into the bay of Messenia, now called the gulf of Calamatte, it contains a population of more than five thousand inhabitants. These people carry on a tolerable trade in the products of their territory, and of those of the canton of Andreossa. The twelve villages which form its tributaries may be seen almost at a coup-d'œil, spread about the plain on the little eminences with which it is interspersed. Asprochoma is half a league west of Calamatte, and half a league further in the same direction stands Aïs-Aga; a league to the south-west is Cout-Tchaoux, and a quarter of a league northward Fourdtjala. Coutchoucoumani and Asilan-Aga are on the road to Balliada, and a league to the north-west lies Bastá; Dliata half a league further terminates the canton in that quarter. Pydima, Polianésé, and Tegeferemini complete the catalogue of the bourgs belonging to Calamatte. The whole eastern side is independent, and belongs to the republic of Maïna. In this direction lies the defile of the Portes, which leads from Messenia into Laconia; it is a league and a half east of Calamatte, passing by Janitza. This latter town is composed of two hundred houses, and depends upon the bishopric of Zarnate.

In consequence of the determination of our conductors to change our route, it

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* The Pamissus abounds in fish, particularly a very large sort of crawfish, which the inhabitants call χελεμάνες from their extraordinary size: some are said to weigh as much as thirty pounds.

was necessary to make a retrograde movement, in order to reach a chain of mountains stretching from the north to the south. After travelling for about half an hour we came to a vast building, which they informed us was a khan or inn. We then continued for about an hour to traverse a plain, bordered to the west by mountains not more than a quarter of a league distant from us. The valley here became narrower, we had mountains to our right as well as our left, and we saw it still stretching on northwards. The country in this part was destitute of trees, and the peasants we met had the appearance of premature old age brought on by hard labour and misery. Some musquets fired by our Albanians, and reverberated by the echoes from the mountains, were the only sounds now to be distinguished, amid scenes which had formerly been enlivened by the jovial songs of the bacchanals, by the amorous notes of the shepherds, and the warlike cries of the Messenians.

Yet this was the spot in which were performed the brilliant exploits of Aristomenes,—of that intrepid chief who so long held in check the power of the Lacedæmonians. We approached Messenia, we were in sight of Mount Ithome; it was along the valley we were traversing that the battalions of Sparta pursued their way, and under favour of the shades of night poured out from the defile of the Portes. There it was that they encountered the Messenians, that such prodigies of valour were performed. Now a mournful silence reigns in the spot, every thing around leads to reflection and meditation.

While I wandered through the recollection of preceding ages, we advanced towards Andreossa, and were now arrived within two leagues of it. The day was closing in, thick clouds descended from the summits of the mountains, the thunder began to grumble in the distance, every thing pressed us to hasten our progress. In another half-hour we forded a little river, which probably is one of the tributary streams to the Pamissus: half a league further we began to take an easterly direction, following the base of a mountain which conducted us to within five hundred toises * of Andreossa. The Turks and the Albanian escort who accompanied us now put themselves at the head of our little caravan, while the oda-bachi, or chief of the janissaries of Navarin, hastened forward to announce our arrival.

The moment of our entrance into Andreossa is still fresh in my mind, and will

* About half a mile.

never be erased from it. Our horses in a file marched with slow and solemn steps along a narrow street, when suddenly cries of fury burst forth on every side. An enraged multitude assailed us with showers of stones, pursuing us all the way to the aga's house; nor could the gates of the court be shut quick enough to prevent some being sent after us even there. Hurried from off our horses, bruised and battered, we only found a shelter from their fury in an apartment where enormous chains were prepared for us. The rage of the fanatics was increased by the cahouas, who was with us, never ceasing to exclaim with all his might, that we had brought him away from Egypt by force.

Detained for an hour in this place, which was so full of smoke as to be almost suffocating, while a consultation was held upon our fate, we were at length ordered to a prison at the extremity of the town. As we were to march thither on foot, we feared, considering what had passed already, that we should now have new dangers to encounter; but it was useless to remonstrate, even if we had known the language of the country, and we were necessitated to obey in silence. The crowd was dispersed, we only heard distant cries and shouts, and marched awhile tranquilly enough, escorted by our Albanians: but at length a party of wretches, probably in concert with our guards, or perhaps they themselves, taking advantage of the darkness, fell upon us, and endeavoured to strip us of our clothes. We opposed all the resistance in our power, and with my hand I parried the stroke of a poniard which was aimed at the guide, the companion of our misfortunes. All this, however, could not pass without some noise, and that brought the populace again upon us. The rage of the assailants was redoubled, and we only arrived at our prison by resisting their fury to the best of our ability. Indeed, if we received some severe blows, they were not unreturned: this, however, only served to increase instead of diminish the number of our adversaries, so that by the time we arrived at our prison the tumult was augmented to perfect phrensy. Stones fell in showers upon the roof by which we were sheltered, the doors shook under the efforts of the assailants, and it seemed as if our last hour must indeed be arrived. We waited with resignation the event of this horrible scene, scarcely seeing a hope of escape, and only praying for a death free from torments; when suddenly a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied by torrents of rain, came to our relief and dispersed the multitude, so that in a short time we heard no more of them than the distant cries which they still uttered as they marched off.

The belouck-bachi of the Albanians, of whom we had lost sight during the preceding scene, now re-appeared, and after giving us the salutation of peace began to prepare a pilau for our supper. The next morning we were again conducted to the aga's house, when, to our no small astonishment, all was order and tranquillity in the town: the people saluted us with civility, and even showed signs of friendship. So extraordinary and unexpected a change almost convinced me of what I had before suspected, that we had to thank the commissary of Tripoli and one of our corsairs, who accompanied him, for the treatment we had at first received; for it was evident that they had not seen us with any satisfaction escape from their hands. Every thing, however, went on smoothly from this time: my hopes were even exceeded so far, that I found myself in such a situation as to be able to make my observations with no less composure than a traveller who has an escort at his command.

The town of Andreossa or Androussa, for it is called indifferently by both names, is neither Andania nor Messene, as some of the *savans* of the Morea would fain persuade those travellers who take them as guides: these two towns were much more to the north. It is a modern town at the foot of a perpendicular mountain which shelters it to the north north-west. This mountain may very possibly be the Eva celebrated for the bacchanalia, and upon which was heard for the first time the *Evoë*, that formidable cry of the bacchantes, when, possessed with the god who alienated their reason, they ran about striking the earth with their thyrses. Andreossa stretches towards the east along a narrow and smiling valley, through which the Pamissus flows at about half a league from the town. Groups of cypresses scattered upon several little hillocks indicate the numerous tombs of the Mussulmans. The town is open every way, and without walls: it contains three mosques, and a bazar planted with mulberry trees. The houses are small but elegant, and have an air of coolness that we had not yet seen in the Morea: they may be said to harmonize most agreeably with the beautiful situation of the town.

Andreossa is the chief town of a villaieti, and the residence of an aga. The hamlet of Nisi, which is near two leagues to the south, is included within its territory. It comprehends also Dzori, which lies in the same direction, but upon the road to Arcadia; Anaziri, which is half a league to the north on the declivity of a hill, perhaps on the site of the ancient Andania; Piperitza towards Mount Ithome or Vourcano; Mavromathi, which is considered as the Messene of the ancients; Lezi, on the other side of the Pamissus or Pirnazza; with

Gaidarofori, Carterogli, Lycotrefo, and Chastemi, which are to the east, on the side of Taygetes, at the distance of a league and a half. These villages for the most part consist of about forty or fifty houses; a proof that the Morea is not so entirely depopulated as is generally supposed. For the rest, I must say of Andreossa before I take my leave of it, that its inhabitants, robbers by profession, have a reputation in the country for being altogether *mauvais sujets*, which I am in no way inclined to dispute. Their cast of countenance denotes strong intellect; some among the men are fair, and others have large blue eyes: This indicates a mixture of the indigenes with the Spartans. The Turks who inhabit the town are many of them married to Greek women, and speak the language of their wives: they are in general of an athletic figure.

We mounted our horses in the court of the aga's house, and quitted the town by a narrow road encompassed with gardens and cottages, and had not travelled far before we crossed a little river. Taking a northerly direction, we pursued our way along a beaten road which was paved at intervals, and had the appearance of a military way: in about an hour we arrived at an aïasma, or fountain consecrated by the piety of the Mussulmans to the use of travellers. A quarter of a league further, following the declivity of Mount Ithome, we saw a large village called Anaziri, with several other houses scattered about the slope, and opposite a place distinguished by the name of Vromo-Vrisi, or the stinking fountain, perhaps owing to the springs which supply it being sulphureous. A little further on we entered a valley which was filled with troops of wild boars.

A Laconian harrier which belonged to the bey of Navarin gave chase to one of these animals; but he had reason to repent his rashness, being soon surrounded by a whole troop of them. Our Turks and Albanians endeavoured to assist the courageous animal, and afforded us by that means the opportunity of being spectators of a very interesting conflict. On one side resounded the cries of the men, on the other the grunting of the animals pent up in a corner of the valley, while the harrier, who had taken refuge upon the ledge of a rock, stood there trembling and shaking in every limb. At the first shock, the sectaries of the prophet, although animated by the fierce hatred which they are obliged to swear towards this unclean animal, and by the interest they felt for their master's dog, gave way and began to retreat: the boars, animated by this retrograde movement of their antagonists, with their bristles erect bounded forward, and extending their ranks made themselves way and escaped, though not without receiving many musquet balls among them. None of the warriors on either

side, however, bit the dust, and the dog soon returned in safety, wagging his tail in gratitude to his deliverers. We were altogether highly amused, notwithstanding a heavy rain which wetted us to the skin.

Half a league further we arrived at the bank of the Pamissus, which is here much increased by having received the waters of several smaller streams. On one of these rivers which flowed from a mountain to the west we descried a mill, where we stopped to rest; but not finding any thing to eat, our Turks made us remount, while they remained behind in order to try whether it might not be possible to make the miller produce something. In this place was a beautiful fountain, and the waters of the Pamissus rolled with impetuosity over a stony bed. Its right bank was high, and covered with a thick wood.

Proceeding onwards, the rain still continuing to fall in torrents, we soon after met a Turk richly dressed, and with a good mien, followed by two slaves. He saluted us in French, to our great surprise, and told us that he had been at Marseilles and Paris: he immediately recognised Fornier by his uniform, tattered as it was, to be a commissary of the army. He began to tell us several pieces of news, which we devoured with great eagerness. This rencontre puzzled us extremely. A Turk expressing himself in the language of our country with clearness, even with purity—who could he be? We were on the point of having our curiosity satisfied; he spoke of the attentions which we should receive from the pasha; he was going, he said, to a country house about two leagues from the spot where we then were: our conversation grew more and more animated, when on a sudden our conductors appearing, he thought it prudent to take his leave and proceed on his way, that he might not commit himself.

At about fifty paces further, we crossed the Pirnazza by a bridge of four arches, the parapets of which were all in ruins. From thence to Mount Lyceus, and to the foot of Taygetes, where is the great dervin or defile, the Hermæum of the ancients, is a journey of about two hours and a half. We continued our course for an hour along a partially paved road, which had been well washed by the rains. On our left to the west we saw the town of Mavromathi: this place was among the number visited by my friend Monsieur Fauvel, who found there, as he conceived, the remains of the ancient Messene. In fact there are upon the spot, as I afterwards learnt, ruins of walls and towers, some of which are of marble, a temple almost entire, a theatre, inscriptions without number, and some bas-reliefs well preserved, which represent the hunting of the wild boar. An abun-

dant spring which rushes from the foot of Mount Ithome gives its name to Mavromathi, this word signifying a black spring; for *mathi* means equally a spring and an eye. Mavromathi lies at some distance eastward of the ancient Messene. From the top of Mount Ithome is to be seen a very extensive view over Triphylia to the quarter of Elis, where are two rich monasteries.

About three quarters of a league from the bridge of the Pamissus, and two hundred toises to the right of the road, is a large village called Chastemi, which may probably have been Ampheus; or perhaps rather it was built from the ruins of Ampheus; for it stands in the plain, not far from the height on which that town probably was situated. It has a large tower and some lofty houses. The fields surrounding it are planted with cotton, and are enclosed with hedges of nopal, which seems naturalized in this canton. Half a league further, following a road bordered with nopal, we came to the village of Carterogli, where we were to stop for the night, the rain continuing to fall in such abundance that it began to weary the patience of our conductors: they, as well as ourselves, were besides much pressed with hunger.

According to their usual custom these gentlemen drove the unfortunate peasants from their houses: the latter, however, it must be confessed, had not a very laborious task to remove their household;—their whole furniture seemed to consist of a mat of reeds, and the image of the Holy Virgin. Among the ancients, Ceres had her niche near the door of almost every house; she has now yielded her place to *Our Lady of the Panagia*, before whom a lamp is kept burning, and on days of particular solemnity she is enveloped in the smoke of a cloud of incense.

Notwithstanding the dreariness which accompanies the last days of autumn, the freshness of the fields and the regularity of their surface, divided by hedges, formed a fine contrast with the rugged aspect of Taygetes. In the night we saw a number of fires lighted upon this mountain, indicating the posts occupied by the Maïnotti of Voudoni. Our guards spoke of these independent men in that style of rhodomontade which always implies fear, and commonly indicates a feeling of self-inferiority. The intendant or emina of the bey of Navarin, who passed the night with us, made me understand that we were in a farm, μέτοχι, belonging to his master, and that four-and-twenty farms were attached to the endowment of his barony. In fact, all the commandants of places in Turkey, and all functionaries for life, have certain revenues from actual property which

are allotted for their support; besides casual profits arising from the customs, from contributions, and the indirect revenue arising from *avanies**.

We were treated at this place in a manner which might reasonably obliterate from our minds the ill reception we had experienced at Andreossa. The good woman of the house baked us upon the embers some cakes which she was making at our arrival, and we found them delicious: the emina also regaled us, at the expense of the peasants, with two enormous turkeys. The next morning at sunrise we proceeded on our way, having been first presented by the Greeks with a draught of warm milk from their ewes. We saw some women who were very handsome, with fine flaxen hair; they were walking about without either shoes or stockings, though the dirt was so great as to render the roads almost impassable.

We now crossed a cultivated plain, but soon perceived by the slow pace of our horses, and by the murmurs within them, that they had passed the night without food. About a quarter of a league further we came to a considerable farm, and a military station, where our conductors were very particular in their inquiries whether there were not any Maïnotti in the mountains. Upon receiving an assurance in the negative, they pursued their route very quietly.

It may easily be conceived with what pleasure I advanced towards the centre of a country formerly so celebrated, and in which my memory scarcely sufficed to recall with sufficient rapidity the number of interesting facts connected with it. I was now quitting the fields of Steniclaros, and my steps were directed towards that Hermæum which leads from Messene to the territory of Megalopolis. I could not forbear often repeating to myself, as I proceeded, "*All these places which I have run over so hastily, belong to a country which may justly be called the land of wonders. Here the most exalted virtues were familiar to men whose descendants groan under the most degrading despotism.*" Our horses, though feeble, ascended with tolerable facility this ancient pass: we had not attained more than a fourth part of the height, when the clouds which had veiled the horizon were dispersed by the breaking out of the sun. It did not discover to us, as we had expected, nothing but naked and rugged masses; our eyes were presented with woods, yet green, with towering oaks which descended in slopes to the very edge of the plain. The road is so well cut that, with a very little precaution, artillery might be carried over it. In another half hour we arrived

* A present, or fine, which the Turks exact from all Christian merchants trading in their country.

at a fine village inhabited by Laconians; they are held in respect by the Turks, and live on a peaceable footing with the Maïnotti their brothers. They received us with a friendly salutation, seeing that we were Christians, and sold us bread, figs, and wine: the latter is kept by them in a sort of bottles made of goat-skin.

We were now upon the lowest point of Penté-Dactylon: here vegetation flourishes in its fullest vigour, while the more lofty parts are covered with mournful pines, or with eternal snows. The inhabitants of this village have a healthiness in their appearance, a vivacity of manner, and a grandeur in their forms, which is sought in vain among their brethren in the plains below: these advantages are probably derived from the pure air which they breathe, and the independence they enjoy. The rest of the defile, along which we continued to travel for another hour and a half, was stony. At the highest elevation of the mountain the road was paved at intervals; it wound among rocks, some of which were perpendicular, and groves of pines.

Arrived at the extremity of this space, which cannot properly be called a level, we came again to a thick wood, through which we descended, in a short half-hour, into the valley of Leondari. This is the ancient Leuctra of Peloponnesus, where the Arcadians triumphed over the Lacedæmonians. There were, it is well known, three towns of this name in Greece, one of which was immortalized by the valour of Epaminondas and the Thebans whom he commanded. The valley of Leondari extends from east to west about six leagues, and terminates on the latter side at Sinano. Its diameter from north to south in no part exceeds a league. The defile of Messene is to the south-west; that which opens to Laconia, on the side where the source of the Eurotas rises, is nearly due east. The distance from one defile to the other is, on account of the windings, a league and a half. Upon the declivity on the side of Messene, by which we descended, the surface is broken by torrents, and is full of inequalities. The road is an ancient one hollowed in the mountain. To the north-west the valley is cultivated quite to Sinano: to the north it is closed by lofty mountains, on which stands the town of Leondari: the side towards Sparta is woody. The bottom of the valley, in the part where we crossed it, is intersected by a small river, at the distance of not more than half a quarter of a league from the foot of the mountain. Large stones, which have been hewn, may be seen scattered about; and some mutilated marbles lie almost buried among the grass.

We were a quarter of an hour in ascending to Leondari, by a very narrow path. The mountain on which the town stands is covered with herbage: it is level upon

the summit, and destitute of wood. Near the town on the left are to be seen many enormous blocks of stone, some ruins, and a windmill. The base of the latter is built with fragments of columns and architraves. We alighted at the house of the aga, who received us with much civility, invited us to dinner, and furnished us with good horses to carry us to our destined quarters for the night, beyond Mount Boreas. The town is composed of about two hundred and fifty houses, some of which had an air of opulence. The inhabitants, with whom we had every reason to be perfectly satisfied, appeared handsome, and were tolerably well clothed. They live on the fruits of their fields, they breathe a pure air, and feed a great many silk-worms. We quitted Leondari the same day at two in the afternoon.

From Navarin the mountains had constantly been more and more elevated, and those we now passed were succeeded by others still higher. The summit of Mount Boreas, which was directly before us to the north, was lost in the clouds. After travelling half a league, we entered a forest of oaks. This continued for another half league, and we then descended into a valley which in the place where we crossed it was extremely narrow. Here was, perhaps, the site of the ancient Belemina. "This place," says Pausanias, "is watered by fountains which are never dry, and is washed by the Eurotas." Indeed we saw the Eurotas, which rises here and flows towards Mistra. But this valley, though the pasturage is fine, did not present us with a single village; a mournful silence reigns around: deprived of woods, it is not even inhabited by the feathered race. The *Vasilipotamos*, *Royal river* of the moderns, rolls on its waters unnoticed, the monotonous sound of which is the only one that disturbs the echo in these retreats. The distance from hence to Perivolia, which must be about the situation of the ancient Pellane, is estimated at six short leagues: this is the usual road from Mistra to Sinano.

We never ceased to ascend, for two hours longer, before we arrived at the summit of Boreas. The road was through a narrow defile along the edge of frightful precipices, where we more than once risked being irretrievably lost. On the summit of the mountain is a level about half a league over; and here we found the ruins of a large village which had been destroyed by the Albanians in the last war. I could not learn its name. As we advanced we soon came in sight of a rich and spacious plain, which must be that of Tegea. In order to descend into it, we were obliged to alight from our horses and drive them before us. The road, though in a very dilapidated state, is evidently of great antiquity; it was the first trace of a military way which we had found since we quitted Leondari.

The Alpheus, or Roufia, which rises in the plain of Tegea towards Mount

Parthenius, forms a marsh at the foot of the mountain, which extends into the plain for half a quarter of a league, and runs a considerable way from east to west. We crossed this marsh upon a bridge, or rather a causeway on arches, and soon after passed an aïasma, or consecrated fountain, built of marble, and extremely well kept. About three quarters of a league further we came to a cultivated eminence * on the top of which was a village where we passed the night. This was the first inhabited spot we had seen since Leondari ; for the valley of Belemina is only frequented at its north-western extremity by shepherds, who pitch their tents and fold their flocks on different spots which they make choice of for passing the night. I regretted very much not being able to visit the sources of the Alpheus, of which such prodigies are recorded in the fabulous legends of antiquity. Gladly would I have descended into those deep gulfs, whence the waters rush again with increased impetuosity, to ascertain with precision whether they are, like many others among the mountains of Peloponnesus, the work of volcanoes ; but I was not master of myself : our guards made me feel but too often that I was their slave.

The next morning we again proceeded on our journey. Opposite to us eastward was a little mountain, on which stands the village of Asi, but this we passed at a short distance to the left. A quarter of a league further we crossed a rivulet, and then continued our course along a cultivated plain till we arrived within half a league of Tripolitza. Here is a village, and near it runs a little river, the waters of which are conducted into the town by a channel hollowed out of the rock.

* This spot was called by the ancients Γώμα, the Boundary : it was the entrance to the territories of Pallantium and Tegea. *Pausanias*, lib. viii.

CHAPTER III.

Audience of the pasha at Tripolitza.—Description of his palace.—The guards.—Details concerning our stay in the palace.—Departure from it.—Lodging at the house of Constantine the Greek.—Severity of the winter.—Rencontre with two French soldiers.—Visits.—Various details.

On entering Tripolitza, the Albanians who escorted us saluted the town with a discharge of musquetry, and then carried us straight to the palace of the pasha, hurrying on our horses as much as possible, apprehensive of being insulted. The pasha or vizier who now commanded in the Morea was called Mustapha. At the foot of the steps by which we ascended to the hall of the divan, where he was presiding, we saw a very fine horse magnificently caparisoned, held by two African slaves. We passed through a long gallery filled with guards and officers of the house, clothed and decorated in a manner which seemed to us altogether grotesque and extravagant.

At length we were presented to the pasha. He was surrounded by the grandees of the province, and was seated upon the corner of his sopha smoking mechanically a *narguilet*, or Persian pipe, the effluvia of which he seemed to find extremely grateful. Being awakened as if from a profound reverie, he invited us to sit down by his drogman, whose name was Caradja. The vechil of Tripoli and the emina of the bey of Navarin prostrated themselves at his feet, kissed his sleeve, and then retired in a submissive attitude to the other end of the hall. He enquired our names and our quality, said a few words concerning Egypt, gave some orders to the people about, and then dismissed us. We were conducted into one of the wings of his palace, which was properly the harem, but as he had no wives it was then unoccupied. A chamber and guards were assigned us, with a Greek to go on our errands; a present was made to one of the great lords of our companion Ali-Cahouas, and our Albanians, with their captain, were lodged in the stables. A few hours after we were visited by the drogman, who told us that three hundred of our fellow-countrymen, belonging to the garrison of Zante, had been lodged not long before in the harem, whence they were conducted by land to Constantinople. A whole month was passed by us in this prison, in which we had no communication with any one except the pages of the pasha and the officers of his household.

The seraglio, or palace of the pasha, is capable of containing twelve hundred men. It is a vast wooden building round a square, this square being intersected within by a row of buildings which divide the interior into two courts. On the ground floor are the stables and offices, and above are the apartments of his highness and his court. A corridor projecting from the building runs round the court, and leads to all the different apartments; the Albanians who compose the pasha's guard sleep beneath the shelter of this corridor. The harem and the barracks for the delis, or cavaliers of the pasha, are to the North, abutting upon the main building; the seraglio is, in short, a sort of suburb to the town, having its own particular walls and gates.

The palace is encumbered with an immense number of servants; this was a great species of luxury among the Romans, it is so among the Turks, who have succeeded them in the possession of these fine countries. Among this crowd of servants are coffee-makers, furnishers of pipes, sherbet makers, confectioners, bathers, taylors, barbers, huissiers or tchiaoux, icholans or dwarf pages of his highness, buffoons, musicians, puppet-show men, exhibitors of magic lanterns, wrestlers, conjurers, dancers, an iman, and lastly the *dgellah* or executioner, the pasha's right hand, without whom he never stirs, and who is the only person that has the privilege of sitting in his presence.

The harem, when it exists, has its particular servants, but we must lower extremely the ideas which some travellers have given of the luxury and magnificence that reign in this abode. They would have given a much more accurate idea of it, if they had painted it as the habitation of *ennui* and jealousy, and, worse still, of desires always craving and never satisfied. Music, dancing, the castanets, these are the fleeting pleasures of the victims here immured, but never was true love its inhabitant. Embroidery is the great business of their lives, and every day but brings the same circle of relaxations, of ennui, of sadness, and of monotony.

The inhabitants of the palace rise before the sun, to attend the prayers which precede the ablutions, after which coffee and pipes are served. Sometimes the vizier mounts on horseback, and goes to partake in the spectacle of the dgerid*, or else he gives public audiences: then he administers justice in person; condemns one to the bowstring, another to the gallows, another to the bastinado,

* This amusement has been so often described by travellers, that I forbear to enter upon a description of it here, wishing to avoid repetition as much as possible.

or finally absolves, for he unites all powers within himself. At noon prayers again, and dinner; at three in the afternoon more prayers, the military parade and music, or rather *Charivari*: then to the *Selamlik**, where the pasha receives visits, or is refreshed with sherbet, and is amused by listening to a narrator, who recites some of the tales from the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, or others of the like kind. Sometimes his buffoons divert him with their grimaces, or the musicians psalmodize some of the verses of the Koran. At sunset prayers again, then supper, and then more pipes; in another hour and half the last orisons, after which, the retreat is sounded to music.

Apollo, king of the Menades! Deities of Eurotas! valleys beloved by the Muses, and the celestial choirs! what horrible songs now torture the echoes of your mountains! They only answer to the sounds of barbarous music, composed of discordant and noisy instruments, which cannot even be drowned by the roll of the great drum, or the clatter of the cymbals. The ear of a Turk, however, even more depraved than that of the satyr Marsyas, whose want of taste for the lyre was so cruelly punished, can be pleased with this crash, and repay it with eager applause. To amuse our *ennui*, or perhaps rather in order to display their own talents, the pages or icholans of the pasha would sometimes regale us with a concert after their fashion. The sweetness of their songs, united with a certain melancholy excited by some of their instruments†, gave me sensations which were not unpleasing. They assumed feminine voices, and gave themselves mincing and affected airs as they sung, dancing to the sound of the castanets, with gestures to which those not accustomed to them could not easily reconcile themselves.

The council of the pasha, which commonly assembles on the Thursday in every week, is composed of his kiaya, of a sub-beglerbey, the defter-kiaya or

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* *Selamlik:* the *Andronitis* of the Greeks, or apartments of the men.

† Their instruments consist of the *tumbelek*, a sort of wooden cymbal covered with skin like a drum, which is struck with little rods; the *nei* or dervises flute made of a sort of reed; this has a sharp sound like the German flute, and sometimes approaches strongly to the human voice: the *siné-kenan*, which is, properly speaking, the *violo-d'amore*, and which they have from Italy: the *mescal*, a sort of Pandean pipes, composed of three and twenty reeds in such gradations as to produce several octaves; each of the reeds forms three notes, according to the manner in which the breath is introduced: the *santour*, which is the psaltery, but made with wires and struck with little rods of metal: the *dairè*, a sort of tambourine with thin plates of brass, used chiefly to mark the time: and the *rebat*, an instrument played with a bow; it has two strings with a spherical case, and a little hole in the convex part; the Turks had this from the Tartars.

lieutenant of the finances, the moucabel-edgi or controller of the finances, and some cadis. At this time, Russia had an agent at Tripolitza who had a voice in the assembly. The council deliberates upon the firmans of the Porte, upon the reclamations of the beys or commandants of the different towns, and upon the different modes of administration which may best suit the views of the government. The ordinary guard of the pasha is composed of four hundred delis or cavaliers, clothed after the Hungarian fashion, having for their head-dress a felt like those of our hussars, bound round the head by a turban. Their arms consist of a sabre, a pair of pistols, and a tromblon. In charging they fix the bridle upon the pummel of the saddle, holding a pistol in the left hand and the sabre in the right, but without observing any order, rushing forward only from the impulsion they occasion to each other. The Arnauts or Albanians, a people intuitively warlike, some of whom are in the service of all the pashas, form the infantry. They guard the palace gates, where one of them rests crouched with a stick in his hand, while the rest sleep in a place filled with a thick smoke from their pipes. A horse ready caparisoned with a squire watching by him is always kept at the entrance of the palace, not, as some travellers have asserted, under the superstitious idea of waiting for the prophet's passing, but to be ready for the pasha to mount immediately, in case of his presence being requisite in any part upon a sudden emergency, a revolt for example, since on such occasions he is obliged to appear in person and the foremost.

To complete my sketch of the interior of the pasha's palace, I must add that the Turkish kitchen does not hold a distinguished place in the estimation of any modern Apicius: except the pilau, it consists of scarcely any thing but mutton, served in a variety of ways, some tasteless ragouts, a dish which has the appearance of starch perfumed with musk or rose-water, and some articles of pastry made with oil or fat and sweetened with honey. I shall resume this interesting subject when I come to speak of the diseases of the country.

Let me now be permitted to advert to what concerns ourselves. From the first of our confinement in the harem we were at liberty to walk about the courts within its walls, and were permitted the society of the pages and the principal officers of the pasha. The prince paid us the compliment of sending us dishes from his own table, although he had ordered that we should be furnished with provisions from the towns, and had allotted us a Greek to go on our errands. Of this Greek, whose name was Constantine, I shall have frequent occasion to speak; he was about forty years of age, a true Islander, as

great a cheat, liar, and rogue as ever lived. He used to come frequently during the day to inquire whether we had any commands for him, but whatever we ordered him to procure was never to be had; *Den echi* (there is not any) was the first Greek in which, through him, we became perfect, and he put us sometimes into so great a passion with his *Den echi*, that he made us wholly forget the respect due to the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

In the evening a detachment of twenty Albanians barricadoed our door, and mounted guard in a neighbouring apartment, as much to prevent our escape as to protect the palace on this side from the enterprises of the Maïnotti; for the pasha has so great a dread of these people, that he hardly thinks himself safe from them even in his seraglio. We never received any other than the most friendly behaviour from these soldiers: they seemed never weary with expressing their admiration of our gaiety and the sort of *insouciance* in which we lived. The loss of our liberty, the uncertainty in which we were kept respecting our future fate, the dangers with which we were surrounded, might indeed naturally have been expected to lead us to melancholy reflections; but we had so entirely abandoned all attention to these things, that we never even bestowed a thought upon the morrow. Nevertheless, at length the severity of the season which succeeded to the rains and storms of December, united with the little portion of clothing which we had been able to retain, made us feel that other things besides philosophy are requisite to preserve man from suffering by the cold. The pasha in consequence, at our request, ordered us coverlids to wrap ourselves in, and mats that we might sleep more at our ease. The winter solstice now set in, the summits of Roïno and Artemisius were already buried in snow, and not long after the lower lands were covered with it to the depth of two or three feet.

I began to be afraid that all the time of our stay in the Morea was to be passed in the harem; and this would indeed have been the case, had not a circumstance particularly fortunate for us taken place. The office of pasha being only temporary, Mustapha was now superseded, and he himself ordered to Lepanto, while one who had formerly occupied the pashalik of the Morea, by name Achmet, was nominated as his successor. As the latter had an established household, and his due complement of wives, we were dislodged to make way for them, and transferred to the house of our Greek servant, without even any parole being required of us.

This removal took place on the eve of Epiphany according to the Greek style; that is, on the seventeenth of January. Constantine's house was near the gate

of the town, upon the road to Caritena; our habitation was on the ground, with the roof only for a cieling; we were obliged to stoop in entering, the door not being sufficiently high to admit of our walking in erect; this is commonly the case in the houses of all the poorer rank of Greeks. There was a hole which was dignified with the title of a chimney, where we were to make our fire; instead of window was another hole which was shut by a trap, and in the night we enjoyed, through numerous interstices in the tiling, the majestic spectacle of the starry heavens. Sometimes, instead of this enjoyment, we were amused with another, that of the snow falling upon our pillows, nay upon our faces, as we lay extended upon our mats, and to secure ourselves from it we were obliged to wrap head and all under the bed-clothes: yet, notwithstanding all this, we were still gay, still we laughed, and formed a thousand pleasant projects. The winter was unusually severe, the ground was covered with snow for six weeks, the Greeks suffered terribly, and the wolves came down in large bodies from the mountains of Lyceus and Artemisius, prowling about and making the most frightful howlings, almost at the gates of the town. This evil was, however, not without its attendant benefit, since it put an end to a terrible epidemic which had for some months ravaged Tripolitza. The intercourse of society which had in consequence suffered great interruption was now restored, and the curious were attracted towards us.

The first visit, however, which we received was not one of curiosity: it was from two soldiers of the sixth demi-brigade, one of whom was a Saxon, the other a Zantiote, and who were in a situation that excited our utmost pity, lean and haggard to excess, and almost destitute of clothing. We gave them what little we could spare from our own slender stock, both of food and raiment, and promised to come and see them very shortly. They informed us that they had belonged to the garrison of Zante, and had been left sick at Tripolitza, when their comrades were marched off to Constantinople: originally there were twelve left in the same situation, but they two alone had had the *misfortune*, as they termed it, to escape death. They told us how much was allowed by the pasha for their sustenance, but our Greek, who was their administrator, stole, they said, two-thirds of it. As the same thing occurred to ourselves, who were allowed also by his highness the pasha fifteen parats* a day, not half of which was expended upon us, I promised to lead Mr. Constantine a little dance upon the occasion.

* A parat is nearly as much as a halfpenny.—TRANSLATOR.

Among the visitors brought under our roof by curiosity, we found many who had acquired a little smattering of French, by their intercourse with the garrison of Zante. While these latter were in the town, Mustapha, who had a high respect for the French officers, permitted the whole band to walk about the town without any restraint, and allowed the most unrestricted intercourse between them and the inhabitants. A name-sake of the pasha's, another Mustapha, originally a Turk and twice a renegado, was the person whose assiduities were, of all we received, the most grateful to us. We were told that he was a spy employed to watch us, but we never found any reason to complain of him.

We were, besides, visited by several Greek ladies, who, under the pretence of consulting the physician, came to satisfy their curiosity. Some desired prescriptions for their relations who were in the country; others wanted to be bled, others wanted to know whether they were pregnant, or were likely to become so. An old woman brought a very pretty child, desiring us to spit in its face; and in spite of all our remonstrances we were obliged to comply, otherwise she would have imagined that it was liable to be bewitched: for I learned that this singular practice was considered as a sovereign remedy to keep off the fiend.

Thus was a new order of customs and manners presented to my observation. The people accustomed themselves to us by degrees; we daily gained a little and a little more liberty, and I conceived the idea of availing myself of it to collect the facts which I am now laying before the public. My sphere of action was enlarged: I made many acquaintance. My profession procured me the opportunity of seeing, even of frequenting, the society of a few persons of intelligence and information, with whom I could converse in a rational way, and compare the observations I had made in the early part of my captivity. My friends, who were witnesses of my labours, will testify for me that my endeavours were always directed to this end. Thus, whenever I heard the name of a town or a hamlet, I immediately informed myself of its distance from the place where I was; of the number of its inhabitants; of the objects of their industry: I collected, in short, all the information relative to it which it was possible to obtain. These documents, though not always correct, awoke my attention, and served as hints whereon to ground my inquiries when I afterwards travelled to the spot, for the purpose of verifying what I had learned in these conversations. One of my acquaintance had a geographical work of Meletius bishop of Janina: he translated it for me, as I was then unacquainted with the Greek language; and I afterwards compared the

positions laid down by this geographer with the places the existence of which they attested.

I then saw how many towns and villages designated by the map had never really existed in the Morea, or were in directions very opposite to those where they were marked. In some maps, Tripolitza, the capital of the Morea, is not even indicated. In others Caritena is placed near the lake Stymphalus; Mistra is placed, in others, on the eastern bank of the Eurotas; and from all this there results a confusion which throws the utmost obscurity upon the real state of the country. How many towns and villages mentioned by Meletius have I sought in vain! scarcely any vestiges of them were to be discovered. The bishop has founded his work upon the plan laid down by Strabo, but he was far from possessing any, even remote scintillations, of the genius of that writer. Accustomed himself to believe implicitly his articles of faith, he wants to have his own assertions as implicitly received; but I can prove from irrefutable facts, that they are far from having any claim to so much credit. He frequently omits even to mark the distance from place to place, contenting himself with stating them to be about so and so.

I shall content myself with observing, that the Morea still bears melancholy traces of the fury of the Albanians, who in the war of 1770 signalized their barbarities by the most frightful excesses. Victors over the soldiers of Catherine, whom they overwhelmed by the vast superiority of their numbers, they did not cease to burn, to massacre, to plunder, till nothing remained to afford aliment to their fury. At this fatal epoch the province of Faneri, which comprehends the territory of Megalopolis, was entirely sacked. The streets of Tripolitza streamed with blood; Messenia and Laconia were pillaged; the mountains and the valleys were strewed over with dead bodies; the villages became a prey to the all-devouring flames. It is only within a few years that the traces of this dreadful desolation have been in some degree effaced; that the population begins to be renewed; that some of the villages have risen from their ashes. Since that time the police, enforced at the point of the sabre, has repressed plunder. Guards are placed at the entrances of the most dangerous passes; the right of property, so sacred among the mussulmans, is respected; and Peloponnesus, in spite of the tyranny of its government, may ere long forget its misfortunes. Already the timars or fiefs, held under the crown, are in a flourishing condition.

In order to give a precise idea of the topography of the Morea, as far as I was able to make myself acquainted with it, I shall quit the didactic march of an itinerary, accompanied by facts, which necessarily abates the interest of a work, from

overloading it with incidents. I shall reserve to myself, however, the privilege of returning to them when I describe events which would be injured by not having their proper place allotted them. If I had not restricted myself severely on this head, what a number of anecdotes could I not have related! How many facts, trivial in themselves, and interesting to me alone, might not have found a place! Not to fatigue the reader, then, I have resolved to suppress all minute details. What does it signify to him whether I travelled on foot or on horseback? where I slept, and how I lived? The essential part is to indicate with a scrupulous exactness the relative distances of places, and to fix their precise situations; to present an accurate idea of the face of the country, and of the manners of the inhabitants; to give, in short, a sort of statistical sketch of the countries over which I travelled. It is on this plan that I enter upon my details.

CHAPTER IV.

Ancient and modern Division of Peloponnesus or The Morea.—Topography of Tripolitza.—Arrival of Achmet Pasha.—His entrance into the town.—The audience he granted us.—Extraordinary punishment of an Imam.

The peninsula of Peloponnesus extends from thirty-six degrees and a half northern latitude, to beyond thirty-eight, and from seventeen to twenty-one degrees eastern longitude. It was divided in ancient times into seven provinces, Argolis, Corinthus, Laconia, Messenia, Elis, Achaia, and Arcadia. I shall not dwell here upon the boundaries marked out for each by those geographers and historians to whose works we are indebted for our knowledge of the glory and splendour formerly attached to these countries. Struck with the revolutions which have desolated regions, still rich by the recollections attached to them, and by the ruins which attest their ancient grandeur, the traveller recalls to his mind that Peloponnesus lost its original name under the Lower Empire, to take that of The Morea. It is, however, yet undecided whether this change arose only from one of those fatalities which seems to ordain that every thing human shall one day or other change, or whether, as some imagine, it was owing to the great quantity of mulberry trees* which have been introduced there.

Since the Morea fell under the dominion of the Turks, it has been governed by a pasha of three tails, nominated by the Porte. It is divided into sangiaks or baronies, and afterwards sub-divided into twenty-four cantons or villaiétis, each governed by a codja-bachi. The pasha whose government extends over the whole province, has besides more particularly under his jurisdiction the ancient valley of Tegea. Caritena is the chief place of the district of Vaneri, which was formerly the territory of Megalopolis. Elis is now called Kaloskopi or Belvedere, a name which seems to have been given it by the Venetians from the beauty of the country: this is under the government of the beys of Pyrgos and Arcadia. The sangiaks of Gastouni and Patras divide Achaia; the pasha

* From *Morus*, the mulberry-tree.

of two tails of Nauplia commands Argolis and that part of the Morea distinguished by the name of Romania, to beyond the isthmus of Corinth. The jurisdiction of the bey of Mistra extends to the country of the Maïnotti, and is bounded to the west by Penté-Dactylon. The valley of Calamatte is governed by an aga, as are also Andreossa and Leondari. Coron, Modon, and Navarin, are the three last sangiaks of this part, and the most important of the whole country. The Mainotti or free Laconians form an independent state, which is included in the peninsula of Laconia; and Cape Tenarus is inhabited by a sort of infernal monsters in human shape, known under the name of Cacovouniotes, or savage mountaineers.

The principal bays or gulfs of the Morea are,—to the north, that of Lepanto, in the most ancient times called the sea of Cryssa, afterwards the sea of Alcyon, and then the bay of Corinth; to the west, the gulf of Chiarenza, formerly that of Cyllene; upon the frontiers of Elis and Messenia, the ancient gulf of Cyparissa, now that of Arcadia; the gulf of Messenia, now of Coron; that of Laconia, into which runs the Eurotas; the gulf of Kolo-Kythia, so called from a Maïnote town of that name; the Sinus Argolicus, now known only as the bay of Nauplia; the bay of Hermione, now the gulf of Castri. The name of Enghia is at present given to the sea which washes the celebrated shores of Salamis and Athens, and the southern part of the isthmus of Corinth. I will not here enumerate the ancient and modern names of the capes and mountains, they will better find their place as I describe them in sketching my travels through each country; but I could not omit noticing the bays, as they would not so readily find a place in the progress of my work.

The present capital of the Morea, and the residence of the pasha, is known by the name of Tripolitza. It is built from the ruins of Megalopolis, Tegea, Mantinea, and Pallantium, without being on the site of any of these places. It stands in a spacious valley at the foot of Mount Roïno (the ancient Menale), ten leagues west of Argos, three and a half south of Mantinea, and a short league north of Tegea. The town is encompassed by a line of strong stone walls, constructed by the Albanians thirty years ago, and is guarded by a small square fort which stands upon an eminence to the south-west. The plain of Tripolitza is irregular in its form, and the ground is unequal, having many risings; to the north-east it is marshy. At certain distances round the ramparts of the town are half moons, and the walls are every where pierced with loop-holes. The iron artillery which are mounted upon some bastions on the western side, bear

the arms of St. Mark. The town has six principal gates, and a small one solely for the use of the seraglio. The principal gate, which is gilt, is that of Nauplia de Romania, to the east; over this the crescent is displayed; the second is that of Calavrita to the north, which also leads to Mantinea; the third is that of Caritena to the north-west; the fourth, which is near the castle, leads only into the fields and woods; the fifth is that of Leondari or Navarin; the sixth is on the side of Tegea, and leads to Mistra.

The town has no running water except what comes from the mountains by which it is bounded to the north-west; this stream supplies the public baths and tanneries, but is commonly dry in summer. I have already mentioned the canal from the south, which conveys the waters of another small river to the town, but the supply is by no means abundant. The pasha, who was apprehensive of an invasion from the French, had ordered a redoubt to be thrown up to guard the canal, this being an object of infinite importance. The khan is the only solid edifice in the town; it is built of stone, and closed by doors well strengthened with iron, these being barricaded every night with large chains. There is a magnificent lintel which once decorated the principal gate of Megalopolis, as the inscription upon it attests; it is now part of a bason which serves to water the cattle.

The seraglio or palace of the pasha is at one extremity of the town, between the gates of Nauplia and Calavrita. Towards the middle of the principal street, which runs through the town from north to south, is the bazar; this is divided into several streets, filled with a variety of merchandize, such as furs, arms, articles of food and cloathing, and others: it is shaded by planes and other large trees, upon which the storks build their nests very peaceably, although they are the theatre of the juridical executions; those who are sentenced to be hung are suspended to their branches. Fountains extremely well kept are to be seen all over the town, and every house has its well, but the water is at a small depth in the ground, and generally of a very indifferent quality. There are four large mosques and five or six Greek churches, which are in a very ruinous state. The streets, except the principal one, are only paved in the middle, and are intersected by channels to facilitate the running off of the waters; over them are many small bridges. These channels are in fact common-sewers, receiving all the waste waters and ordure of the houses, so that they are extremely offensive. Some of the rich and powerful Turks have very large houses, but totally devoid of taste; of this number were those of the defter-kiaya and of the brother of

Ali Effendi, the Turkish ambassador at Paris. The poor inhabitants, driven into the streets which run along the ramparts, inhabit houses or rather huts of the same kind as that of our Greek Constantine already described, with the roof for a ceiling, the fire made upon the ground, and the smoke only finding a vent through the numerous vacancies in the tiling.

Tripolitza, like many other towns in the Morea, rose in insurrection on seeing the victorious flag of the Czarina waving in the country. But yielding afterwards to that fatal destiny which had decreed this fine province to be transformed into a desert, and to become the general tomb of its inhabitants, it was miserably sacked and plundered by the Albanians; three thousand heads are said to have fallen upon this occasion in the short space of two hours. In a place near the castle, which is called the Cemetery of the Muscovites, they still show the bones of the brave warriors of that nation who fell at this disastrous period. Two pyramids of whitened sculls, equally of these victims, are also shown in the territory.*

In the mosques of Tripolitza are many precious antique columns and inscriptions, prophaned by the stupid manner in which they have been introduced into the buildings. As to the bas-reliefs, the Turks in using them are very careful to envelope them entirely in masonry; or if they pave a bath with these precious relics they carefully turn the figures downwards, that the eyes of the faithful Mussulmans may not be wounded with the sight of objects proscribed by their religion.

The change of their pasha being a very important event to the inhabitants of Tripolitza, the reader perhaps will not be displeased with an account of the ceremonies which took place upon the occasion. Mustapha, the pasha whose reign was at end, having modestly quitted the town without any parade, in a manner conformable with the obscure situation to which he was returning, took the road to Lepanto, where he would have leisure to reflect at his ease on the numerous vicissitudes and changes to which mortal man is exposed. He was no sooner gone than the Greeks began to prepare and furnish the seraglio for his successor. This occupied them a full month; the building had been so much dilapidated by the officers of the disgraced vizier, who were not at all pleased at being displaced, that it was necessary almost to reconstruct it in some parts. Mats, carpets, sophas, provisions, wood, charcoal, every thing necessary to furnish and stock the palace

* They were seen by Messrs. Foucherot and Fauvel some years after I was there.

must be thought of and arranged in order against the arrival of his highness, in quantities sufficient to last the six weeks from his installation, during which, according to the custom of the country, he is to be supported at the public expense: the plea for this is, that he may have time sufficient to accustom himself to his situation before he has to attend to these minor concerns, and he often contrives to prolong a term which he has no desire to see at an end. The principal persons of distinction among the Turks had on this occasion taken the trouble of going to Nauplia de Romania, the birth-place of the new pasha, and the temporary place of his residence, to pay their compliments to him and attend him to his new government. They took upon themselves besides to provide his pages, and made him a present, more as it was suspected from fear than love, of several very fine horses. Upon all occasions of a change of administration a great deal of court is paid to the rising sun, since it often happens that the early period of a new reign is very stormy.

The new pasha was considered as one who was likely to be very formidable. Once driven from the post which he was now about to re-occupy, it was expected that he would return full of resentments. He had the reputation of being endowed with extraordinary talents and address in business, and had early been distinguished for that spirit of acuteness and penetration which so eminently characterises the Morean Turks. Though his own origin was obscure he was allied to some of the best families in the country.

He made his solemn entry to the noise of cannon, preceded by a band of the barbarous music already noticed, and by the three tails, the emblem of his power. A number of buffoons clothed in garments of skin, about which, as well as about their caps, hung fox-tails without number, commenced the procession, making all sorts of grimaces and throwing their bodies into strange contorsions, uttering at the same time loud acclamations in a discordant and guttural tone: one of them carried a *zin**, upon which he played. They made their horses prance, leap, and go down upon their knees, they threw themselves off at the crupper and drove the horses before them, or passed under their bellies when they were at full gallop. Next followed a party of foot soldiers, who carried on the left arm a buckler after the antique fashion, which they kept striking with the butt end of their sabres; from time to time they halted to fence with each other, yet with such a total want of skill and address, that they only shewed by it their total ignorance of the art. The Albanian guards came next, marching without

* An Arabian instrument known by the name of the Chinese drum.

order, without keeping their ranks, carrying their musquets reversed upon their shoulders, and putting out each other's eyes with the but-ends of them: they sang the praises of the pasha to some of their sacred airs. To them succeeded the cannoniers of the town, dressed in conical caps as large as a common bee-hive; this was their only badge of distinction. The corps of cavalry, in the midst of which a flag was carried, occupied the whole breadth of the street, preceding, surrounding, and following the pasha. The latter mounted upon a most beautiful horse, which was richly caparisoned with a tyger's skin and a vast deal of gold, advanced coldly with measured steps, endeavouring, by keeping fast hold of his beard, to restrain a convulsive motion of his head, to which he had been subject ever since an extraordinary fright he had received some years before. Near him were the Turks of distinction belonging to the province who had gone to meet him, and his two sons, who had both countenances not less enchanting than those with which Apollo himself is represented. The people flocked around from all sides, prostrating themselves and shouting, as if striving to outvie each other in the delight they testified at an event of which they were themselves to bear the burden.

It was now the time of the rhamazan, the carnival of the Mussulmans, and for some nights the mosques had been brilliantly illuminated, sparkling as if with precious stones. The coffee-houses were all full, and the amusements of the seraglio were prolonged through the whole night: the audiences are also at this time held in the night, as the day is devoted to sleep. The pasha, informed of our captivity, ordered us into his presence on the morrow of his arrival. It was about midnight when we were summoned before him, and unacquainted as we were with the customs of the country, this occasioned us no small degree of uneasiness; besides the reputed severity of the person before whom we were to be presented was not calculated to allay our fears. In order to be prepared for events we took with us every thing we possessed, and putting as good a countenance as we were able upon the matter, proceeded altogether to the seraglio. Our Greek, Constantine, knew not what saint to invoke, and trembled in every limb.

We were carried first to the drogman Caradja, who was the interpreter, the master of the ceremonies, the intermediary person, in short, in all matters between the Greeks and foreigners, and the pasha. His highness was surrounded by his twenty-four codja-bachis, chiefs of the different cantons of the province, and accompanied by a Greek of Mistra, dressed in the uniform of a Russian officer. Caradja in presenting us saluted the pasha, inclining himself to the earth: the great man then put several questions to us, but had the generosity not

to take any notice when we endeavoured to elude them, or were guilty of a little tergiversation: he appeared touched with our situation, and repeated at several different times that he wished to alleviate the sorrows of our captivity. We were then served with coffee by his orders, and he dismissed us with much urbanity. We had scarcely quitted his presence when I alone was recalled, and he solicited me in an affecting manner to visit one of the officers of his household, as well as several of his delis or cavaliers, who were ill. From that time I was physician to the court, and the palace was open to me.

I could not however frequent it without a secret repugnance, chiefly on account of some Greeks disguised as officers of the Russian navy, to whom I took a most cordial dislike. Their haughty and insolent carriage formed too mortifying a contrast with the humility of my own situation, feeling, as I did, that I was not their inferior in any way. The delis feasted me every day when I went to their barracks, and I evidently saw, through their uncouth manners, symptoms of a frank and sincere friendship. I was indeed so generally caressed, that even the executioner, to amuse me, as he obligingly intended it, would often recount to me the feats he had performed in his profession, dwelling elaborately upon his dexterity in striking off a head.—I must confess that the histories told me by this man often made me shudder involuntarily; I learnt in the sequel that he never experienced the least remorse in the exercise of his functions, but that he acted the horrors he related with the same coolness that he spoke of them. The delis were much more agreeable company to me.

The pasha signalized his taking possession of his new government by some acts of justice which were little expected. The fanatics, for such are to be found every where, represented him as one of the prophane, a man who was never seen in a mosque. This assertion was refuted by his appearing there the first Friday after his arrival. The intelligence of Bonaparte's victories in Syria had found its way to the centre of the Morea; people's heads began to be heated upon the subject, and politics were publicly talked in the coffee-houses. An imam, impelled by a religious vertigo, thought proper to interpose, and even from the pulpit set about declaiming against the French, using very insulting language towards them. After the service the pasha ordered him into his presence, and without so much as asking him what concern he had with the quarrels of sovereigns, allowed him four-and-twenty hours to quit the town and retire to Negropont; this sentence was executed in its full rigour. Who would have expected a pasha to act in this way while a Greek patriarch thundered against us, and his ridiculous proclamation of a crusade was printed and every where publicly circulated!

CHAPTER V.

Valley of Tripolitza.—Route to Mantinea.—Topography of that town, of Arni, and of St. George.—Route from Mantinea to Calavrita.—Idea of that country and of its productions.—Robbers of Mount Pholoë.—Route from Calavrita to Patras.—Mount Olenos or Vodi.—Description of Patras.—Itinerary to Vostitza or Egium.

Mount Roïno or Menale, at the foot of which stands the town of Tripolitza, extends from the plain of Mantinea to Mount Boreas, near the gulfs of the Alpheus, and closes the valley to the west. The northern extremity of the valley is woody, and there are the ruins of a village with some shepherds' huts, and the inclosures in which the flocks are secured for the night. Half a league to the south are the remains of a convent of women which was destroyed by the Albanians; and near this is the bed of a torrent, the waters of which flow into the valley of Tegea. A road which leads from Tripolitza to Caritena crosses the torrent a league and a half from the convent, after which, by passing a smaller torrent, we come to the chapel of Saint Mark. The rest of this valley presents an unequal surface of arid rocks and slopes covered with pines; but very few villages are to be seen. To the north the valley is bounded by Mount Artemisius, which extends to Strata Kalilbey, while Mount Parthenius, covered with forests, borders it to the east as far as the defile of Carvathi, on the side towards Sparta; Mount Boreas, now called Chelmos, forms its southern confine. Such are the boundaries of this superb plain, which Pan, the protector of Tegea and Arcadia, would still find not destitute of charms. Taygetes, whose summits are covered with snow, rising in a pyramid to the south, bounds one of the most charming views in the world. Seventy-two villages and farms scattered over the plain, or suspended upon the mountains by which it is bounded, are inhabited by the people who are the least oppressed of any in the Morea The land, almost every where fertile, under the hands of the robust race by whom it is cultivated would soon be made the abode of wealth and delight, if these advantages were not counteracted by the vices engrafted in the government.

I shall describe this valley more at large in following the routes which I traversed; while my investigations, directed towards the places which I was unable to visit or measure, shall be aided by the observations made in those I had the opportunity of frequenting. I shall begin with the route to Mantinea.

Quitting the town by the gate of Calavrita which is to the north, the road soon crosses a torrent, and a quarter of a league from the town to the left is a Greek cemetery, in which there is nothing particularly worthy of remark. Proceeding along the road for a league further, having all the way to the right several farms, we then enter the plain of Mantinea. Here the valley is so much contracted that the distance from Mount Roïno to Artemisius is at the utmost half a league. These two promontories, as they may not improperly be called, are well wooded, and Artemisius is covered with vines. Here, at a distance from Tripolitza, we seem to breathe an air more impregnated with liberty, we seem among the simple and honest shepherds of Arcadia. A little way further the valley again widens, and now every step taken recalls some cherished recollection of antiquity. One is fearful of trampling upon the tomb of Epaminondas, the oaks one sees may be perhaps descendants of those of Pelagia; we traverse the spot on which the memorable conflict took place, when the chief of the Thebans fell by the hands of the son of Xenophon. But we seek Mantinea in vain. Among the oaks, the olive-trees, the laurels which abound, is it there that we are to search for it? Alas, no! the heart palpitates with impatience,—still we proceed onwards, an hour and a half is passed, and it seems as if we ought to be arrived at the spot; at length we come to a marsh,—this was the site of Mantinea.

A secret grief seizes the soul, yet impedes not the desire to approach these august ruins:—alas! the little that now remains of them Time will ere long have completely consumed. The form of the town appears to have been an oval of about a league in circumference. The walls, some vestiges of which are still standing to the height of five or six feet, seem to have been eighteen feet in thickness, and to have been built of stone brought from Mount Artemisius. The stone of Menale, though this mountain is much nearer, is of a very different nature. In examining these ramparts with attention, there appear clearly to have been four principal gates leading to the same number of roads, in the direction of Achaia, Argos, Tegea, and Megalopolis. In the midst of the town is a small ruined edifice, which at the first glance might be taken for a theatre; but, besides that

it does not stand against a hill, according to the description of Pausanias, it is too small to have been consecrated to such a purpose. Another ruin, at a short distance, appears to have been part of a temple; but there is no inscription which indicates to what deity it was dedicated.

During my stay at Tripolitza, a Greek discovered, without the walls of Mantinea, in a spot near Mount Alesius, precisely where the stadium is described to have been, a statue of white marble, three feet in height, exceedingly well preserved, upon the base of which was inscribed ΑΦΡΟΔΥΚΑΙΡΕ. As the base did not constitute a part of the statue, I presume that the inscription, which bore the *ultimum vale* was a funereal stone. Some time after, one of the companions of my captivity saw this statue in the hands of the drogman Caradja, who had received it as a present from the person by whom it was found. To judge by the place whence it came, it should seem not to be a solitary thing of the kind; and no doubt searches made there with care and caution would be amply recompensed.

The river Ophis, if this name may be given to a stream, which after a course of only two leagues is lost in a gulf answering to one of the subterranean caverns of Mount Roïno,—this river, from its bed being choked up, forms the marsh in which stands Mantinea; and in a wet season the ruins are nearly covered by the waters. The gulf in which it is lost is the terror of the peasants, who call it Varathron, or Katavothra, names which signify nothing more than a gulf. It is surrounded by palisades, to prevent the cattle falling into it. It is difficult to approach it and examine its depth, as the feet sink into the ground, which trembles beneath them, being a sort of peat or bog.

It is impossible to quit Mantinea without visiting a thermal spring, perhaps, the ancient source of the Arni, on the banks of which Rhea brought Neptune into the world, when to preserve her child from the voracity of Saturn she concealed him among her lambs, and substituted a kid in his place, which was eagerly devoured by the son of Time. At no great distance, upon Mount Artemisius, stands at the present moment a village called Arni, where is a little chapel dedicated to St. George. The Greeks of Tripolitza repair hither on the festival of that saint, and regale themselves with lamb roasted in the open air. I asked permission of the pasha to analyse the water of the fountain of Arni, with a view to its being used as a bath, or for other purposes, but was prevented executing my purpose by being at that moment ordered away to Constantinople. Half a league further to the north-west is the fountain of Alalcomène, mentioned by

Pausanias, which had its origin from a spring called *Tripygi*, because it had three currents which united to form a little bason of water. The plain is everywhere strown with fragments of columns and inscriptions, which the Greeks are eager to point out to strangers who appear anxious in making researches. The road to Patras continues directly northward: that to Argos is by an ancient way which passes by Caki-Shala, skirting the village of Arni and the chapel of St. George.

The plain of Mantinea, which the Moreans still call Gorizza, may be about five leagues in length from north to south, and in its greatest breadth may be about three leagues. It is well cultivated; and the slopes about it are covered with vines, which produce the white wine drunk at Tripolitza. There are nearly a dozen villages on the side of Mount Menale, through which is a way for foot passengers, if they like to return by it to the town. It was on a spot about a league from Mantinea, on the side of Tegea, that the battle was fought which ruined the hopes of the Lacedæmonians, and in which Epaminondas perished in the arms of victory. This space, where reposed the remains of so many brave warriors, is now covered with laurel and rosemary, which decorate their unknown graves. The tomb of the daughters of Peleus, to whom the Arcadians erected a monument near the military way which leads to Tegea, would be sought in vain.

In quitting the plain of Mantinea, the road turns round a chain of mountains which the Greeks call Pogliesi, to enter the plain known in ancient times as that of Alcimedon, which extends to the north-west. On the southern declivity of these mountains is the village of Vidi, facing a high isolated mountain now called Aloni-Steno, but which formerly bore the name of Ostracina. This is the route which must be pursued to go to Calavrita, and it is that usually frequented by travellers going from Tripolitza to Patras.

Leaving Vidi to the north-east, we enter a forest of about a league in length, composed of large trees; such as evergreen oaks, chesnut trees, larches, and others, which thrive in a cold soil. It is the constant habitation of large numbers of wolves; but they are, perhaps, less dangerous than the robbers, who are its occasional inhabitants, and who lurk there to lie in wait for such travellers as are imprudent enough to pursue this route without being in sufficient numbers to resist their attacks. A lovely plain, abounding with rosemary and other aromatic plants, which succeeds to the forest, almost impresses one with the idea of being suddenly transplanted to some other country than the Morea. Nothing is heard there but the cry of the cigale, in the burning days of summer, while the forest

resounds with the braying of the stag*. Yet the ruggedness of the neighbouring mountains, a face of nature characterized by some of the grandest features of the globe, assures us that we are in the wildest parts of Arcadia.

In a moral point of view, however, every thing here is cruel and ferocious. At the sight of a man we put ourselves immediately upon our guard; whatever we meet, as in the deserts of Libya, seems an enemy. The shepherd does not forestall the brilliant Aurora, to conduct his flocks, before she enters on her daily course, to banks of thyme and other aromatic herbs; he does not come forth carrying his crook and saluting the echoes gaily with the breath of his mellow pipes, but walks with a measured step and suspicious air, attended by the same formidable dogs which have watched the flock all night. He waits till the sun has illumined those terrible chasms, the usual theatre of his excursions, before he ventures to send his sheep into them, while the imprudent goats are bounding up the mountains, climbing even to the most dangerous crags. He himself, like a Nomade, is charged with an enormous gun, not to immolate the terrible wolf, or the marauding jackall, but as a weapon either of offence or defence against his fellow-man. Nor are these sons of labour even exempt from the Mussulman tyranny. Although Albanians, endowed with a daring courage, they submit to the yoke, and pay a capitation. In this respect they differ exceedingly from the Maïnotti, their neighbours; the latter have availed themselves of the rampart offered them by Taygetes, to liv independent.

At about a league and a half from the entrance of this valley is a farm with a khan, which stand upon the mountain to the right. They were erected in this spot as a place of security against the attacks of robbers; but it has happened, notwithstanding, that the proprietors of them have been often obliged to forsake their posts, and take refuge in some remote cottages in a more distant part of the mountain. The pasha of the Morea now keeps a body of cavalry there to guard the passes, and render the communication easier and safer. The country from

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* If any objection should be made to the expression "the *braying* of the stag," as it is not one in common use, the reader is referred to Dryden as authority for its adoption. In his translation of the third Georgic of Virgil, where the desolation of a Scythian winter is described, we find the following couplet, applied to "*whole herds of mighty stags*."

"And while they strive in vain to make their way
Through hills of snow, and pitifully *bray*." Line 574.

I am informed, besides, that the Latin word used to express the noise made by the stag, is precisely the same as that which expresses the braying of an ass. TRANSLATOR.

thence to Mettaga, which is at the distance of seven leagues from Tripolitza, presents everywhere lofty mountains, deep ravines, points of view innumerable, which are at once terrific and sublime: some of the ravines run even to the gulf of Lepanto. The shepherds here are clad in garments of coarse white woollen, with caps of rushes on their heads. They have always a disturbed and affrighted air, owing doubtless to the vexations they experience from the robbers of Mount Pholoë, and the constant apprehensions of them in which they live. These robbers are known by the name of Laliotes. Another subject of inquietude to the shepherds is the impositions practised upon them by the delis of the pasha, who are sent to scour the country for their protection, but who are in reality among their most formidable scourges.

Mettaga, I have reason to believe, stands in the vicinity of the ancient Methydrium. At a little distance from it there is a defile which leads to one of the rivers that run into the Alpheus. This defile, as well as the river, now bears the name of Roufia. Through it runs the road to Gardichi, which is the Clitor of the ancients. Mettaga is an insignificant little town, not containing above a hundred houses, though it is the residence of a Turkish aga. Travellers lodge at a khan; and it is often the first place where they stop after quitting Tripolitza. The views from Mettaga, embosomed as it is among mountains, cannot extend to any great distance; yet the eye can never be turned towards Mount Tricala, or Tricara, the highest point of these rugged countries, without a lively emotion. It was from one of the cavities of this sublime mass that the fountain of Styx flowed, bending its course thence to the river Crathis, which empties its waters into the bay of Corinth. These waters, as Pausanias informs us, were mortal to all animals: they dissolved vases of glass, and of all kinds of metal. I would gladly have visited the fountain to examine the water, and in the hope that some precious fragments of antiquity might be found there; but I was soon convinced that it was very inadvisable to make the experiment, unless it could have been done with the concurrence of the commandant of Mettaga and the people of the country. Then only could I have taken a favourable opportunity for it; and I was not sufficiently my own master for this to be possible.

From Mettaga to Tripotemi is a journey of six hours. The road lies almost entirely through a woody country; and there are several villages among the neighbouring mountains, inhabited by people who retain the same character for bravery as the ancient Achæans. They are almost always to be seen with arms in their hands. They cultivate abundance of vines and olive-trees, and carry on

some trade with Vostitza, a town at seven leagues distance on the gulf of Lepanto A traveller may easily collect among them a precious harvest of am.eds They. are to be found in every body's hands, and are so little valued by them, that for a few parats even very valuable ones of bronze may be obtained. It is not, however, politic to make a great display of wealth among them, and lay temptations in the way of people so extremely predisposed to robbery. The title of physician, and some knowledge of physic, is the most secure passport a person can have in these parts: the only one, perhaps, to which absolute inviolability is attached.

At a league from Tripotemi the country becomes well cultivated, abounding in vines. Here is a little village, called Kateli, built on a height at the foot of which flow several very abundant springs. I was assured that the sea of Lepanto may be seen from this spot; and an opening in the valley on that side seems to render the thing extremely possible. The valley is watered by a little river. At its northern extremity stands the town of Tripotemi. The name of this town seems derived from three small rivers which flow towards it, and water the bason in which the town stands. This place is inhabited entirely by Greeks, whose noble stature and fine features form a striking contrast with the exterior of the shepherds in the passes of the mountains north of Arcadia. The latter have more of the Arab physiognomy.

From Tripotemi to Pyrgo is a distance of three leagues, always ascending the great mountain Tricara. In this route one wanders alternately encompassed by woods, or among crags, where the horses at almost every step are in danger of falling and being irrecoverably lost down the precipices. There is a khan at Pyrgo, which, however, is by no means a place of security to travellers, unless they are a large party and well armed. The inhabitants of this town cultivate a little cotton, together with some corn: they are besides shepherds, and feed silk-worms. They are for the most part originally of Albania. The people of this latter country all consider the Morea as a land of riches and plenty. From Mount Tricara the eye wanders over an immense horizon, in which are included the summits of several inferior mountains. The Alpheus, however, cannot be seen, nor the plains of Elis; for the valleys which open towards these celebrated spots run in such sinuosities, that nothing is to be seen but the summits of the mountains bordering upon them.

On quitting Pyrgo, we continue descending for an hour, and at every step pictures are spread before the eye at once terrible, beautiful, and sublime. Oaks, which seem almost as ancient as the mountains themselves, vast forests, smiling

vineyards, silent valleys, where the air is perfumed by a multitude of odoriferous flowers and plants, all combine to charm and astonish the traveller. Perceiving a little rivulet, which probably flows into the Aroanius, he thinks that he cannot be far from the Temple of Minerva; the place, its distance from Gardichi or Clitor, are the same indicated by Pausanias. The valley which is next crossed, may be about a league and a half in length, terminated to the north by a mountain, which must be crossed to arrive at Calavrita. At the entrance of the ravine by which the mountain is passed, is a station where a sort of toll is exacted.

Calavrita is a town surrounded by mountains, and contains about three hundred houses, but it does not appear to occupy the place of any town or village mentioned in antiquity. It is governed by a Turkish aga, and defended by a paltry kind of castle built of wood, with a palisade. There is a wretched khan, destined for the reception of travellers, but where I should conceive they would not be in full security unless their numbers are considerable. In time of war a military guard is maintained here by the pasha of the Morea: the possession of this point is essential for securing the command of the defiles over all this part of the province. It also commands another defile, not less important, leading to Trypia, a modern town at the distance of seven leagues, upon the gulf of Lepanto, and to Kanti an intermediate village. The greater part of the inhabitants of Calavrita are Albanians, the remains of those who invaded the Morea in 1770; for these people could never be entirely driven out of the country, although the pasha, who was charged to get rid of them by any means that could be employed, exerted the utmost severity in executing these orders.

The environs of the town are pleasant, notwithstanding the rugged nature of the country. There are many delicious fountains and gardens, planted with orange- and lemon-trees; besides which there are abundance of mulberry-trees cultivated for feeding the silk-worms:—considerable numbers of these insects are bred here. In this place, as well as at Vostitza, large quantities are also made of the hard cheese used for scraping upon macaroni and other Italian pastes; dishes which are held in particular esteem among the great people of the country. It is well known how much the cheeses of Achaia and Sicyonia were sought after in ancient times by the Athenians: they were considered as an essential article in every well-ordered kitchen. It should seem as if they had undergone no change since those times; that they preserve still the same form, and have the same solidity.

This part of Peloponnesus, even in the most glorious and most civilized times

of the republic, always passed for a cold and rural country. It was nevertheless in the midst of these rocks that the most generous and most formidable league which ever existed was formed. It was in Egium, upon the borders of the gulf of Corinth, that a handful of citizens found the means of arresting the progress of the Roman arms, and of bringing the favours of victory to something like a balance. In wandering over this country we seem as if assisting at the councils of these brave men, more worthy of being immortalized than the hero of Homer, that Agamemnon who collected together on the same spot so many of the kings of Greece; we seem as if listening to Lycortas while he disclosed his plans and expatiated on their means of defence; our thoughts follow Philopœmen into Arcadia, nor can we cease to admire his bravery and the resources of his powerful genius: he alone opposed the torrent which seemed likely to swallow up Asia, Africa, and the most favoured countries of Europe; every where Metellus and Flaminius found him present, he baffled their projects, he confounded their calculations, and if he could have numbered as many warriors as his antagonists did cohorts, the fate of Greece would probably have been very different. But he had for enemies those unworthy Lacedæmonians, who breathed nothing but hatred and fanaticism; those men whose bravery arose only from the ferocity of their manners, and who after having fought for the common cause became the oppressors of their country. The Etolians threatened him on their side, yet every where he faced the storm. But it was in vain that he resisted, the chiefs of the people had sworn his destruction, he was obliged to yield to numbers, and a cavern of Messenia swallowed up the greatest of the Greeks. Yet his last moments were worthy of so illustrious a life: "Extended upon his cloak," says Plutarch, "occupied only with his grief for the fate of his country, he saw without concern the executioner advance with a lamp in one hand and the fatal cup in the other. Raising himself up with difficulty and receiving the poison from him, he inquired whether he had not heard any thing of his cavaliers, and above all of Lycortas? The executioner answering that they had almost all escaped, Philopœmen thanked him with an inclination of the head, and looking mildly at him said, 'Thou hast brought me good news, we are not unfortunate in every thing.' He then drank the poison with serenity, and thus deprived the Romans of the unworthy honour they had expected, in dragging him chained to a triumphant car, among the kings whom they had subdued." Let me be pardoned this apostrophe to one of the most illustrious heroes whose names are recorded in history! I now resume my subject.

From Calavrita to Patras is a long day's journey, as well on account of the distance as the nature of the road, over high and rugged mountains. At Nezero, a little modern town which is reached in about four hours from Calavrita, there is a khan for travellers, and three hours further is Trite, the ancient Tritea. This town stands on a small level enamelled with flowers, above which rise the majestic summits of Mount Vodi. Towards the south are forests of oaks, which with a trifling effort of imagination one may suppose to be the descendants of those which formed the sacred wood of the Dioscuri, as this wood was only at the distance of fifty stadia from the town of Pharea. It requires two hours to pass Mount Vodi, including the ascent and descent. This is the highest mountain of Arcadia; but the clouds, in which it is almost always enveloped, leave the traveller very little chance of enjoying the extensive view which might otherwise be seen from its summit. This view however is only over masses of surrounding mountains, which form an horizon not less rugged than that contemplated from the highest Alps. It is therefore not a little amusing to find a modern traveller describing the panorama of the Morea as seen from this point, whence by some powerful efforts of imagination he discerned the plains of Elis and the sources of the Alpheus. For my part, having a less lively imagination, and dreading above all things being led away by the enthusiasm to which I feel at some moments so strong a propensity, I confine myself to giving my pictures such as they actually exist in nature. Though the sea is to be seen from the top of Vodi, and the mountains of Albania beyond it, the town of Patras which is nearly on the sea shore is not to be discovered: but after having wound round the amphitheatre on which it is built, in descending the mountain we arrive suddenly at its gates.

This town, which in very remote antiquity was known under the name of Aroë, flourished formerly among the distinguished towns of Greece. Pausanias gives us a high idea of it by his description of the monuments which he indicates in his immortal work. Among its celebrated edifices were an odeum and several temples; of the latter, that to Diana Africana was the most distinguished. Augustus compelled the inhabitants of several towns in Achaia to come and settle at Aroë, and he changed the name to that which has been handed down to us, in remembrance of its founder, to whom its present name belonged. It was converted to Christianity by the apostle St. Andrew, who here received the crown of martyrdom, and it is now a metropolitan town. After undergoing many revolutions it was besieged in 1533 by Doria, who rescued it from the

infidels; but it afterwards fell again, together with the whole of the Morea, into their hands.

The town of Patras, such as it now exists, stands upon an amphitheatre at a little distance from the sea. It still feels the ravages of the Albanian war, and many modern ruins attest what it must have suffered at that epoch. Scarcely had general Orlow ceased to oppress the people of Albania, than the latter fell upon a province towards which they had always looked with an eye of cupidity. The largest vessels can anchor at Patras, and the anchorage is sheltered both by the mountains of Epirus and of Peloponnesus, so that it is extremely secure: the only winds by which the port can be affected are from the east and west, and these are little to be feared in these latitudes, their force being exceedingly broken by the direction of the bay. A fort in the form of a polygon commands the town; but it is falling into ruins, and the garrison is composed of troops who are half-starved. The public revenues drawn from this place belong to one of the sultanas and the drogman of the Porte. There are few antique ruins, and what there are, are daily more and more destroyed by the Turks; the remains of the amphitheatre and some antique marbles mentioned by Spon, have been almost entirely destroyed by them.

Patras is governed by a bey, subject to the pasha of the Morea; the town contains a great number of Jews, who are the principal commercial agents; almost all business in this way passes through their hands. France names a commercial agent who receives no salary, but all the ships of the country which stop here make him some present; they also pay an anchorage, though it cannot be exacted. The drogmans are all Jews, who eagerly seek after an office which they know very well how to turn to a good account. To judge from one of these good people, by name Solomon, they do no great honour to the languages they pretend to speak; the French, as he called it, which he spoke was a terrible mixture of the Provençal and Barbary languages, pronounced with so strange and discordant an accent, that it was no very easy matter to comprehend what he meant to say.

For some years past the trade of the Morea has increased very considerably, and as the communications with Albania and the Ionian isles are much facilitated, a French house might make advantageous speculations to Patras: it would have a real advantage over the Italians and Barattaires*, by the security it would

* A *Barattaire* is a Greek who enjoys a diploma from some power in alliance with the Ottoman Porte, by virtue of which he enjoys the same privileges and exemptions as the nation from whom he

offer in trading with the Moreans, from the consideration which the French will always enjoy in the Levant trade in times of peace.

The country round Patras is planted with vines and olive-trees; its gardens enjoy a high reputation from the excellence of the fruits which they furnish, above all the oranges, lemons, and citrons; of these a small quantity are exported. The views round Patras are exceedingly circumscribed towards the south, where a lofty mountain rises directly behind the town, and higher still at a distance towers the summit of Vodi: the views to the north are in summer sublime, over the sea and the countries which surround the bay of Corinth; but in winter the mountains of Albania covered with snow, rising one above another, carry the field of optical illusions to a somewhat sad and fatiguing extent. From Patras to Vostitza, a little town of Achaia, a distance of ten leagues, the road lies always near the sea. Pausanias says that there was a shorter way to Egium, which was the ancient name of Vostitza, and I am inclined to believe that he was right. The inhabitants of the country are probably acquainted with it, but as it is not perhaps practicable for horses they prefer that by the sea. The latter has also the recommendation of being much more secure from robbers.

An hour is required to go from Patras to Cape Rhion. On this cape stands the castle of the Morea, and directly opposite to it on Cape Antirrhion, in Epirus, is a similar one; they are so near that the fires from them can cross and prevent any vessel entering the gulf. There are no longer to be seen any vestiges of the temple of Neptune, which stood upon the coast half a league to the east of Patras; perhaps its ruins are buried in the sea, as this element gains much upon this shore; possibly they might be seen when the water happens to be particularly low. Before we arrive at the castle of the Morea, we pass over a place more venerable in my eyes than any rendered celebrated by temples to the ridiculous gods of fabulous antiquity; I mean the cemetery of the Christians who fell in the memorable naval battle of Lepanto. The Mussulmans themselves are eager to point out to strangers the place where such a number of illustrious warriors repose. Methinks even now I see the army of Don John of Austria forcing its way into the gulf to seek the Mussulman fleet, superior as it was to

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receives it. Thus a Barattaire is protected by the commercial agent of the nation which has granted him his *barat* or diploma. The Porte allows a certain number of these brevets to the ambassadors of the different nations, who sell them to the Greeks for their life, but the interest in them extends no further than the life of the individual by whom they are purchased. France can dispose, I believe, of forty.

the combined squadrons of the Christian powers. With what cries must the shores have resounded before the roar of the cannon dealt out death to both parties! Never since the battle of Actium had the seas of Greece seen so many vessels united, or witnessed a battle equally memorable. What an extraordinary scene is presented to the mind thinking of the Mussulman galleys manœuvred by Christian slaves, while the Christian vessels were navigated by Turkish ones, each side serving, in spite of themselves, against their own country! How terrible must have been the moment when the two fleets joined battle, under the combined horrors of all the arms both of ancient and modern times! The arrows, the long javelins, the lances, the grappling irons, the cannon, the musquets, the pikes and the sabres, combined to carry death every where; the galleys grappled together presented a vast field of battle, on which the combatants fought hand to hand, till victory at length declared for the Christians. It was as near as possible to the spot that the conquerors collected the bodies of their own party and gave them the honours of sepulture; and this spot, which is a little to the west of the castle, retains even to the present time the name above alluded to, of the Cemetery of the Christians.

To the south-east is a little village where resides the aga, who commands the castles or Dardanelles of Lepanto: it consists of between thirty and forty houses, and there are some springs of good water in the neighbouring mountain. Half a league further the road crosses a small river, which is very probably the Charadrus, and it begins to be evident that we are travelling along an ancient road; the impression of the chisel in the hard rock is every where visible, and this is a labour of which the Turks can never be suspected of having been guilty. At the bottom of the gulf, the river Selemnus is seen running into it. It was the peculiar property of these waters to procure the unhappy lover who bathed in them complete forgetfulness of the cruelties he had experienced from an unkind mistress. This ceremony, without doubt, could only have taken place in winter, for in summer far the greater part of the river is entirely dry, and its bed is a complete grove of oleanders. The small quantity of water that remains here and there in a few excavations is full of leeches: these, by their suction, might doubtless be well calculated to cool the ardour of any lover who was disposed to furnish them with a dinner.

We afterwards pass Cape Drepanum, or the Cape of the Scythe. This name probably was given it from the adventure of Saturn, who, regretting the use

he had made of his instrument, in employing it to mutilate his father, threw it into the sea. The coast becomes cheerful; and some villages are seen hanging on the sides of the mountains; the latter in many places approach very near the shore. At two leagues from Cape Drepanum is a village of Albanians: among their children are to be seen many who have a great deal of the African in their features and hair. This probably arises from the connections which the Corsairs of Barbary formed upon this coast, in the times when they came to seek an asylum in this gulf, or to prepare their armaments there.

From thence to Vostitza there is only one large village, inhabited by Albanians; but it does not appear to stand, as some have asserted, upon the site of Rhypea. The ruins of this place, as I was assured by some of the inhabitants of the country, are to be found more to the south. Before we arrive at Vostitza, we traverse a high mountain, and then proceed for a league along a fine valley, which extends a long way to the south. This is the way to go from Vostitza to Dimizana, and into Upper Arcadia. There are many villages all under the jurisdiction of the pasha of the province, and governed by sub-bachis or syndics of his appointment. The strata of the mountains incline towards the north, as if the earth had sunk on this side to form the gulf of Corinth. Vostitza, if it be the ancient Egium, has very little remains of its former grandeur. If another Agamemnon were to convene a meeting of kings there, it is very doubtful whether their majesties would find houses sufficient to furnish lodgings for them all;—such are the changes made by Time, who with the most unrelenting hand transforms flourishing and populous cities into insignificant hamlets. Yet Vostitza, when seen from the bason above which the houses rise, has still something in its appearance that inspires a desire to visit it; with pleasure one turns the prow of the bark towards the groves that shade the valley around. The aspect of the country gives reason to hope that the inhabitants are not harsh and cruel like those of the opposite shore of Epirus. An abundant fountain, which is well preserved, but without inscriptions or statues, is the only relic of antiquity that is to be seen: the inhabitants, however, do not seem near so proud of it, as of a magnificent plane-tree near, under the shade of which they have established places for drinking coffee. This old son of earth yields in no respect to the plane of Cos, of which that learned traveller through Greece, Monsieur de Choiseul Gouffier, has given us a drawing in the first part of his picturesque travels.

The port of Vostitza is frequented by a great number of small vessels, which come to take in cargoes of raw silk, cheese, raisins of Corinth*, (of which much greater quantities are cured here than in the town whence they take their name,) undried skins of oxen, which they carry to the neighbouring isles, gum adragant, kermés, brandy, wines, sardines† and poutargue‡. These objects are carried to Patras to be put on board trading vessels and transported to Italy. The principal time for this trade is in the season of the fair of Sinigaglia.

If the Turks, or rather the codja-bachis, their representatives, did not oppress the Greeks of these parts, Vostitza would soon become one of the most opulent towns of the Morea. But by a fatality which seems connected with every thing that relates to a country once fallen into misfortunes, the Greeks have their greatest enemies among themselves. These codja-bachis, mostly Greeks, prostrated at the feet of the Turks, inflict all kinds of vexations on those whom they ought to cherish and console. By their pride and insolence, and by the servility which so eminently characterizes them, they have established a strong line of demarcation between themselves and the rest of the Greeks. A degenerate race, they have all the vices of slaves, and indemnify themselves for the humiliations they receive from the Turks, by exercising the most detestable tyranny over their unfortunate brethren. In the temples they occupy the place nearest to the altar, where they display the pride of the Pharisee, contented with a wretched prerogative purchased, at the expense of the happiness of their brethren.

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* Best known in England by the name of *currants*.—TRANSLATOR.

† A small fish of the sprat or anchovy kind.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ A sort of savoury cakes made of the spawn of some particular kind of fish, and esteemed by many people as an exquisite *gourmandise*.—TRANSLATOR.

CHAPTER VI.

Arcadia.—Route from Tripolitza to Caritena.—Digression concerning Sinano or Megalopolis.—Route from Caritena to Olympia, now Miraka.—Description of the valley of Dimizana.—Topography of Olympia.

I QUIT for a time the smiling borders of the bay of Corinth, yet with the intention of returning when I come to speak of Argos and Sicyonia, to direct my steps to the centre of Arcadia, and towards Elis. If the whole continent of Europe scarcely contains any country which can be compared to Peloponnesus for the beauty of its sites, this peninsula scarcely presents any spot equal to Arcadia, any valleys so beautifully enamelled with flowers, any groves so delicious, any fields so well cultivated. Notwithstanding the inequality of its territory, the height of its mountains, the number of its lakes, pools, and marshes; after the winter season is passed, nothing but the finest weather is experienced; no country ever enjoyed to a greater degree the blessing of a serene sky, of a salutary and benignant air. When the sun of Attica burns up the country round, in Arcadia gentle clouds collect among the mountains, and descend in the most fertilizing rains. A rich soil amply rewards the toils of the cultivator, the vine never fails to yield abundantly its delicious fruit, numerous flocks feed upon the declivities of the mountains, while the courser, though little to be admired for the beauty of his form, quenches his thirst at the rivers which flow from their bases.

Here the empire of oppression terminates, and the abode of peace commences. Submissive and faithful, far from the Turk, whose tributaries they are, the Arcadians enjoy in tranquillity the delights of a pastoral life. Some mountaineers, inhabitants of the unfrequented regions of Mount Pholoë, the passes of which are known only to them, defend with intrepidity the perfect independence in which they live. Possessors of a few villages, they abandon them in cases of emergency, and retire into those caverns where fable feigns that Hercules visited the Centaur Pholoë, or to those levels which are inaccessible to every body but themselves. Certain Christian hermits who live by the labour of their hands, have suspended their cells to some of these aërial rocks, preaching the Gospel in spots the nearest

possible to the celestial abodes. A people, however, known by the name of Laliotes, from the little town of Lala which they inhabit, disgrace this part of Peloponnesus. A collection of wretches, who have escaped from the sword of justice, a hundred times more cruel and more formidable than the Bardouniotes, they carry desolation and terror among the peaceable inhabitants of Elis and Arcadia. It is they who furnish the largest share of business to the delis of the pasha.

A chain of mountains heaped one upon the other, and running from east to west, form the base of five other chains of mountains of the third order, which occupy the space between Sinano and the river Gardichi. Among them are many valleys, through which flow the rivers and rivulets that discharge themselves into the Alpheus. From the same mountains issue numerous springs and fountains, which, by facilitating the irrigation of the fields, would make these spots the abodes of prosperity and abundance, if Providence would grant to Peloponnesus good laws and a good government. I cannot express the sentiment with which I was continually inspired at the sight of a country so fine, yet so little cultivated, or still more when I compared what these celebrated valleys once were with what they now are. Every forest, every cavern, had its gods and its altars: the woods were inhabited by fauns, and every oak had its dryad. Diana wandered among the groves; the nymphs sported among flowers; Pan the god of the shepherds animated every spot with his presence. Happy allegories! with these was maintained the happiness of a people who long, very long, retained the innocence and simple manners of the first ages, even when they were already banished from all other parts of the globe. In the midst of fond remembrances like these, what vows does one not make to heaven, in the eager hope that it may be moved one day to restore Arcadia to its former prosperity! Will these wishes ever be realized? Alas! this is a question only to be resolved by Time; and who can pierce through the impenetrable veil in which he envelops the future?

Let us run over these places, establishing our point of departure from the capital of the Morea. If this method may appear monotonous, it has at least the advantage of clearness. The route from Tripolitza into Arcadia is by the gate of Caritena, which is to the west. At a short distance from the town is a little village, inhabited by Greeks, built upon the rock; and a little further are some fields, both to the north and south, in good cultivation. Two hundred toises further the road crosses the bed of a torrent, which, in combination with another torrent that runs from Mount Roïno, forms an island. It is honoured by being the burial-place of the French soldiers from the garrison of Zante, who died during the time that the

corps was detained at Tripolitza. This was the only spot which fanaticism would allow them for sepulture, as they were equally repelled by the Turks and the Greeks. To the left stands the church of St. Helias, which is now nothing but a ruin. On one of its walls are two eagles carved in marble, in perfect preservation: this fragment of antiquity may be upon the whole about three feet every way. The valley extends a quarter of a league from this spot to the foot of Mount Roïno, over which lies the road to Caritena. It is soon evident that we are upon an ancient road, from the labour which was necessary to cut it through such stony and rugged ways. For two leagues we keep constantly ascending among lofty summits, after which we enter a forest of considerable extent, running from north to south. Here are many villages inhabited by Arcadians, who are much occupied in making many sorts of wooden vases carved and painted. But a modern Alcimedon would not trace upon them Orpheus leading forests, or stopping the course of the sun: the ornaments consist only of trees and birds, executed in a very bad taste. Half a league before the end of the forest is a river which flows towards the south, whose banks are shaded with a number of weeping-willows. In following its course for about a league we come to a convent of Caloyers *, who pretend to inhabit the spot on which stood Megalopolis. The principal authority by which they support their pretensions is, that there are some ruins in the neighbourhood, and that medals are often found hereabouts which bear the name of Megalopolis. But neither the river, which flows near, nor the situation, accord better with what we know concerning that ancient and celebrated town, than the situation of Leondari; and it has been already observed, that this place is put down by several geographers, after Meletius, as the ancient Megalopolis, though we have shown the idea to be erroneous.

The Helisson, as the river was called on which Megalopolis stood, receives the waters of the river that runs by the convent of Caloyers, and passes by Sinano two leagues more to the south, upon the reverse of the mountains which lie between that and Caritena. It is then at Sinano that we must look for Megalopolis, the country of Polybius and of so many other illustrious persons. From this point the roads branched off which went to Laconia, to Messenia, and towards the frontiers of Elis. The remains of them are still to be found in the directions indicated by Pausanias; and, following them as marks leading into remote ages, it will be found that they come from Sparta, from Messenia, from Tegea, and Olympia,

* An order of monks of the Greek church.

meeting all together at Sinano. Thus there seems to remain no doubt upon this point. As long ago as in 1789, Monsieur Barbié du Bocage deprived Leondari of the honour of having replaced Megalopolis; and subsequent observations made this learned geographer afterwards transfer that honour to Sinano. Any remaining difficulties upon the subject are now entirely removed, from its being well established that all the military roads about Peloponnesus terminate at this spot.

But what now remains of this celebrated town? where is the temple of Jupiter the Saviour? what is become of the place where the senate used to assemble? with what profound respect should I hail the statue of Polybius! Alas! neither the portico of the Forum, nor any other of its superb edifices, nor Pan who played upon the flute, nor Apollo who touched the lyre, exist any longer. Yet who knows whether in searching under ground, Naïs seated at a table in the midst of her nymphs, with the young Jupiter in her arms, might not yet be found? what would I not undertake to recover objects so precious! objects once the boast and ornament of that Megalopolis, the name of which is even to this day pronounced among the Greeks with astonishment and admiration. The ruins of a theatre and of the stadium are the sole remains of antiquity now to be discerned at the first glance. Sinano presents only a parcel of miserable huts either of mud or clay, scattered over a very confined space. The house of the aga who governs this wretched bourg is however constructed with a considerable number of bas-reliefs, of marbles with inscriptions, and other fragments of antiquity which would be well worth studying. But as they are scattered about without any order, and placed in all sorts of directions, many of the inscriptions being turned upside-down, ladders would be necessary to get at them so as to decypher them with any effect. In turning up the ground in many of the gardens about the town, medals are often found, and the plough frequently brings to light fragments of bas-reliefs. Doubtless the river Helisson contains buried under its sands many a choice relic, which, as the water is very low in summer, might be recovered without difficulty.

But I return to the borders of the forest, whence I wandered to advert to the Helisson, and to establish the exact situation of Megalopolis: I return, I say, to these sublime trees in order to pursue my route to Caritena. At the extremity of the level entered on quitting this forest is another running still further southwards; the level may be a league over: in the midst of it is a khan built close to some excellent springs. On quitting it we ascend a mountain covered with vines, on which it may well be presumed once stood the villages Zœtea and

Parorea*; they are now replaced by the little town of Langadia. This latter name, which signifies a valley, was no doubt given as appropriate to the situation of the place. It is the chief town of a bishopric, which comprises two other villages within its diocese. A forest of a league in length succeeds, in which are some pieces of paved road; this continues for about a league, when it opens upon a valley half a league over; the slopes at the end of it are again covered with vines. When arrived at their summits we look down upon Caritena, forming an amphitheatre in the south-west.

This is a modern town, standing probably in the situation of the ancient Gorthys. It is built upon a slope, having a high rock to the south, and does not enclose any ancient ruins. Close to it on the south-west runs a river called by the inhabitants the river of Caritena, which was very likely the ancient Gorthynius; this river had its source about Tisoa, and ran into the Alpheus: its bed is deep and stony. It must be crossed to get at the rock I have mentioned; in this rock I was assured by the inhabitants that there was a very deep cavern.

The population of Caritena is estimated at between two and three thousand; they are almost all Greeks, and very affable. They relate to all strangers a story of a traveller who was assassinated, more than thirty years ago, as he went to visit the ruins of the temple of Apollo Epicurius or the Saviour†, which are to the south of Andritsena. They speak of his death as if it was a disaster fresh in their memories, and had happened within a few months, but say that all their endeavours to find out the perpetrators of so horrible a deed were unavailing; they concur however unanimously in ascribing it to the Laliotes. I have thought that this might very possibly be Mons. Bocher the architect, who had travelled once successfully over the Morea, but, returning there a second time, disappeared suddenly and was never heard of more‡.

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* Two villages of Arcadia, the former of which was in ruins even in the time of Pausanias.

† This temple was consecrated to Apollo under the above title by the inhabitants of Phygalis, because he had preserved them from the plague.

‡ The following mention is made of Monsieur Bocher by Chandler: "Mr. Joachim Bocher, architect, a native of Paris, visited us in the Lazaretto at Zante, which island he had adorned with several elegant villas. This gentleman, in November 1765, from Pyrgo crossed the Alpheus, and passing by Agolinizza traversed a wood of pines to Esidero, where is a Turkish khan. An hour beyond, leaving the plain by the sea, he began to ascend the mountains, and passing by some villages arrived at Vervizza at night. This was a long journey. His design was to examine an ancient building near Caritena. He was still remote from that place when he perceived a ruin two hours from Vervizza, which pre-

The environs of Caritena are celebrated for the salubrity of the air; it is said that the plague is a calamity entirely unknown there; certain it is that the principal inhabitants of Tripolitza take refuge on the spot when the plague rages in that town. The valley is well cultivated, and the productions of the land are various; among them is a species of the lentiscus, which if grafted would probably produce a mastic not at all inferior to what is collected in the island of Chios; but the inhabitants are unfortunately little sensible to the natural advantages they enjoy. They are clothed in coarse woollen stuffs, manufactured in the place: trade is carried on among themselves entirely by barter, and they sell to the commercial agents the silk, cotton, and kermés which are intended for exportation.

Two leagues north of Caritena stands Andritsena; but the one town cannot be seen from the other, on account of the woody mountains which occupy the space between them. From the sides of these mountains flow several abundant springs, which water the valley of Andritsena. This valley is pleasingly diversified with a great variety of trees, and a number of scattered sheds where large republics of bees have been domesticated. These skilful and industrious labourers here lay up their delicious stores, and find a safe asylum against the rigours of winter. A league and a half south-west of Andritsena is a little village called Davia, which I am inclined to think was the ancient Phygalis. I rest this opinion upon the thermal springs which are at a little distance from it, upon the magnificent ruins of the temple of Apollo Epicurius, and upon the rivulet which flows near in the same direction as the Limax; as that Limax which would scarcely have been more known than the rivulet in question, had not Rhea, who was delivered of Jupiter upon its banks, washed her infant in its waters.

The sources of the Neda, the modern Samari, are at a short distance only from Davia, and the most considerable sea-port in this quarter is Arcadia. This town enjoys a reputation for opulence which has extended to the very centre of the province. It is inhabited by Greeks and Turks, and is the chief town of a villaiéti or canton, having for its tributaries Gargaliano, Gligoudista, Vrisies, and Philatron. All along the coast from this place to Cape Conello are established at certain distances posts of Albanians, who carry on a correspondence of signals

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vented his going any further. The ruin, called *the Columns*, stands on an eminence sheltered by lofty mountains. The temple it is supposed was that of Apollo Epicurius, near Phygalia, a city of Arcadia." —*Travels in Greece, p.* 295. What is here said by Chandler seems strongly to corroborate the idea suggested by Monsieur Pouqueville, that the murdered stranger spoken of by the people of Caritena was his fellow-countryman Bocher.—TRANSLATOR.

by means of fires lighted on the most elevated spots. As the whole country round is extremely woody, these soldiers, who never lose sight of their own interest, have associated themselves with some of the peasants who carry on a trade in charcoal, and in concert with them they devastate the forests to make charcoal, without the government troubling itself to check an abuse which may be attended with very prejudicial consequences. The more this fine country is examined, the more strongly does every thing combine to impress the mind with the idea that nothing is wanting but a more numerous population, to operate the changes which all real friends to human nature and the general enjoyments of mankind must ardently desire; to realise the ideas of the most perfect happiness that can be enjoyed by man in his passage through this transitory life.

The river of Caritena is passed only a quarter of a league from the town, and soon after the Alpheus appears in view: at the first sight of this celebrated stream, what numbers of sweet and cheerful recollections press upon the mind! It runs through the midst of an immense valley, forming, like the Seine, a thousand sinuosities: it is however extremely inferior to that river. It seems, from the slowness of its current, to move forward with regret from its source, and to wish still to linger amid the valleys of Arcadia.

A little further on is a village among the mountains, and below in the plain a small chapel dedicated to St. George. All the villages hereabout are built upon the slopes of the mountains, equally on account of the frequent inundations of the Alpheus, as from fear of the Laliote plunderers, who not unfrequently make incursions hither from Mount Pholoë: the inhabitants cannot speak of them without horror, on account of the excesses they commit. From this point the eye stretches over a magnificent valley, strown with mulberry- and olive-trees, as far as the gulf of Arcadia, near the spot where the river Neda runs into it. In the valley is a small river, on which formerly stood several mills; but they were all destroyed in the last fatal war. In several places are isolated chapels, to which the papas come on certain days for the purpose of performing divine service if they are required, and above all if they are paid. Castri is left to the right hand among the mountains.

The valley of Dimizana is eight leagues in length, running from south to north. Its chief town, of the same name, long considered as the ancient Psophis, stands about three leagues distant from the point at which the valley is entered, on the spot where the Erymanthus joins the Alpheus. The Erymanthus has its source in the mountain of Pholoë, near a large hamlet called Tertzena. After

forming five considerable cascades, which are to be seen through curtains of oaks and pines, it falls dashing into the valley and runs the whole length of it. Its elevated banks, its gulfs, the clearness of its waters, the enormous trout it produces, conspire to render it one of the most distinguished rivers of the Morea. Tertzena is three leagues north of Dimizana, upon the left bank of the Erymanthus. This hamlet is inhabited entirely by Greeks; the country about it is covered with vines and olive-trees; the wine produced from the former is some of the best in the province, owing, it is said, to the inhabitants twisting the bunches as they hang upon the stock, and then leaving the grapes to die away in the sun.

Dimizana, three leagues more to the south, is built upon the same side of the river, but at the distance of nearly a league from its bank. The town contains about five hundred houses, and before the war with the Russians was one of the most considerable in the province. The Greeks have founded a school within a short time, in which there are more than three hundred scholars. Powder-mills were once established both here and at Zatouna, but they were demolished by order of the Ottoman government. Below Dimizana to the west is the village of Selevitzi, all the inhabitants of which, carriers by profession, derive their principal employment from transporting the productions of the country to Arcadia and other parts of the Morea. Opposite to Dimizana, on the other side of the Erymanthus, is the little town of Zatouna, consisting of about fifty houses. Its inhabitants are rivals in industry to the Dimizanians. Having erected their powder-mills as above mentioned, they had thought also of establishing iron-founderies, when the fatal order arrived which put an end to all their projects. It is thought however that they are not wholly renounced, and it seems not impossible that this little district may be destined one day to play a very distinguished part in the country.

Besides the various productions of the soil in the valley of Dimizana, it contains thermal and mineral springs. These are at Jocova, a village about a league north of Dimizana, and the residence of the bishop of Langadia. The pasha finds no difficulty in collecting the tributes exacted from this canton, but the villages in the mountains around it have found the means of exempting themselves from all contributions. This part of Arcadia, before the disasters of 1770, was the most populous of the province, nor can one forbear shuddering at the recollection, that those of the inhabitants who escaped the sword of the Albanians were sold to the corsairs of Barbary: many of these people repaired to the gulf of Ar-

cadia in order to share in the plunder of the Morea. The families who took refuge in the mountains did not quit their retreats but to retire into the extensive domains that Cara Osman Oglou* possesses in Asia Minor.

When we quit this valley the mountains approach much nearer to the Alpheus. The road is partly at the foot of the mountains, partly through a little wood, and then again through a rich valley till it comes to Ravli, a small Greek town governed by primates of that nation, under the inspection of an aga. A league and a half further, on the bank of a small river called the Roufo, which runs into the Alpheus, is a khan, and somewhat more to the north a village called Iri or Ira, probably the ancient Herea. The river will then be the Ladon, which rises in the mountains of Mettaga, on the converse side of them to that town. From Caritena the sea is no longer visible, on account of a lofty chain of wooded mountains which bound the horizon to the south. Here again traces of an ancient road are to be found, especially at the foot of the mountains where they approach near to the river.

Above Ira the Alpheus is passed at a ferry, which is under the direction of a Turkish insspector; here a slight toll is levied upon passengers. The delis of the pasha, by virtue of their absolute authority, not only refuse to pay the toll, but eat the poor inspector's provisions and ill-treat him as an infidel. Nor do the other Mussulmans of the country fare better with them; scarcely any distinction is made between them and the Greeks, with regard to impositions and exactions. The delis ordinarily ascend the valley by Gardichi, and establish their communications quite to Vostitza by the defiles: with these they are intimately acquainted. They do not however venture themselves in such places except in cases of extremity, as some have been known to perish in them; a circumstance which shows plainly that they are not exempted from being made occasionally the lurking-places of the Laliotes. After passing the river, an hour and half is requisite to arrive at Fraxio, a town upon its bank, probably the ancient Phryxa. This town is composed of about a hundred houses, and is under the government of a Turkish aga. Travellers commonly stop here at a very ordinary khan, to refresh themselves before they cross the Alpheus again at another ferry a league and half further. This ferry is opposite to Miraka, a town on the right bank of the river, standing on the ruins of Olympia.

Of Olympia!—what a name is that to pronounce!—what reflections crowd

* Cara Osman Oglou was a great feudal potentate, a sort of prince in Asia Minor, who was lord of Pergamus and many other places.

upon the mind in only naming it!—It reminds me that I am upon the plains of Elis, formerly so celebrated. It was upon its frontiers that the people deposited their arms, for this territory, consecrated to the deities, to sports, and to the arts, received nothing but friends; and the same frontiers are passed at this moment without knowing where we are. But let me stop, nor attempt to recall the remembrance of those heroic ages;—let me not aspire here to retrace the history of those games of which every writer, whether ancient or modern, by whom they are mentioned, speaks with such enthusiasm. My timid hand could add nothing to the descriptions which we are already possessed of; above all, to those which have been given in our own days by the learned and eloquent author of the Travels of Anacharsis.

Laying aside then the poetic inspirations which it is scarcely possible to avoid feeling at the mention of Olympia, I shall confine myself to tracing its topography, to the end that travellers, attracted by the love of science to a spot which was the theatre of the most celebrated sports that ever took place beneath the sun, may be able to compare the testimonies handed down to us by ancient traditions, with the situation in which it is to be seen at this moment.

The position of Olympia is sufficiently known from the accounts of ancient historians, as well as from the excellent description given of it in the topography of the learned Monsieur Barbié du Bocage. I pass that over therefore, to advert to what has been said upon the subject by one of my companions in misfortune, Monsieur Fauvel, the only traveller I have yet found who has entered methodically into an examination of the site of this town. "In advancing," he has often said to me, "from Pyrgo into the interior of Elis, I found a plain at two leagues distance from the sea, where many sarcophagi had been laid open to the view by the trampling of the horses' feet. After travelling three hours I arrived upon the banks of the Cladeus, a river which, Pausanias says, was held among the Elians the next in honour to the Alpheus. It runs in a bed, or rather in a deep ravine, to join the Alpheus, after having watered a plain to the north, in which are some fine ruins. Perceiving on this river the relics of an ancient bridge, I descended into its bed, I examined the nature of its banks both to the right and to the left, and I remarked every where, at the depth of about six feet from the surface of the ground above, relics of pottery, of bricks, and of antique tiles; I also perceived some fragments of marble. These discoveries, joined to that of the bridge, convinced me that I was among the ruins of some town noted in antiquity. On the other side, directly over against the bridge, I could plainly trace the

remains of a theatre which fronted the south, standing with its back directly against a mountain. All the mountains advanced more or less towards the Alpheus, terminating the plain at three or four hundred toises distance from the bridge of the Cladeus.

" I visited, with the most scrupulous attention, every part of the plain included between the hill, the Alpheus, and the Cladeus. A few trifling remains of walls, very low and overgrown with shrubs, were the first objects which engaged my attention. Some men, sent by the aga of a neighbouring village to seek materials for building, were at this moment turning up the ground. What was my surprise, when on inquiry I found that they called their village Andilalo, or *the Village of the Echo!* I could not then forbear calling to mind, that the Greeks who assisted at the Olympic games were accustomed, as Pausanias relates, to listen to a remarkable echo, which repeated a sound seven times over. This discovery impressed me still more strongly with the idea that I was upon the very ground where once stood Olympia. I perceived among the things turned up, and indeed it seemed as if these men had been sent expressly for my gratification, pieces of trunks of columns, fluted, and more than six feet in diameter. The first layer or range of the cella * was still to be traced, and was five feet in height. Pausanias says that the temple of Jupiter was of the Doric order, surrounded with a peristyle sixty-eight feet high; that it was not built of marble, but of an eschinite stone, called *poros*, which was composed of marine shells, and the columns I have mentioned were in effect made of this very sort of stone. Nay, what is still more singular, the Greeks even to this day call this stone by the name of *poros*. I was unfortunately destitute myself of any means of continuing the search begun by these people, and I very soon perceived that my curiosity was not altogether pleasing to them. I however measured the cella, and assigned the proper names to the objects around me. I was well assured, that the most conspicuous mountain must be Chronium, and that the river I had crossed, which runs into the Alpheus, could be no other than the Cladeus. I sought for the stadium, the hippodrome,

* The *cella*, or *cell*, in the ancient temples, was the part in which stood the altar and statue of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. In addition to what is cited by Monsieur Fauvel, from Pausanias, it may be observed, that Chandler says, in speaking of Olympia, which he visited in 1765: " The temple of Jupiter was of the Doric order, sixty-eight feet high to the pediment, ninety-five wide, and two hundred and thirty long, the cell encompassed with columns."—And again; " Within the cell, as in the Parthenon at Athens, were double colonnades, between which was the approach to the image." *Travels in Greece*, page 290.—Translator.

the barrier, when I found to the east of the temple some vestiges of an edifice, the form of which was an octagon, built upon a massive, projecting forwards and forming an obtuse angle, to a ground-plot, which from its regular form, from the slope of its borders, and from its being rounded towards the east, I immediately recognised to be the hippodrome. I found its depth to be fifteen feet; and when I descended into it, I perceived that this angular wall had apartments on a level with the ground, nine feet deep and six wide, which I suppose to be the places where the cars were kept. Transported with my discovery, I hastened to measure the hippodrome, and found it to be two hundred toises* in length, which is double the stadium of Athens.

"Another enclosure, upon the same level, and separated from the first only by a trifling eminence, must undoubtedly have been the stadium. It extends quite to the borders of the Alpheus, the waters of which undermine it by degrees, and overflow it in the time of inundations. It is not rounded at its western extremity, and forms a semi-hexagon. In the part worn away by the river are several sarcophagi half open, and ready to crumble away into the water. Casques of bronze are sometimes found here: I have in my possession one which I purchased, and which was exactly the form of that upon the statue of Phocion."

Such are the details given by Monsieur Fauvel: they seem very decisive, and fully to controvert the assertions of those *savans*, who maintain that not the least remains of Olympia are to be found. Without endeavouring to penetrate into the motives which could induce any one to make such assertions upon the very insufficient grounds they must have for them, I will only add to the excellent observations made by my fellow-countryman above quoted, that the whole territory of Olympia is still covered with ruins. I am inclined, however, to think that he is mistaken, when he places the stadium upon the borders of the Alpheus. I should rather presume it to have been nearer the Mount of Saturn, between two slopes which we find in this quarter, where regular steps are still to be seen. The village of the Echo, or Andilalo, being situated very near this spot, will support my hypothesis. In this case the way of the pumps, now encumbered from alluvions, would have crossed the Mount of Saturn, or at least turned it; which appears a very reasonable presumption.

The wood of Altis, consecrated to the chaste Diana, was not then, as at this moment, enveloped in a deep and melancholy gloom: the way of silence, by which it

* A toise, French measure, is equal to about six feet and a half English.—TRANSLATOR.

was entered on the side of Olympia, is no longer passable, being overgrown with thick bushes. The Alpheus, which then fertilized and enlivened it with the exhalations from its waters, now only peoples it with troublesome and noxious reptiles, while the mountains of Pholoë and Erymanthus supply it with wolves, who come there to lurk for their prey. It is well known, that this wood was honoured by its borders being the chosen asylum of the immortal Xenophon, when he was banished from his own country after the ever-memorable retreat of the *ten thousand*. No less zealous as a religionist than illustrious as a military commander, he raised here with his victorious hands a temple to Diana, and built a small house for himself. It was under this humble roof that he wrote those works which have been handed down to us, and which will serve for ever as a model to historians, and a lesson to all who engage in the military career.

Yet Altis *, though deserted, desolate, an object of indifference to those who dwell in its neighbourhood, is still not unworthy the traveller's attention. If he can no longer find there the temples of Jupiter, of Juno, and of Vesta, the spot is not wanting in other objects of curiosity. To obtain these he had better avail himself of the autumnal season, when the trees are deprived of their leaves, and the soil is moistened by the rains; he will then find at every step he takes ancient bucklers, fragments of bas-reliefs, trophies of bronze, which a very little labour will rake up from the ground in which they have been buried by the inundations. We know not what barbarian hands or what revolutions overthrew Olympia; we cannot decide the degree of mutilation then practised upon the many wonderful objects of art which it contained; but, from an attentive examination of the spot, I can affirm without hesitation, that whatever remains of this first spoliation is still preserved. The perpetual overflowings of the Alpheus, which are extended sometimes to a great distance from its banks, have deposited vast quantities of sand and earth over the greater part of Olympia and the wood of Altis. The leaves themselves, and other spoils of vegetable substances, have equally contributed to-

* Chandler, in his description of Olympia, says "The Altis, or sacred grove, was surrounded with a wall. Within was the temple of Jupiter, and also a temple to Juno, sixty-three feet long, with columns round it of the Doric order; also a metroum, or temple, to the mother of the gods; a large Doric edifice, with holy treasures, as at Delphi. These and the porticoes, a gymnasium, prytanéum, and many more buildings, chiefly in the enclosure, with the houses of the priests and other inhabitants, made Olympia no inconsiderable place. The stadium was in the grove of wild olive-trees before the great temple; and near it was the hippodrome, or course for the races of horses and chariots." *Travels in Greece*, p. 289.—Translator.

wards raising the soil; to which may be added the earth carried by the torrents down the sides of the mountains in times of heavy rain. And yet, notwithstanding such a combination of causes, the ground does not seem raised in general more than five or six feet. The village of Miraka, which stands at a trifling distance, is inhabited entirely by Greeks, and commanded by a Turkish aga. It would be no difficult matter to engage these honest people to search for relics, and they would probably undertake it at a trifling expense; nor can there be any doubt that many valuable objects might be recovered.

But here let me pause:—though one scarcely knows how to break off when speaking of Olympia, and retracing all the cherished recollections attached to the spot. The gods from the summit of Olympus had their attention particularly fixed upon this part of Greece. Hercules gave the name of Pholoë to yonder lofty mountain which separates Elis from Arcadia, as a memorial of his friend the Centaur Pholoë *. Nor had the Alpheus a less illustrious origin. The ancients, not content that it should be lost in the sea at Cape Filama, where rose the temple of Diana the Alphean, would have it rise again in Sicily to unite its waters with those of the fountain of Arethusa. Thus every thing was miraculous among a people endowed with such warm and lively imaginations; and the same would be the case again under the influence of a milder and more equitable government.

* It is related in the fabulous legends of antiquity, that Hercules having come to lodge in the cavern inhabited by Pholoë, as the latter presented him with some delicious wine to drink, several Centaurs, attracted by the grateful odour, came and seated themselves at the banquet. Pholoë was displeased with his guests, and to please him Hercules drove them away, when many fell by his arrows. His host, in admiration at his bravery, and at the formidable nature of his weapons, took up the latter to examine them, when wounding himself accidentally with one of them, he fell dead upon the spot.

CHAPTER VII.

Description of Castel Tornése.—Itinerary of the French garrison of Zante from Castel Tornése to Tripolitza.—The route pursued by them on quitting that town, through Argos, Corinth, and over Mount Geranien to Thebes.—Their arrival and imprisonment at Constantinople.

Before I proceed further in my description of such parts of the Morea as fell under my own observation, I cannot forbear giving a sketch of the disasters experienced by my fellow-countrymen who composed the garrison of Zante, when that island surrendered, in the year 1798, to the combined Russian and Turkish army. It is not merely with a view of lamenting over their sufferings that I engage in this task; it is rather for the purpose of exposing the baseness and perfidy of the chiefs, in treating so infamously men whose bravery, and the lustre of whose military exploits, ought to have insured them respect from all nations and under all circumstances.

It is well known that, according to the articles of capitulation, the French garrison of Zante was to be transported to some part of Italy occupied by the troops of the republic. But the Russian commander, instead of showing himself, as might reasonably be expected, the protector of Christians, the children of a civilized country, against the Turks, and executing with fidelity the terms of the capitulation, scrupled not to act in direct violation of that honour which ought to be particularly sacred in the military character, and, in order to gratify the savage delight he took in oppressing the unfortunate, landed his prisoners at Castel Tornése, in the Morea, ordering that they should be marched thence over land to Constantinople, there to be shut up in a bagnio.

In a bagnio! what indignation does not this word excite! and it was the general belonging to a warlike nation, to a powerful monarch, who permitted himself to be guilty of this atrocity! Had a company of Algerines conducted themselves in this manner, there would have been no cause of astonishment; but, I repeat it, that the chiefs of an European army, who ought above all things to respect valour, could consent to send men covered with honourable wounds to perish with misery in the receptacle of the vilest criminals, seems an act of

treachery not belonging to the civilized age in which we live, and is enough to blast with infamy for their whole lives those who were capable of committing it.

Expression is poor to represent the rage and despair of these victims when they found themselves forced on shore upon the Turkish territory! How many times did they demand those arms to be restored, of which a perfidious compact had basely deprived them! what bitter regrets did they not utter that they had not rather buried themselves under the ruins of the town of Zante! At length they formed a resolution worthy of French soldiers, and resolved to force themselves a passage through Turkey into Germany. But in order to execute a project so daring, and so worthy of the conquerors of Italy, arms were necessary, and unfortunately they had no means of procuring them. Nothing then remained but to resign themselves to their fate, and to prepare to receive at Constantinople chains no less galling than humiliating.

Castel Tornése, where they were landed, and which is still called by the Turks Clemoutzi, is an insignificant kind of town, enclosed within high and ruined walls, and incapable of resisting the fire of artillery. The Turks maintain a garrison there constantly, which consists entirely of cannoneers and Albanian soldiers: particular attention is paid to keeping up the garrison, on account of the vicinity of this coast to the island of Zante. In time of war a corps of observation is kept there, who sleep in tents. Near the town is a village where the aga has a house, for it must be observed that the Turkish commanders of fortresses very seldom reside in them. They prefer, and this is a very prevailing taste in the whole nation, the banks of a river or rivulet, some spot whence there is a view of the sea or of delicious meadows, to being shut up in an inclosure surrounded with high walls. From the cape of Chelonita, on which Castel Tornése stands, the islands of Zante and Cephalonia may be seen; the former is called by the navigators of these seas, the *flower* of the Levant. The environs of Castel Tornése are cheerful and pleasant, although mountainous; its castle, which stands on a very considerable eminence, has been so often laid in ruins and rebuilt, that it has now scarcely any resemblance to the plan given of it by father Coronelli. It is still mounted with about fifty pieces of cannon, most of them without carriages. The village where the aga resides is south of the town at a little distance from the sea, upon a creek which it forms among the mountains. To the west there is a little hamlet inhabited by Greeks, which before the plunder of the Morea, in the Albanian war, was a considerable village; it only now begins to rise from its ruins. The waves break with great force against two

rocks which are seen about half a league out at sea; in calm weather the fishermen make use of these rocks as places for drying their fish. West of the town is a little river which flows into the sea; its banks are planted with trees, among which are several pleasant country-houses. The inhabitants of this district are tall, well-made, and have in general the Asiatic profile.

Scarcely was a moment's breathing time allowed to the French garrison after they were landed at Castel Tornése before they were marched off to Gastouni, a town situated on the left bank of the river Igliako. Here they arrived in four hours. The population of this town is estimated at about three thousand souls, and the country about it is pleasant. It is governed by a bey, with whose son I became well acquainted from seeing him with the pasha of the Morea; and if we may judge of the father by the son, the people under his government cannot fail to be happy. The country about Gastouni, and even to Chiarenza*, is well cultivated, furnishing abundance of wheat, maize, and other kinds of corn. The inhabitants make a considerable quantity of cheese from the milk of their ewes, and feed a large quantity of silk-worms; the silk produced by them is considered as of a very superior quality to that of the district of Calamatte. The cotton plant thrives extremely well here, and amply repays the expense of its culture; but in a future place I shall speak more in detail concerning the productions of the Morea; at present I shall only add that this sangiak is considered as one of the richest and most agreeable in the province. Far from the residence of the pasha, it duly pays the regular taxes, without being subject to undue exactions. Living in a state of greater freedom, the inhabitants have something more open in their features, not looking so depressed, or having such an appearance of premature old age. The valleys resound with the bleating of the flocks, and the milk they yield, partaking the aromatic nature of the herbs on which the animals feed, is a truly delicious beverage. The slopes are covered with vines, and wherever the eye is cast it is presented with the picture of abundance. Delightful country! fields blessed by nature! nothing is wanting to make you completely happy, but to enjoy a more auspicious government. I know not what may be said concerning the antiquity of Gastouni, but I know that it is one of the richest towns in Peloponnesus for its size and population. Three leagues to the east of it are the ruins of the town of Elis.

On the morrow of their arrival at Gastouni the prisoners, after passing through

* The ancient Cyllene, the country of Mercury.

a country intersected with meadows and covered with vines, with olive-, mulberry-, and orange-trees, arrived at Savalia, after a march of five hours; but such was the misery of the inhabitants, that no other food was to be procured in the place except some boiled wheat and a few ripe olives. They proceeded the same day to Mezalonghi, a march of four hours. This town, if such an appellation may be given to a collection of about two hundred houses scattered upon the slope of a hill, is inhabited by some Turks. The country around is well cultivated, and there are several villages grouped upon an amphitheatre of hills; some of these hills are woody, others are planted with vines. The town stands nearly a league and a half from the sea, and there is in the neighbourhood a convent of caloyers. Mezalonghi carries on a tolerable trade in salted fish and woollen caps, which are sold in the interior of the country, and its horses are in high repute for their great strength.

In passing onwards, along the route now involuntarily pursued by the French garrison, a large village appears on the left soon after quitting the town, and after two hours marching the little river Lala is passed by a ford. This river is by some travellers called Lada; but it must be observed with regard to the variation in the names given to many rivers and mountains by different writers, that the peasants are so wretchedly ignorant, and know so little even of their own country, that it is scarcely possible to obtain any information from them which can at all be depended upon. From the banks of the river Lala to Pyrgo is a march of four hours. The country is at first a flat, but becomes uneven in advancing towards the river Roufia, or Alpheus. The mountains are covered with pines, and after marching some way over them, the rest of the road to Pyrgo lies along a beautiful valley. The French had scarcely entered this latter town, when they found themselves reduced to the lowest degree of humiliation; they were tied together two and two, and left thus to pass the night in a court.

Pyrgo, built upon the right bank of the Roufia, nearly opposite to the ancient Epithalium, is a considerable town containing above two thousand inhabitants, Jews, Turks, and Greeks. At the epoch of which I speak a garrison was maintained there, because it was a time of war. Its neighbourhood to the sea, for it stands not more than a league distant from it, determined the Turks to throw up some intrenchments there; but these will probably some day be carried away by the Alpheus. Situated at the confluence of a little river, which coming from the north here joins its waters with the Alpheus, it is surrounded with marshes

formed by the inundations of the rivers, the exhalations from which in summer often occasion epidemic diseases.

Pyrgo stands a league and a half from the mouth of the river; a delta which the river forms prevents its being navigable to the town. In this space there are some villages of fishermen, and a monastery built upon the ruins of the temple of Diana the Alphean; the monks of this monastery farm several of the neighbouring fisheries from the aga of Pyrgo. The delta of the Alpheus produces nothing but reeds, some fuci towards the sea, and an infinite number of oleanders. Every part of the river abounds with fish. Olympia, or rather the plain on which it stood, which is at the distance of six leagues, is not to be seen from hence, but from an eminence to the south the sea is discernible very plainly; the flags of the different vessels by which it is navigated may even be distinguished clearly the one from the other. Mount Pholoë, some of the highest parts of which are covered with snow, forms a striking contrast with the fine verdure of the valleys seen below it.

All this part of Belvedere, and that along which I am about to follow my unfortunate fellow-countrymen, might be rendered some of the most flourishing districts of the Morea. But what was beauty of country to men in such a situation! Tied together like criminals, they were compelled to march across the ford of the Alpheus with the water nearly up to their shoulders, on which occasion many of them narrowly escaped being drowned: thence their route was directed towards Andritsena, a town about ten leagues distance. Worn down with fatigue, overwhelmed with chagrin and vexation, they dragged their heavy steps with pain along the delicious valley of Agolinizza, indifferent to every thing they saw around them. Through rich landscapes and fields of cotton, whence numerous flocks were to be seen feeding on the surrounding hills, through plains flourishing with corn and maize they arrived at a little village called Griveni, where they were allowed to make a short halt, and then driven forwards to Andritsena two leagues further. Griveni is a beautiful little village situated in a mountain which is covered over with fruit-trees, and is inhabited by Greeks of a form and stature scarcely degraded from those noble ones by which the ancient inhabitants of the whole country were distinguished.

Andritsena is a little town of Arcadia, or of the canton now called Faneri. It does not boast of any ruins or other monuments of illustrious antiquity, but it boasts a characteristic feature still more worthy of distinction, in the extreme

mildness and goodness which reign among its inhabitants. Greeks by their origin, descendants of those Arcadian shepherds who passed their lives amid tranquil groves and flowery meads, they breathe nothing but the pure spirit of peace, and aspire only at passing their lives in rural happiness. If a stranger be to them an object of curiosity, he is no less an object of respect. If they are eager to present themselves before him, it is to offer him the fruits of their fields, for which they can scarcely be prevailed on to receive any payment, so much do they consider it as a duty to practise hospitality towards all who stand in need of it. It was with pain that they found themselves not permitted to show our soldiers all the kindness they wished; it was indeed no common sympathy they felt for their sufferings, as they had themselves, at the time when the whole Morea was a scene of mourning, seen their own fathers, their own friends, in like manner dragged away, ignominiously yoked together, by the merciless Albanians, to be sold to the pirates of Barbary. After stopping for the night at Andritsena, the next day the garrison proceeded to Tripolitza, passing through Sinano and Leondari.

Mustapha was at this time still pasha of the Morea. At sight of the French prisoners tied together, he could not restrain his indignation, and condemned in the severest manner all concerned in the breach of faith by which soldiers who had capitulated were thus treated. An extraordinary circumstance attending the whole procedure was, that notwithstanding the humiliation to which the corps was in this point of view subjected, the officers had been permitted to retain their swords, and the musical band their instruments, which gave them still the appearance of a military body. Mustapha's first care was to see that they were all treated with proper respect. They were distributed about his palace: the women had a separate lodging assigned them, and separate apartments were allotted to the officers; the soldiers were lodged in a clean and wholesome gallery. They were furnished regularly with provisions, and had besides a small allowance in money. Carrying his kindness still further, Mustapha insisted upon detaining them awhile, that they might recover their fatigues before they were to proceed on their route; he permitted half the soldiers to go out every day under the conduct of their officers, that they might see the town and neighbourhood. Obliged at length to send them to Constantinople, he ordered several vessels to be fitted out at Nauplia di Romania for transporting the women, the children, and the sick; in the former part of the march all had been driven indiscriminately together, without regard to age, sex, or infirmity. Finally, as the winter already began to be felt in the mountains of Thessaly, Macedonia,

and Thrace; Mustapha foreseeing what sufferings these unfortunate men must necessarily be about to encounter, to allay them as much as possible, gave each of them before their departure a pair of strong good shoes. It is scarcely necessary to add that he was deeply affected when he saw them depart.

They quitted the town by the road to Mantinea, but passed to the right of these ruins about half a league distant from them. After marching for a league and a half they came to a post of Albanians, which bears the name of Kaki-scala from an ancient way cut in steps up Mount Artemisius. Pausanias mentions it as a path of some antiquity even in his time, and the modern Greeks have given it the name of Kaki-scala, *bad staircase*, from the dilapidated state in which it now appears. This is the direct route to Argos. An ancient road proceeds onwards over Artemisius; this mountain is covered with tall and magnificent trees, among which some ruins are thinly scattered. At four leagues distance from Argos is a large village, and soon after the road descends a mountain into the plain where stands the ancient capital of Argolis.

Notwithstanding that the whole corps were extremely fatigued with a march of ten leagues over rugged mountains, they were compelled to proceed the next day to Corinth. Near the Inachus the women, the children, and the sick were separated from the rest to take the route of Nauplia, and embark on board the vessels prepared for them. The troops after marching two hours came to a village called Carvathia, inhabited by Greeks who occupy themselves with agriculture, with feeding silk-worms, and with hewing out into planks the timber which they cut down in the neighbouring forests of Nemea. At a league and a half from Carvathia is a dervin or defile, which is the entrance to the passes among the mountains. At the end of an hour and half, the prisoners were allowed to halt at a village called Klegna, probably the ancient Cleones mentioned by Pausanias. In approaching Corinth the way becomes more fatiguing, from the height of the mountains and the unevenness of the ground. Such is the nature of the road for the last four leagues between Tripolitza and Corinth. It was at the latter place that the French rested for the second night after quitting the former.

The traveller must no longer seek at Corinth the traces of those sumptuous edifices, which were the pride and ornament of a town so renowned in antiquity as the sanctuary of all that was great and noble in the fine arts. Corinth, that town in which wealth, luxury, and pleasure maintained a rivalship with each other; that Corinth, the renown of which filled the universe while it was in its

glory, and the name of which can never die, is now but a confused heap of wretched houses, a town fallen into decrepitude, the inhabitants of which, smarting under the double scourge of misery and disease, have rather the appearance of phantoms started from the tombs, than of the descendants of one of the most polished people in the most polished country that has yet existed.

It would even be difficult to suppose that this could actually be Corinth, if we did not know that we were in the Isthmus; and if the noise of the two seas which strike against Mount Geranien did not rouse the traveller from the sad reflections which involuntarily seize upon him.—Alas! what a change! what a subject for sad reflections!—And yet the picture which Corinth presents, is but a melancholy repetition of the same that is presented by so many other towns once flourishing and powerful, and of which scarcely any thing but the name remains.

The collection of houses which now bears the name of Corinth among the writers of my own and some other countries, which is called by the Greeks Cortho, by the Venetians Corinti, and by the Turks Germen, stands at the foot of Mount Geranien, nearer to the sea of Crissa than to the gulf of Salamine. It is commanded by the fortress of Acrocorinth, into which no Christians are admitted. But this citadel is at too great a height for its guns to afford any protection to the town: it seems as if it had been constructed only as an asylum for the eagles which hover about it. Plutarch says that Corinth was called the ornament of Greeee: it was perhaps for this reason that Rome, who could not bear a rival, gave orders to Mummius the consul, in the year 3818, to destroy it entirely, to level its pride with the dust, and sell into slavery its women and its children. Augustus however, who, when he had no longer any enemies to exterminate, sought to signalize his reign by acts of magnanimity, rebuilt and repeopled this celebrated town, and for three centuries it remained in a tolerably flourishing state, though very far below its former splendour. It was then taken by Amurath the Second; the hand of desolation was stretched over it anew, and its remains are now the abode of a scanty and sickly population. If there are still some houses inhabited by opulent merchants, it only shows the dominion which the thirst of gain can obtain over the mind, when the hope of amassing wealth could induce them to fix in so insalubrious a spot.

Eleven Doric columns, which David Leroi has introduced to the knowledge of the learned world, are the only antique ruins now to be found in Corinth. Thermal springs still exist at the foot of Mount Geranien, which are perhaps the

very same that supplied the baths of Helena; and the traveller may visit the place where was the stadium, the theatre of games celebrated in honour of Melicerta. But what vestiges remain to point out to him the sites of so many celebrated monuments and porticoes?—Perhaps under the scattered bushes might still be discerned the foundations of those palaces of voluptuousness, whither the courtisans were wont to attract a youth eager for pleasure, and not soon satiated with enjoyment.

If from the town we ascend to Acrocorinth, on every side among the precipices are to be seen fragments of columns, pieces of broken pedestals, even entire columns of the finest marble. The citadel is reported still to contain many precious relics of antiquity, such as the fountain of Pyrene, formed entirely of white marble, and a great number of bas-reliefs and inscriptions. It was there that Bellerophon, according to the fabulous legends of the times, seized upon Pegasus. But, as we have before observed, no Christian is permitted to enter the fortress, consequently I cannot state these things from my own knowledge, I know them only from report.

What a magnificent view is presented from this sublime point, over a country where every spot is connected with some interesting association! All Greece lies spread before the eye. Achaia and Sicyonia, Argos and its mountains, Parthenius, Taygetes, Nauplia and its Palamide, the magnificent gulf of Argos and the coasts of Laconia: these are all to be distinguished in the distant scene, while directly below lie the sea of Lepanto, and the waves of the bay of Enghia, Megara, Salamine, and Eleusis. The spectator sees the port of Piræus, and can by an effort of imagination fancy he discovers the vessels moving in and out, as in the brilliant days of Athens: Epidaurus, Ægina, Calaurium are before him, as well as the land of Hermionides, which is confounded with the azure of the sea. His eye wanders over Cythera; it contemplates the double summit of that celebrated mountain;—his soul is lost amid the variety and splendour of the objects within its reach.

The isthmus which separates the gulf of Lepanto from that of Enghia has received from the modern Greeks the name of Hexamilli, because of its breadth, which is six miles: the road through it lies over Mount Geranien. Travellers commonly lodge at a khan near the citadel. The aga who at this time governed the town was wealthy and powerful, and received all Europeans with much courtesy and distinction. The French garrison, after stopping a night at Corinth, proceeded the next day to Megara, another journey of ten leagues.

I have endeavoured to speak with due gratitude of the generous behaviour of Mustapha-pasha towards my unfortunate fellow-countrymen: I must speak in very different terms of the treatment they received from the moment they quitted the pashalik of the Morea; and this extends no further than the confines of Attica. A single fact will suffice to give an idea of the manner in which their escort behaved towards them. Whenever any one of them, from his strength being entirely exhausted, was unable to proceed, his head was immediately struck off with a sabre, and the body was left with the utmost indifference in the road. Some of the officers, indignant at such barbarity, could not refrain from remonstrating against it, but received only for answer a similar fate. As the prisoners, however, had been much recruited by the kindness they had experienced at Tripolitza, this was a fate to which not many became subject.

The second day after their departure from Corinth, they arrived at Thebes, now Thiva, eight leagues from Megara. There is a Greek bishop at Thebes, some mosques, and a few ruins, but none that are interesting. It would be wearying, however, to my readers, were I to attempt to follow them over the long tract which they traversed before they reached Constantinople. I will only add, that after enduring hardships almost incredible, when at length they arrived at the Turkish capital, the officers were deprived of their swords, and the whole body indiscriminately thrown into a bagnio. There such of these victims as survived their misfortunes, remained for three years loaded with chains, and enduring all kinds of hardships. But I reserve for another place some further details respecting the courage and constancy with which they supported their sufferings, and the treachery and baseness shown by their oppressors. For the present I resume my sketch of Peloponnesus as to its actual situation, whether geographical, physical, commercial, or moral.

CHAPTER VIII.

Laconia.—Route from Tripolitza to Lacedæmon.—Ruins of Sparta.—Description of Mistra and its environs.—Character of its inhabitants.—Course of the Vasilipotamos.—Gulf of Kolokythia, or Laconia.

From all parts of Europe travellers resort to Athens, to visit the monuments still remaining of its ancient grandeur. This place seems to have exhausted all the curiosity and attention of foreigners; to have effaced, in some measure, from their minds the recollection of all other parts of Greece. Yet how many objects worthy of attention are there to be found in other parts! how many interesting spots well deserving the examination of the curious! As some excuse, however, for this neglect, it may be observed, that the difficulties of travelling in the Morea constantly increase as the distance from the isthmus, or from the ports of Modon or Coron, increases. I may add, that in order to enjoy a facility not only of seeing the objects with their own eyes, but of conferring at leisure with the people of the country, a person must be placed in the peculiar circumstances, or something similar to them, which attended my stay there: a prisoner to the pasha, yet by his favour enjoying full liberty to go from place to place, and as a physician possessing a degree of deference and confidence which scarcely any other character would have procured me. Thus, though in a painful situation, yet in one which gave me opportunities for examining and meditating coolly upon things, I have been able to compare at my leisure the information I received with what I myself observed, so as to give accurate notions upon subjects which few have hitherto sought to elucidate.

A traveller can scarcely set his foot in the Morea without his imagination irresistibly at the same instant carrying him back to ages long past, and fixing itself upon Laconia. Such were the impressions my mind received when, on my route from Navarin to Tripolitza, I saw for the first time the snowy summits of Taygetes. A secret emotion seized my whole frame; tears involuntarily started into my eyes: I could almost have rejoiced at the disaster which threw me into the country. What were then my sensations on quitting the valley of Tegea to enter Laconia! Here history, mythology, all that can astonish or interest the mind

is united; and I was forced to pause, and collect together my wandering ideas, before I could proceed along a country so celebrated as that where once stood Sparta.

In running over the pages of history, we find that the country best known to us under the name of Zaconia, or Laconia, but called by the Turks the sangiak of Mistra, in the very remote times of fabulous antiquity was called Lelegia from Lelex, a person of the country who gave laws there. His son Eurotas succeeded him in the government, and gave his own name to the river, the course of which he directed. Virgil and some other poets have sung of Laconia under the name of Œbalia. Strabo insists that it was called Argos.

Sparta, the capital of this country, flourished under the government established there by Lycurgus: a government respecting which there is a great diversity of opinions among all writers, ancient as well as modern. We see the Spartans, always jealous and ambitious, render themselves masters of Laconia by violence, and reduce its natural inhabitants to the most abject slavery. To maintain themselves in such a state, we see these victors adopt in common life the manners of a camp, eat together in community, and never lay aside their arms. We see them educating their children in habits of fraud and ferocity, inspiring them with a taste for theft, for rapine, and plunder. Perpetual aggressors, we see them trample under foot the faith of treaties, and all respect for the gods. We see them murder, pillage, carry fire and sword into those countries which had the misfortune to be their neighbours. We see them first attack the inhabitants of the peaceable valley of Tegea; then desolate Achaia, ravage Argolis, and subdue the Messenians. These wars were however only regarded by them as preliminary to the subjugation of all Greece; a task which they were bent upon accomplishing.

They never considered their victories as complete but when torrents of blood had been made to flow. The inhabitants of the islands were hunted down by them, and massacred without pity; nor were the Athenians treated with less rigour. Athens itself, the emporium of the arts, would have been utterly destroyed, if some verses from the Electra of Sophocles had not disarmed the Spartan general Lysander. We see Xenophon, when the command of the Grecian army was proposed to him, refuse that honour, because he said he could not accept it while there was a Lacedæmonian among the troops. Such a sentence, from so great a captain, speaks sufficiently for the character borne by these people. The blood of the islanders, indeed, so profusely shed by them, was in some measure revenged by the Cretans. Cheats and assassins in those days, as they are at this

moment, they punished the wrongs of Greece by the total extirpation of the Doric Spartans. Yet, as if this country was never to be inhabited but by a cruel and barbarous race, their place was supplied by a set of wretches from all parts of the world, who had escaped the sword of justice. They disappeared in their turn, and no remains of them now exist: nothing at least retraces any faint idea of them unless it be the Cacovouniotes, or plunderers of the mountains, who inhabit the extremity of Cape Tenarus. To these might perhaps be added the people of Vordonia, a strange assemblage, of whom I shall have occasion to say more hereafter. Sparta was indeed made to expiate, by a too-long series of misfortunes, the wrongs of which she had been guilty; and crushed by the Theban power, the barbarous courage of her sons expired morally under the yoke of the tyrant Nabis.

Yet notwithstanding what has been said, it must be owned that much virtue existed in Sparta, and the true epoch of glory to this country was the time when Greece was invaded by the barbarians. It is in vain that by supposititious allegations De Pauw, the enemy of the Greeks, would tarnish the glory of Leonidas *. This hero was not, as he pretends, concealed behind a lofty wall; and the funeral ceremonies performed for him previous to his departure from Lacedæmon, will for ever attest that he was well aware of the fate he must expect. But admiration of Leonidas can never extinguish the sentiments of aversion with which the manners of the Spartans must inspire all civilized nations, all who cultivate the social virtues.

Laconia was first a prefecture, then a principality under the Lower Empire, and afterwards became a *despotat* † under those absurd princes who came to fix their court at Mistra. In these revolutions an infinite number of persons must have fixed their residence there, who would of course change the manners of the inhabitants very materially. Yet a strong impression of the original Spartan character is still to be found among the independent race who inhabit Taygetes. Mistra, which replaced Sparta as the principal town of Laconia, after ages of troubles and anarchy, yielded at last to the powerful genius of the great conqueror of Byzantium, and received him into its walls in 1460, three thousand two hundred years from the foundation of Sparta. It is well known that this inexorable tyrant ordered the governor of the castle of Mistra to be sawn in two;

* See the description of Thermopyle by De Pauw, vol. ii. where the exaggerations of the writer show too manifestly the falsehood of his criticisms upon this occasion.

† These princes had the title of Δεσπότης, lords or masters; thence the word *despotat*, a country under the dominion of a despot. The same title is given to the Greek Bishops.

but as he was not destitute of knowledge, and a taste for the arts, he respected the monuments of its ancient glory which were still to be found in the country. It was reserved to an Italian, more barbarous than the Turks, to strike the last stroke to this unfortunate city, when, three hundred years after, Sigismond Malatesta, prince of Rimini, forced to evacuate it, set it on fire, and consumed the greater part of it. Since that time Sparta has constantly remained under the power of the Turks.

The aspect of the country in Laconia is generally wild, but there are some fine valleys formed by Pente-Dactylon, Mount Tornika, and the Parthenian chain. These mountains are covered with immense forests of pines; and in descending the Eurotas to the neighbourhood of Vordonia, there are some rich meadows and large districts abounding with vines. Taygetes is the natural bulwark of Laconia on the side of Messenia. A defile or passage called *The Gates*, two leagues south of Mistra, near Vordonia, winds among these mountains, terminating on the western side at Janitza, in the county of Zarnate. It will be recollected that Bacchus received particular honours on Mount Taygetes, and that the Bacchantes ran about there in their solemnities. Polybius has not hesitated to compare it with the Alps. It extends from the sources of the Eurotas to Cape Tenarus or Matapan, forming a line of twenty-five leagues. The modern Greeks give this whole chain the name of Pente-Dactylon, from five particular summits which rise pyramidally into the middle regions of the air. Opposite to Mistra it is called by the inhabitants *Vouni tis Mistras*, the mountain of Mistra; and on the side of Janitza *Vouni tis Portais*, the mountain of the Gates. Its highest summit is called Mount St. Helios, from its being formerly the site of a Temple of the Sun. Among the inhabitants of the country about Cape Tenarus, who are known under the generic name of Maïnotti, the mountain has the name of Maïna; and lastly seen from the interior of the Morea it is always shown as Pente-Dactylon. I enter into these details to obviate the confusion which may arise from such a variety of appellations, since they may all perhaps be occasionally found applied to the chain in general.

If Bacchus received honours on Taygetes, coursers were also sacrificed upon its summit to Apollo; Diana was worshipped in its forests, which she was said to frequent accompanied by her nymphs; and Ceres in the cultivated valleys received the warmest adorations of the people. Upon these same spots villages are now to be found inhabited by an independent race, the warlike people men-

tioned above known by the name of Maïnotti, but who equally call themselves free Laconians.

The Eurotas, known at present by the name of the Vasilipotamos, is the principal river of Laconia. Its banks are bordered with never-fading laurels*, which inclining towards each other form an arch over its waters, and seem still consecrated to the deities of whom its purity is a just emblem; while swans, even of a more dazzling whiteness than the snows that cover the mountain-tops above, are constantly sailing up and down the stream. Diana and Apollo are now forgotten, the name of Eurotas is even lost amid the the chaos of revolutions. It was to honour the despots or princes of Mistra that Greek adulation gave it the name of *Vasilipotamos*, or *Royal River*, because these princes had their country houses upon its banks, for the convenience of indulging themselves in the pleasures of the chase. Niger describes it under the name of the Iris, but I know not for what reason; the name has however been adopted in several other maps: Meletius calls it the Iris or Neris. Grand and impetuous in the times when the snows melt on the mountains, it then overflows its banks in a very formidable manner, but in summer it hides itself among its reeds. In the valley of Belemina or Perivoli it is only a humble rivulet, enriched with the tribute of some fountains, and with the waters of the Chelesina. To the east of Mistra it flows deprived of the majesty of being the king of rivers; it is not however abandoned by its swans. Yet even at this season, if the voice of the mighty thunder be heard above Taygetes, and the clouds resting upon its summits pour down in torrents of rain, the bed of the Eurotas is immediately filled:—very different from the Alpheus, which in its course receives the waters of a hundred and forty tributary streams, the Eurotas looks for its supplies to heaven alone, or to those conductors of electricity, the points which rise on the top of Taygetes.

Having thus recapitulated in a summary manner the generic features of Laconia, both ancient and modern, I come now to describe in a more particular

* It is to be presumed that the laurels here mentioned are not to be understood as the ever-green most commonly known in England by that name, the *prunus laurocerasus*, but the *laurus nobilis*, or what we call the *bay-tree*. The latter is the plant to which in French the name of *laurier* is given; the *laurocerasus* or *common laurel*, as we call it, is very little cultivated in France. The bay is a native of Italy and Greece, and is considered by botanists as the true δαφνη of Dioscorides, consequently the classical laurel. We may therefore reasonably conclude that this is the laurel which shades the banks of the Eurotas.—Translator.

manner this celebrated country under the aspect which it wears at this moment; and shall begin by indicating the route which leads from the ancient Tegea to Sparta. Quitting Tripolitza to take this route, it is indifferent whether the traveller passes by the gate of Nauplia, or by that of Navarin. At the distance of half a league we leave upon an eminence to the right the ruins of Tegea, called by the modern Greeks Palæopolis, and by Meletius Palæepiscopi. The country about is fine and perfectly well cultivated. Here are several farms, and some pleasant country houses. A league further is Sirada, a small village, and opposite to it upon Mount Chelmos, about two leagues from Tegea, we discover another village, containing about sixty houses, the perspective of which, united with a grove of pines which rises above it, varies continually as one advances, always presenting a new and delightful picture. A torrent, after coasting Mount Chelmos for awhile, pours down its sides into the valley of Tegea. In winter there are several lakes in this valley, but in summer they are all dried up.

Soon after passing Sirada we come to Phitea, another village of the valley of Tripolitza, where several opulent Turks have country-houses. The environs are planted with abundance of cherry- and peach-trees, and a variety of culinary vegetables are cultivated, which are carried to the bazar or market of Tripolitza.

From Phitea to another isolated hamlet, called by the Greeks Carea or Coraca, is a course of a full hour. Before we arrive there we pass the bed of a torrent which loses itself in the valley of Tegea; this must be left on the right hand, in order to penetrate into the Hermæum of Laconia, the defile which conducts from the territory of the Tegeans into that of the Spartans. This pass received the name of Hermæum from a statue of Mercury which stood in the midst of it, and which has been replaced in subsequent times by a little chapel and a cross. The traces of a military way are easily to be discerned by the pavement, which remains in some parts even for a tolerable space.

The first village we find in advancing into Laconia is Carvathi. This was burnt in the last war, and has been recently rebuilt; it stands upon the declivity of Mount Parthenius, three leagues and a half from Tripolitza. Here are several very abundant sources which turn several mills; their waters flow to the south-west, towards a chain of woody mountains which stretch from north to south, and are confounded at last with the chain of Taygetes. Carvathi contains about a hundred houses, is inhabited almost entirely by Greeks, and is governed by a codja-bachi. The Turks would not dare to fix themselves in a place so much exposed to the incursions of the Mainotti, as these people have posts of observa-

tion at the distance of only a league and half, upon the mountains near the Eurotas.

On quitting Carvathi, a forest is to be passed of a league in length, which is celebrated only for the number of robberies committed in it. It rises in an amphitheatre, and extends much more towards the east than the south. I was informed that it encloses several villages, the inhabitants of which are principally occupied in making sundry kinds of objects in wooden ware, with collecting kermés, and carrying on a strenuous warfare against the wolves and foxes, whose skins they sell: it is doubtless to compensate for the small profits derived from these objects of traffic, that they indulge themselves occasionally in plundering travellers. Half a league further, after having traversed a space the ground of which lies in gentle inequalities covered with laurels, with myrtles, and with broom, we come to a post at the entrance of a second dervin or defile. It is committed to the guard of a party of spahis, who however, with their accustomed prudence, generally keep aloof from the spot to make way for the robbers, with whom they are never disposed to dispute the ground. In this defile are again evident traces of an ancient road.

It is succeeded by a forest which continues for two long leagues, where are some truly magnificent trees; the mountains around are covered with pines, the aspect of nature every way is wild. On one side oaks which seem to have stood for ages, on another vast masses of rock overgrown with moss, on another chasms filled with gorse, with myrtles, and different shrubs, contribute at once to the diversity and confusion of the landscape. A little river called by turns the Chelesina and the Potami, and which runs into the Eurotas, is twice crossed at a short distance from its source. Scarcely do we quit these abodes, where the silence is only interrupted by the warbling of innumerable feathered songsters, when a new spectacle opens upon us. We approach the *Royal River*, we follow the course of its banks, we see the ancient site of Sparta about a league before us, with the mountain of Mistra and the castle that crowns it: the town is not however to be seen. Some villages, with some large tracts of vines, are the principal objects which present themselves to the attention of the traveller in a corner of the world once so celebrated, but in these days scarcely known. He salutes the cherished woods of Diana, he hails with rapture the laurels that border the Eurotas, he still finds the reeds which served the Spartans for beds, for arrows, for pens. Slowly he proceeds, anxious to examine in detail the minutest objects; he approaches the river, its waters still roll unimpeded forwards, they pursue the

same course that they have pursued for so many ages, we still see them, we still contemplate them :—but where are the warlike race who so long inhabited their banks? of them we only know that they once did exist. The river is passed by a bridge, but it is neither the Babyka nor the Giroforos, though by some persons the latter name has been retained. The town of Mistra soon after appears in view, on turning round an angle of the mountain on which it stands, leaving Evreo-Castron to the left.

The name of Sparta is almost all that remains of a city once so celebrated; a city the circuit of which was more than two of our leagues. Even the site of it is with difficulty to be ascertained by those who visit the parts where it was known to have stood. The names of Apheteüs and Sxias*, which some Greeks pretend to have discovered in certain quarters of Mistra, are only applied to them upon vague conjectures, and often upon the authority of travellers who have suggested the idea to them. I must be obliged myself in some sort to repeat them, warning my readers to be upon their guard against every thing which is only conjecture, and which I shall explicitly state to be so.

Mistra is indisputably a modern town, built from the ruins of Sparta, though at the distance of half a league from the spot where stood the ancient city. It is not very obvious whence the modern name is derived, while that of Sparta, Σπαρτιον, describes extremely well the nature of the ground on which it stands covered with broom. Monsieur Scrofani tells us, that Mistra means *soft cheese*; this is as good an etymology as if any one were to derive *Neufchâtel* from the cheeses of that name†. Such derivations belong to the erudition which teaches that *alphana* comes from *equus*.

Mistra rises in an amphitheatre, upon a mountain which faces the east. Exposed thus to the rays of the sun, which is not tempered by the north-wind, the heat in summer is insupportable. It is commanded to the west by Mount Taygetes, whence in the great heats snow is brought to cool the sherbet and other liquors. To the north stands the castle, and to the east Mount Tornika; to the south the

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* *Apheteüs* was the god who, according to Pausanias, presided at the barriers whence the competitors in the races started. There was a statue of this god in Sparta. The *Sxias* was a place whither the inhabitants used to resort to enjoy society in the open air. *Pausanias, lib.* 3.—Translator.

† The cheeses of Neufchâtel are a small cheese made in the neighbourhood of Paris, somewhat of the consistency of cream cheese, about six inches in circumference, and four and a half or five in height. They are brought to Paris in the summer time by the country people, who sell them about the streets for five or six sous a piece. They are extremely nice and delicate eating.—Translator.

eye follows to a great distance the course of the Vasilipotamos, the banks of which are charming. The town may be divided into four parts: first the citadel, secondly the town properly so called, and lastly the two suburbs. One of these bears the name of *Mesochorion*, or *Village of the midst*, the other that of Exochorion, situated on the further side of the river. This latter is also called Maratche, and Evreo-Castron.

The castle stands upon the summit of the mountain of Mistra, on a platform of about five hundred toises in circumference. It is governed by a sardar or commandant, who has under his command some topdgis or cannoniers. The artillery by which it is defended consists of about a dozen pieces of cannon, every one of a different calibre. The magazines, if such a name may be given to two or three cellars, and half a dozen sheds, have no powder but what the bey delivers out, and which he purchases in the neighbouring maritime towns for the celebration of the bairam, and the courban bairam, and for firing upon some extraordinary occasions. There are no magazines of corn; funds are wanting to incur an expense of any magnitude: and I believe that since the expulsion of the Russians about thirty years ago, this citadel has not been considered as of any importance. The Russians themselves, at the epoch when they gained possesion of Mistra, did not appear to concern themselves much about the citadel. It cannot, indeed, be of any other importance than as it has power to awe the town in case a disposition to revolt should appear there. A mosque, some cisterns of marble, and some wretched habitations built with the spoils of antiquity, compose the *tout ensemble* of this citadel. The form of the enclosure is an octagon: it is surrounded with a regular crenated wall, the parapet of which is tolerably broad, but very much in ruins; for the ravages daily made by time are never repaired, and the Turks themselves have ceased to consider the fortress as impregnable. There is an ascent to the castle from the town by a winding road, by the side of which are some groupes of houses covered with tiles of a very deep red. This makes them very conspicuous even at a considerable distance. The citadel of Mistra is not that of ancient Sparta: the foundations of the latter are still to be seen on a hill less elevated, but in a much more advantageous and more military situation; one which must be re-occupied in order to be complete master of the course of the river.

In descending from the castle, the eye embraces without difficulty the whole extent of Mistra. The town is surrounded with walls in a very ruinous state; in which are two gates, where a toll is required of all who enter the town. The first

gate is to the north, and leads to the castle ; the other is to the east. Two principal streets divide the town, crossing each other almost at right angles. The most considerable, in which are some antique remains, is the street of the market ; but the learned of the country, I know not why, call it Apheteüs. In this they must doubtless be in an error, since Mistra does not stand upon the site of Sparta. They however will have it so; nay, if one would believe them, the house of king Polydore is to be seen there, as well as the temple of Minerva, in which Ulysses assisted at the inauguration of the statue of that goddess, and the chapel of Neptune the Tenarian.

Following their ideas, the great bazar filled with Mistrians, haughty and arrogant in their appearance, surrounded by humble shops, and houses of only one story, will be the ancient Agora. I am well aware that some bas-reliefs are to be found in the houses ; and that this is both the vulgar opinion, and the tradition of the country. However, whether it be or be not the Agora, there is not a monument remaining which can prove it to have been so : it contains now only an assemblage of houses belonging to merchants, and is degraded by being the theatre of the executions. If the mosque which we see be not the Aphelion, it is doubtless built of the ruins of that temple. The Russians made use of it as a church while they were masters of the country ; and there is no doubt but that they might then have collected a great number of inscriptions. At present, the pavement being covered over with mats, they are no longer to be seen, even if the building itself were more accessible to strangers. It might, perhaps, still be possible, by gaining over an imam, and making a present to the bey, to get admittance so as to examine the relics which are probably to be found there ; but it cannot be denied, that a considerable risk would be incurred in making the experiment.

Near this mosque is a spacious khan, frequented by a great number of merchants, who enjoy the utmost security there. Not far from thence is the Persian portico*, of which nothing remains but some ruins: and they are daily diminished in order to build in that quarter. I am persuaded that by obtaining permission of the owners of houses to examine them carefully, a number of precious relics of this monument might be discovered. It would be indeed highly interesting to lovers of the arts if nothing more could be recovered than those Cariatides which

* The Persian portico was a superb edifice which received its name from having been built with the spoils taken by the Spartans in their wars with the Persians. See *Pausanias*, lib. 3. TRANSLATOR.

were first employed in architecture at Lacedæmon, and of which Vitruvius speaks so highly in his works. The walls of the temple of Venus Armea, and the remains which yet exist of the temple of Hercules, would be fertile mines to explore. The marble of which these edifices were constructed is very fine, and the quarries from which it was dug still exist in Mount Taygetes. It is of a superior quality to the Pentelic: that would sometimes turn red from the particles of iron it contained, while the beauty of this is in no way diminished by the lapse of such a long course of ages.

The metropolitan church of the Christians, ruined by the Albanians, but since restored, merits a word of notice. A metropolitan archbishop officiates there, who is poor as the pastors of the primitive church; and the place stands recorded as having been the theatre of the most extraordinary miracles. The sick are daily brought and laid at the doors, as at the gates of the ancient temples, that those who repair thither for the purpose of worshipping the deity to whom it is consecrated may indicate to them the remedies by which their health may be recovered. It is to be observed, however, that the miraculous effects produced in these times by the intervention of the papas, extend only to those afflicted with vapours, or with melancholy, to those who are considered as possessed, and to lunatics: all these maladies are ascribed to the operation of the devil. To the south is the Pandanesi, no less devastated by the horrors of the last war. The nuns, who had a convent there, were massacred by the Albanians; and those who have resumed this institution having remained in a great degree wanderers, the Pandanesi is now only a Greek church.

The streets of Mistra, from which I have wandered to indicate some monuments I thought worthy of notice, but of which an accurate idea can only be given by the pencil,—these streets are narrow, dirty, and built upon very uneven ground. The houses, surrounded with cypresses, plane-trees, and tufts of orange-trees, have a pleasing and picturesque appearance to the eye. The gay colours with which the Mussulmans paint their houses, the brown and *sombre* hue of those that belong to the Greeks, the domes, the temples, the mosques, all announce that we are in a foreign country; and when the eye is cast towards the Eurotas, one reflects with astonishment that this country is Lacedæmon.

On quitting the walled enclosure properly called Mistra, we arrive at Mesochorion, which is to the south, somewhat inclining towards the east. Thirty years ago this suburb contained three thousand houses; and though this number is much diminished, it still occupies a considerable space: but the houses are

scattered about, and mingled with trees and gardens. They however form some streets, which extend to the bank of the Eurotas. But we no longer visit this spot to admire the churches of Perileptos and Agia-Paraskevi. They would ill repay the curiosity of the traveller, since they were plundered by the Albanians. In this second town there are bazars, and immense conaks; and the air appears better than in Mistra. There is a fountain which the Greeks assert to be the ancient Dorcea. To go from Mesochorion to Exochorion the Eurotas must be crossed. The river is here about twenty toises wide; and an old stone bridge of six arches connects the one suburb with the other. Exochorion may be considered as a third town: it is principally inhabited by people of that nation, which are to be found everywhere, and are strangers everywhere. One might believe oneself suddenly transported into the fields of Idumea, on seeing the multitude of Jews by which this place is peopled. We hear another language, we see a totally different cast and expression of countenance, different manners and customs, and a different mode of worship. These Jews, however, who are divided into two classes, the orthodox and the heretics, afford the Turks a constant pretence for the exercise of impositions and exactions. The sects will not intermarry with each other, or form connections in any way: nay the tombs of the Hebrews are separate from those of the Sadducees. The hatred of the sects towards each other is carried even into the grave. There is nothing in Exochorion particularly worthy of remark.

The ruins of the temple of Venus Armea are about half a league distant from the fountain Dorcea, in going from Exochorion westward towards Mount Taygetes. The guides do not forget to tell you that Castor and Pollux had a palace in this place, and that here was the cenotaph at which every year an oration was pronounced in honour of Leonidas and his brave companions. There is another thing of which they have no occasion to recall the remembrance, viz. the redoubts thrown up by the Russians in the theatre which Pausanias and Plutarch mention as having been so magnificent. It is thus that the place in which the tasteless Spartans introduced buffoons and jugglers was rescued from oblivion by a foreign race, who transformed it into a powerful bulwark. It was a point of importance to them, in case of any attack being made upon them, a thing very possible, from the valley of Tiasa, or as it is now called the riviera of Mistra. The country seen from Mesochorion presents a cheerful aspect, from the trees with which it is covered, and which form a pleasing combination with the distant slopes: the river is bordered by delightful meadows. One sees the

Platanist* and the Dromos†; and there still remain by the river side the marbles with rings in them, to which the galleys were fastened that used to come up to Sparta at certain times in the year.

The Dromos or circus, which according to the testimony of Livy was to be seen south of the town, is on the road to Sklavo-Chori, the ancient Amyclea. The circuit, the form, the complete idea of this edifice, may still be collected from the remains which have stood through so long a succession of ages. Amid the ruins which encumber this space, thrown down in taking away the stone for the construction of houses, many rows of seats elevated one above the other are still to be perceived; and though concealed at intervals by the earth which is heaped about them, they do not appear to be broken away: in following the elliptical direction which they take, it may be inferred that the length of the stadium was more than a hundred and thirty of our toises. There can be little doubt but that by making some researches the xisti or covered porticoes, under which the exercises were performed when bad weather prevented the competitors going out into the dromos, might be laid open. In like manner probably might be traced the form of the laconicon, or stove-baths, which must have been hereabouts. The invention of these baths, the only ones now in use in the East, is probably to be ascribed to the Spartans. Strabo observes that they built the stoves with pumice-stone which had been rendered impenetrable to fire: at present they make use of a sort of sand-stone, and the interior of the edifice has a casing of marble.

The Platanist mentioned above must not be so slightly passed over; some further homage must be paid to this delightful little island. It is still planted in the centre with plane-trees; on its borders are weeping-willows and cytisuses hanging over and reflected in the water, while tufts of rose-trees, of laurels, and of silk-trees scattered about, charm the eye and perfume the air. Hither the people of the town come to smoke their pipes, to drink coffee, or to resign themselves to pleasing meditations. From this island the eye is charmed with the view of the surrounding objects, it wanders over Taygetes with its snowy summits, which glittering in the bright rays of the sun seem like so many light-houses kept always burning to illumine the gloomy passages that lead into Laconia.

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* The *Platanist* was a plain surrounded by the Euripus, on which the young Spartans performed their combats. It had its name from the quantity of plane-trees growing upon it. *Pausanias,* lib. 3.—TRANSLATOR.

† The *Dromos* was the place where the gymnastic exercises were performed. At the entrance of it were statues of the Dioscuri. *Pausanias,* lib. 3.—TRANSLATOR.

It was here in this island, along the banks of the river by whose waters it is bathed, that according to Theocritus the flowers were gathered to form the garland with which Helen was crowned on the day of her marriage. In the early part of spring when these places are ornamented with violets and other flowers, on the days consecrated to religion, the daughters of Sparta repair hither in crowds, and, adorning their heads with garlands gathered from the meads, afterwards join in the festive dance. A long veil of purple increases the lustre of their charms, their long flaxen hair flows about their shoulders and their bosoms; the rivals of Diana, a painter might take them for her nymphs, or even for the goddess herself. They have all her pride and modesty; their majestic air and carriage, their elegant forms, their enchanting attitudes, the regularity of their features, animated by large blue eyes bordered with long eye-lashes,—every thing about them conspires to charm, to inspire the beholder at once with love, with respect, and with admiration. Added to all these attractions, the women of Sparta have, like almost all those of the eastern countries, a tone of voice which penetrates the soul, and which, as if by enchantment, affects it with the most sweet and transporting sensations.

The men, among whom are some that are fair, are not, as Pauw has calumniously asserted, the impure remains of a parcel of wretches who have escaped punishment. Their features are too noble, they indicate too strongly that illustrious blood circulates in their veins, for this to be allowed. They have preserved something of the Dorian Spartans even in their defects. They are tall in stature, their features are masculine and regular; they are the only Greeks of the Morea who look up to the Turks with an eye of manly confidence, as if feeling themselves their equals; nor can this be otherwise, as they are brave even to rashness. Why am I obliged to add that they have an innate inclination to rapine, which joined to a sort of natural ferocity renders them extremely vindictive and dangerous? Even the Turks of Mistra, who are born of Spartan women, are more intrepid than the other Mussulmans; there is not the same apathy, the same taciturnity, which forms the distinguishing characteristic of their nation. Less zealous observers of the precepts of the koran, they drink wine publicly, and swear like the Greeks by the Virgin and Jesus Christ. They seem, in short, to regret that they cannot mingle with the Christians in their feasts and in their pleasures.

The common language of Mistra is that of the other Moreans; the Mussulmans inhabitants of this town speak it in preference to the Turkish language, or

if they speak the latter it is with the Greek accent. The Jews among them commonly make use of the Portuguese tongue; the manners, the principles, the industry of the latter are the same here as in all other countries where they are tolerated. The Turks rank them very much below the Greeks, teasing and vexing them in various ways, and treating them with the utmost contempt. They are however forced to make use of them, and finish by being their dupes, as the Jews are always the agents for commerce and exchange, and the interpreters of the country.

The Laconians differ as much in manners as in dress from the Arcadians their neighbours. The latter carry the scrip and the crook, and lead a perfectly pastoral life; the inhabitants of Sparta, on the contrary, sing of combats, are of a lively and restless character, and easily irritated. The Arcadian, attached to his valleys and his rivulets, sees nothing beyond his own horizon: the Laconian, more haughty, endowed with greater energy, has no wish so dear to his heart as to see the Turks humiliated; he will even expatriate himself to lend assistance to their enemies. But though expatriated he still glories in being a son of Sparta, and that with a loftiness which displays at once his pride in his own descent, and his contempt and hatred for his oppressors. The one, clothed in white woollen spun and wove by the hands of his wife and daughters, makes mats, draws the oil from his olives, presses the juice from his grapes, milks his ewes and his goats, brings the produce of his industry to sell in the town, and, content with the little gains that they procure him, returns peaceably and contentedly to his bowers. The neighbour of Taygetes manufactures arms, clothes himself with stuffs, the dark colours of which are emblematic of his character, handles the ax, mingles with caravans, goes on military expeditions, seeks dangers, and in them seems to find his true element.

With regard to the genius of the inhabitants of Mistra, I cannot say that I found them more disposed to being laconic than those of other parts of the Morea; whence it follows that the proverb "*to possess a piece of land shorter than the letter of a Lacedæmonian*," has no longer any point. Their courage, and a decided taste for plunder, is all that remains to them of the character of their forefathers. The population of Mistra is not so much diminished as that of some other parts of Peloponnesus, since the town is supposed still to contain from fifteen to eighteen thousand souls; of these a third are Mussulmans, and about an eighth Jews. The disasters of the war begin to be somewhat forgotten, and in a few years this town will enjoy an ease, an affluence, and a population,

which will raise it much above the other towns of the province. The bey has already a number of well-disciplined troops, a numerous body of cavalry, and presents a good countenance against his implacable enemies, the people of Taygetes. These men are the free Laconians, who boldly face death even when certain of meeting it, and to whom what Seneca said of the Lacedæmonians may very fairly be applied;—"*That it is disgraceful for any man to fly, but to a Spartan it is disgraceful even to think of flying.*"

To the north and to the west of Mistra are fine slopes covered with vines, which furnish a high-flavoured perfumed wine, that might probably suggest to the poets the idea of ambrosia. It was upon these very amphitheatres that, according to Athenæus, Ulysses planted a vine when he came to Lacedæmon to ask Penelope in marriage: but although so celebrated by the poets, in our days the same vineyards are not honoured with any particular distinction. They occupy many leagues in extent, and terminate towards Magoula, a village to the east of Mistra. In the environs of Mistra are many country houses, the gay and cheerful appearance of which denotes ease and content in the owners.

The ruins of Pitana, the country of Menelaus, must be to the east of Evreo-Castron, as they formed a dependence upon Sparta. Therapnea is a quarter of a league further towards the south-east. As there are a great number of houses scattered about, this cannot be called a village, but there is a ruined chapel dedicated to St. Helena, whom the Greeks call Saint Constantina, that she may not be confounded with the wife of Menelaus. It was at Therapnea that Menelaus and Helen received their first education, and the place where their infancy had been passed was also that where their bodies finally reposed: their tomb was shown here to travellers. The brothers of Helen also, the sons of Leda, those twin stars, had altars at Therapnea. Some neglected fountains now to be seen are perhaps those of Messeïs and Polydama, mentioned by Pausanias. Diana, the chaste Diana, was another divinity who received in this place the vows and sacrifices of the sons and daughters of Sparta*.

In going to Nauplia of Malvoisie, or Monembasia, we pass by Therapnea. The distance of Monembasia from Mistra is two long days journey, which may be estimated at twenty-four leagues. The road lies almost entirely among mountains, on which are large forests of fir, with a great deal of brush-wood and

* It was upon the altars of this goddess that children, scourged with rods, were often known to expire without uttering a single cry. This was esteemed a great honour to the families from which the victims were taken, and a public funeral was decreed to the deceased.

heath. There are also some ponds and woods; but the principal features of the whole country are large rocks of granite. The place of rest for the night is at Zizima, the inhabitants of which always come out to meet travellers, in hopes of getting something from them. They are commonly some of them posted in an observatory, to discover persons who approach the village; and when they see any one coming they hail him by blowing a large shell, in order to advertise him that a village is to be found among the rocks.

On quitting Zizima we traverse a fine valley intersected by a river, in which there is some appearance of cultivation. Four leagues further to the east, after passing some high mountains whence the sea is to be seen, we come to a large village of Albanian shepherds, standing on the left bank of a river which flows towards the south. All this country deserves to be visited by a geologist, who would find here granites and lava as in the vicinity of a volcano; but little would be found to gratify the antiquary,—and the botanist would only discover a few plants which are probably common and well known, as they are those of a stony and arid soil. The productions of nature are not more worthy of admiration as we approach Monembasia; the town may be said to be cased up in the mountains by which it is bounded to the west. I know not how its wines have obtained their high reputation, as I am informed by Monsieur Roussel the French commercial agent in the town, who is perfectly well acquainted with the country round, and every thing appertaining to it, that they are in reality of a very middling quality.

Nauplia of Malvoisie, or Monembasia as it is called by the Turks, is built from the ruins of the ancient Epidaurus Limera*, upon a little island called in antiquity Minoa†. It is the seat of a bey, the residence of a metropolitan arch-

* The Epidaurus Limera of antiquity must not be confounded with the much more celebrated town of Epidaurus, which was on the Argolic gulf. It was to this last that the renowned temple of Esculapius belonged. There was also a temple to Esculapius at Epidaurus Limera; but far from being one of great fame, its existence is scarcely known, except from the allusion made to it by Pausanias, when he relates that the Laconian Epidaurus was a colony from the mother town of the same name in the gulf of Argos.—Translator.

† The author seems to have fallen into an error in calling the island, or rock, on which the town of Nauplia of Malvoisie is built, the Minoa of antiquity. There is reason to think that the promontory by which the bay of Malvoisie is closed to the east, was distinguished by this name rather than the island on the western side of the bay where Nauplia stands. According to Pausanias, Minoa appears to have been a cape very near to Epidaurus Limera, which does not answer the description of the site of the modern Nauplia.—Translator.

bishop, and contains a population of nearly two thousand inhabitants, Turks and Greeks. Its port is little frequented at present, because it is not considered as very secure; yet it still maintains some commercial relations with Nauplia of Romania, twenty-six leagues further to the north. I shall not enter into long details upon Monembasia, as I only saw it in navigating the gulf of Argos; I will however observe, that there was in the neighbourhood a temple of Esculapius, whither people resorted from all parts of Greece in hopes of obtaining a cure for the diseases with which they were afflicted. It was there, according to Pausanias, that the votive offerings of those who had been cured were suspended, with the mention of the means employed for the cure. Strabo also relates that the names of the men and women who had been cured might be read on the columns of the temple of Esculapius at Epidaurus. Probably the ministering priests at this temple were skilful physicians: perhaps it had been visited, as well as the temples of Cos, of Trina, and some others, by the great father of medicine Hippocrates before he wrote his immortal work. A certain chapel dedicated to St. George, which stands in the neighbourhood, has inherited in part the reputation of the ancient temple. It is much visited by the people around, and they carry with them colyva, (a sort of boiled wheat,) cakes, and wax tapers, as presents to an old papas who is chaplain there; they also give him sometimes a few parats. If he be not a great worker of miracles, at least he cannot be accused of being a great rogue, since he is half starved: this is indeed the case with most of his brethren in the Morea. But I return to the banks of the Eurotas.

In directing our course southwards from Mistra we follow the course of this river for some time. The first village at which we arrive is called Sklavo-Chori, and is probably the ancient Amyclea; it is now a bishop's see, in which capacity it preserves the ancient name. It stands on the confluence of a little river called the Tiasa, and is the first place where the authority of the bey of Mistra is not acknowledged: notwithstanding this, he receives from it some contributions. On the banks of this river, which are ornamented with thousands of flowers and with delightful groves, lived Alcman, the poet who sung so sweetly of the Graces, and of whom scarcely any thing remains to us but his name. No vestiges of the temple of the Graces are to be found, although some travellers assert that they have seen the ruins of it.

To advance further, no dependence is to be placed upon a Turkish escort; the traveller must make an arrangement with some captain of the Maïnotti, who will procure him every facility for pursuing his journey and making all the researches

he wishes. At two leagues from Sklavo-Chori, still continuing to descend the Eurotas, is the village of Soka, the woods of which extend quite to Taygetes. Here we find several chorions or villages of Maïnotti, situated on little eminences or secluded among the rocks, while the left bank of the river is almost uninhabited*. At three leagues and a half from Sklavo-Chori is a cataract, or bar, which cannot be passed by boats when the waters are low. After this barrier is passed there is a much greater depth of water, and the river flows with increased majesty. The swans are more numerous, almost covering the surface of the water, and displaying the utmost grace and dignity in all their movements. In the season of their loves, their nests are made among the laurels and the myrtles which border the Eurotas: they are still the objects of a respect as ancient as the river along which they sail; nobody thinks of molesting these tranquil navigators. The children collect with care the feathers as they lose them, for making points to the arrows used even in these days as weapons of offence against the timid inhabitants of the air and the woods. The village of Pivika, two leagues from Soka, carries on a trade in these arrows.

Some villages display themselves along the two chains of mountains which form at a distance the bason of the Eurotas. The roofs of the houses covered with tiles of a brilliant red, and rising above the olive-trees, the weeping-willows, and cypresses, which abound every where, are very conspicuous even at a considerable distance. From the cataract of the Eurotas to Koumastra, a place about three or four leagues from the sea, and which is seen at a considerable distance on the left bank of the river, about fifty villages are discernible to the east and west, and there are many more entirely concealed from the eye. Kolokyna, which is erroneously called the ancient Gython, in the midst of which the Vasilipotamos empties itself into the bay of Laconia, has given its name to the sea that washes its shores. The entrance of the river is navigable at all times for pretty large barks, and they should follow the right bank in going up the stream. The bay of Laconia is dangerous to European vessels that are not very

* The most remarkable spot of Taygetes upon this route is Bardounia, or Vordonia, a league and a half from Mistra, which closes the defile of *The Gates* on this side, as Janitza closes it on the side of Calamatte. The situation of Bardounia is very strong, and the town contains about three hundred houses. The population consists almost entirely of Turks who have escaped the sword of justice: the inhabitants of Mistra are the only people who entertain any commercial relations with them. It should appear as if the people of Bardounia maintain a good understanding with the Maïnotti, since the latter live in peace with them, as far as people so disposed to rapine are capable of living on peaceable terms with any one.

much upon their guard, as it is the usual retreat of the plunderers which this cape sends forth. These marauders set sail at the close of day from some of the ports of this inhospitable coast, and rove about in the neighbourhood of Cerigo to seek for their prey. Woe to those navigators who are without arms, or who, indulging in a deceitful tranquillity, suffer themselves to sleep! they are massacred without pity.

Some commercial relations are carried on between the island of Cerigo, the ancient Cytherea, and Marathonisi*. The people of Cerigo are indeed the only ones who can enter this port without danger, since the Maïnotti, who are the masters of it, have no respect whatever to the rights of nations when plunder and robbery are in question. Of this the following circumstance, which happened at Porto Vitilon, is a sufficient proof, and the same thing is continually repeated along every part of the coast. A Greek vessel of Cephalonia, carrying the Russian flag, and having on board the contributions of the Morea for the combined armies before Corfu, was overtaken by a tempest in the latitude of Cerigo. No longer in a state to keep the sea, it was constrained to run into Porto Vitilon on the western coast of Maïna. It had no sooner entered here than it was assailed by the Maïnotti, and every passenger on board, to whatever nation or sect he belonged, was completely plundered. The very women swam up to the vessel to partake in the spoils, and some were even drowned in returning, from the weight of the booty they were carrying away. The Turks who were on board were worse treated than the rest; for the Maïnotti, after having destroyed the vessel, exposed them to sale: the Greeks got off only with the loss of all their property. I was some time after in a vessel where one of them was among the number of the sailors, and he was still so terrified with the recollection of the adventure that he scarcely could give me the account of it.

The bay of Kolokythia, or Laconia, presents nothing particularly worthy of notice, excepting that the inhabitants assured me there was a periodical movement in the waters, which they called *reuma*, something like the tide. As I was not able to verify this fact, I only mention it, that nothing may be suffered to escape which may lead to an accurate knowledge of the countries I describe. Porto-Caillo, not far from Cape Matapan, was visited by the tribune Felix Beaujour, author of a work upon the Levant trade; but that place is also extremely dangerous from the inhospitality of its inhabitants. This coast is visited every

* Marathonisi is the ancient Cranaë. This island is also known by the name of Finocchi.

year by the capudan-pasha, who is sovereign of it, or by some of his vessels, and the Maïnotti, as a token of submission, send him some presents; but it is agreed beforehand that he is to be satisfied with whatever they send. Hussein pasha however, before the termination of his career, directed his thunders against Marathonisi. Wearied with the intrigues of a nephew of Gligoraki, who was always on the watch to make dupes, and giving more importance to his achievements in this way than they deserved, he satiated his vengeance upon this rock, and by lavishing the blood of his own people succeeded in destroying the village. The inhabitants however with their leader, against whom his efforts were principally aimed, remained untouched, and the nephew of Gligoraki at the head of his Maïnotti is probably now occupied in rebuilding the houses.

The sea of Kolokythia is very full of fish, and its banks are covered with myriads of gulls and other marine birds. Some forests of pines are to be seen on the neighbouring mountains, as well as several villages and vine-grounds. A signal of alarm given from any of the posts of observation upon the summits of the rocks, brings forth immediately from the valleys a number of warlike men, whom it is much easier to kill than to subdue.

CHAPTER IX.

Country of Maïna.—The Maïnotti.—Election of the beys, with the names of those who have governed since 1777.—*Various particulars.—The country abounding with ruins.—The Cacovouniotes.—Cape Tenarus or Matapan. Chapel of Saint Mark.—Pallantium.—Ruins of Tegea.*

From the account given by Messrs. Dimo and Stephanopouli of a journey taken by them into the country of the Maïnotti in 1797*, it is easy to judge with what circumspection, or rather with what distrust, they were watched by this restless people, notwithstanding the favour shown them by the captain of Marathonisi. Scarcely could they obtain permission to penetrate ever so little into the interior of the country: even the attentions shown them by the chiefs were only an indirect means employed to repress their eagerness in pursuing their purpose. Thus it was by no means in their power to give any very correct or ample information with regard either to the country or its inhabitants. If they paint with some force the enthusiasm, the ardent love of this people for liberty, or rather for independence, for this is what the Maïnotti understand by the word liberty, they say little or nothing of the country itself; they seem ignorant of its resources, they do not even fix its geographical position. These travellers in short came into the country on a particular errand, which they executed in the midst of dangers, and returned immediately to render an account of their mission to those by whom they were employed. More fortunate in collecting positive facts, both from my long stay in the Morea and from the connections I was enabled to form with some of the principal inhabitants of Maïna, I think I may pledge myself for the authenticity of whatever I advance upon the subject; though my details will not be as ample as I could wish, since I was wholly unable to obtain so entirely the confidence of the Maïnotti as to induce them to break the silence they resolutely maintained in some particular instances.

We were become an object of interest to the few among the Moreans who cherished a secret attachment to the French;—an attachment borne to them in

* They were sent on an embassy by the then French Government.

common with all the enemies of the Turks. The rumour of our capture and detention at Tripolitza had in consequence reached the Maïnotti, and it occasioned three among them, disguised as merchants, to send to me secretly through the intervention of one of my friends to come and meet them at the khan. This friend was the unfortunate Belizari, a French *barattaire*, and afterwards under the protection of Russia, who was lately assassinated in his counting-house at Tripolitza. Arrived at the khan, in a conversation confined entirely to these delegates and myself, they poured out to me in the most frank and open manner the effusions of their hearts, offering, if it was conformable with my wishes, to break my chains, and carry me away with them into their mountains. A word they said might restore me to happiness in restoring me to liberty; horses were in waiting at the gates of the town, a party were appointed to meet us by the way, nor could the success of the enterprise be doubted. I was somewhat disposed to accept the offer; but when I spoke of four companions whose fate I considered as inseparable from my own, without whom I could not therefore think of departing, they confessed that they were afraid of venturing to undertake the charge of so many. I did not consider myself as the less obliged by the generous offer made to me individually. It was in several interviews to which this incident gave occasion, that I obtained the information of which I was in want to impress me with correct ideas concerning the country of Maïna. It is impossible to describe the respect in which the French name was held among the Maïnotti. The report of our victories had reached even to their mountains, they were the common theme of their conversation, they talked of them to their children, and sung them in affecting hymns, which were repeated by the majestic echoes of Laconia.

The reader will perhaps recollect that the district of Peloponnesus, lying between the gulfs of Laconia and of Messenia, was almost always inhabited by an independent class of men, who in the time of the Roman empire took the name of *free Laconians*, or Ελευθερολα Κοιοι. When Peloponnesus was agitated by public dissensions, retiring with their gods into the defiles of Mount Taygetes, they always presented a menacing front against their oppressors. Yet though not to be conquered by human efforts, they submitted to the Christian religion at the epoch when Basil the Macedonian swayed the sceptre of the East, and the standard of the Cross was seen waving over the snowy summits of Taygetes. This warlike people, however, notwithstanding that the new faith they had embraced teaches implicit submission to the powers that be, did not lay down their arms; they remained, as they ever had been, and are at this moment, the guarantee of

their liberty. By this conduct they have kept themselves free alike from the Ottoman yoke, and the snares of its insidious policy.

United among themselves when they have a foreign enemy to combat, the Maïnotti as soon as the danger is past are seen to abandon themselves to dissensions at home, which often terminate in dyeing their hands with blood. Implacable in their hatred as in their vengeance, they are only brought to relinquish the one or the other by the voice of the most respectable old men in the canton. Yet amidst this spirit of disorder, amidst the calamities to which it gives rise, amidst the sort of barbarism in which the Maïnotti are plunged, one is forced to admire the practice of certain virtues that are conspicuous among them. Their old men are held in the highest respect, their counsels are considered as oracles: never do the women or young men approach them but with marks of the most profound veneration. After having defended their country to the utmost of their power as long as they are able to bear arms, they still protect and preserve it by their wisdom and experience. 'Tis in the synods held before them that the expenses necessary for public worship, for the keeping up fortifications erected on particular points, for the purchase of powder and ball, for whatever in short is requisite for the safety and preservation of the country, are regulated. They discuss the means of improving agriculture and multiplying the resources for the exportation of their products. Twenty years ago the Maïnotti were obliged to exchange some part of the productions of their country for wheat, as they did not grow enough for their own consumption; but the population having insensibly increased, and with it the number of hands that could be spared for husbandry, they now even more than satisfy their own wants. The tranquil possessors of their mountains, they verify what was long ago said by Menander, that "*Rocks will furnish enough for the support of man, if they are cultivated in peace, while war will destroy the abundance of the most fertile plains.*"

All the measures of security and defence agreed upon in the assemblies of the elders are laid before a chief or bey, who carries them into execution. This bey, a phantom of power, although nominated by his countrymen, receives his investiture from the Turkish government. He keeps up no foreign correspondence, and has no power beyond his own district. His dignity gives him no revenue, he lives upon the product of his patrimony; for he is always chosen from among those who possess the largest property. He is, in short, nothing but a mere captain honoured with the title of bey; the first only among his equals.

Ever since 1776, when Maïna was separated from the pashalik of the Morea,

and placed like the Greek islands under the protection of the high admiral of the Ottoman empire, the power of the beys has increased. Zanet bey, who was the first raised to this dignity by a firman of Gazi Hassan, then capudan-pasha, governed Maïna in quality of an officer of the crown *. In 1785, being compelled, through the intrigues of the drogman to the capudan-pasha, to quit Citriés, the place of his residence, he took refuge at Zante, where his life was secure from danger. But having obtained his pardon through the intervention of France, he returned to Maïna, where his days were terminated by the bow-string in 1787. Ever since that time the Maïnotti have maintained a constant struggle against the power of their beys. They seem to hold them in utter contempt, as soon as they have accepted chains from the Turks for the purpose of domineering over their brethren, and enjoying honours which they take care shall be only ephemeral. They even regard them in the light of agents of the common enemy, the capudan-pasha. I cannot better illustrate how fatal their ambition has proved to those of the Maïnotti who have sought to obtain the supreme power, than by giving a list of the beys who have governed Maïna since 1776.

Zanet bey, or Zanetachi of Coutoufari, governed ten years, and was strangled by order of the capudan-pasha in 1787.

Michail bey Troupaki governed one year, and was then hanged by order of the capudan-pasha; while his son, at that time only fifteen years of age, was thrown by the same capudan-pasha into a bagnio at Constantinople, where he died.

Zanet bey of Mavromouni, in the canton of Marathonisi, governed eight years; but more fortunate than his predecessors, having resigned his government, he was permitted to retire quietly to his own patrimony, where he lived peaceably in quality only of a captain.

Panaïoti Comodouro, of Cambo Stavro near Varousi, governed three years, and was then thrown into a bagnio at Constantinople, where he remained in 1801.

Antoni Coutzoghgori succeeded Comodouro, and still enjoyed his honours two years ago. The fatal examples which he had seen before his eyes, in the fate of several of his predecessors, could not prevent this bey, even at sixty years of age, from soliciting so dangerous a post; but impelled by the thirst of dominion, more powerful than every other consideration, he quitted his native town of Bathi, on the gulf of Laconia, to engage in an entirely new course of life, and become the dependent of the capudan-pasha.

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* The firmans, by which Zanet received his appointment, will be found in the Appendix.

This picture, or rather this necrology, is enough to frighten a reasonable man. The Maïnotti, who witness these vicissitudes in the fate of their governors, only find their aversion to and distrust of the Turks constantly increase, without at the same time feeling any sympathy for the fate of the victims: the power is not thereby rendered less hateful in their eyes. Maïna must, in this point of view, be regarded as a country constantly menaced, and constantly obliged to keep on the defensive.

The young Maïnotti, accustomed from their infancy to the use of arms, inured to fatigues, familiarised with dangers, are always ready to measure their strength against that of the Turks. The very name, indeed, of a Turk inspires them with fury. Their courage, or perhaps it may be called temerity, is doubtless increased by the perfect knowledge they have of the natural strength of their country, of the advantages it possesses in its defiles, where an enemy very much superior in numbers to themselves may be effectually resisted. A stroke has not unfrequently been suddenly planned at a meal, and executed at the same moment, almost always with complete success. The innate love of rapine, the image of poverty, the exaggerated ideas they form to themselves of the riches of the Mussulmans, and the profound hatred they bear them, are amply sufficient to urge them on, when their imaginations are the least exalted, to any undertaking; and from the constant dangers they are under the necessity of running, they hasten to the fight with a more than common degree of joy and intrepidity. Yet notwithstanding their courage, they do not disdain to employ all the refinements of the military art, whether to surprise the enemy or to draw him into a snare. In a word, it may be said of the Maïnotti, that the ferocious courage of the Spartans has been transmitted unimpaired to their descendants; nay, has even been increased by oppression *. Nor is it without a secret pleasure that the Greek inhabitants of the plains witness their exploits, and see the Turks humiliated by the continual defeats they experience at their hands; for it is rare that the Maïnotti do not triumph over the troops sent against them by the pasha. When they return to their mountains after obtaining one of these victories, they display with ostentation the arms and bloody spoils of the enemy as the tokens of their triumph.

During the time of my captivity they made the pasha tremble even in his seraglio. He had sworn to revenge the affront and injury he had received from their having plundered a vessel which was charged with the contributions of the

* Monsieur de Chateaubriand, in the introduction to his admirable account of his Travels through the Morea, &c. to Jerusalem, will not allow the Maïnotti to be descendants of the Spartans, he considers them as of Sclavonian origin.—TRANSLATOR.

province. Numerous parties of his cavalry received orders to repair to the defiles, to blockade the entrances to them, to intercept the commerce of Maïna, and not to grant quarter to any of its inhabitants; in a word, to do them all possible injury. The Maïnotti, who are not without numerous friends in the province, instructed in time of the dangers with which they were menaced, had recourse in haste to their arms, and soon occupied their accustomed posts. The most intrepid among them, distributed in small detachments, went out to meet and fight the cavaliers of the pasha. About thirty being hemmed round in a village, by more than a hundred of the delis, they soon forced their way through, making a terrible slaughter among them. By this and some other strokes become masters of the country, they now overran the Morea without opposition, their detachments coming even within sight of Tripolitza. The pasha soon began to find it necessary to put an end to a contest which only displayed his own weaknesss, and purchased a peace, which, however shameful, was little durable.

The wives of the Maïnotti, not less courageous than their husbands, sometimes even share with them their greatest dangers; yet, if they fall, their loss is deeply lamented by these women, for they love their husbands with extreme tenderness. The Maïnote women are models as mothers, after having been so as daughters. No sooner have they formed the union which their hearts desired, than they are no longer to be seen mingling in the dances in which, as girls, they had delighted to amuse themselves. Their hair, which before floated in ringlets upon their bosoms, is now tied up and fixed upon the top of the head. This custom is a remnant of antiquity; it is well known that the Greek women when they married laid aside a certain head-dress worn till then, to substitute one from which they never afterwards departed. This is one of those customs which would be sought for in vain among us; yet it appears founded in good sense and decorum. When these Maïnote women become mothers, with their eyes fixed upon the cradles where lie their infants, they gently rock them with their feet, while with their hands they turn the spindle. Obliged to traverse the mountains in order to seek their husbands, whether the latter be occupied in watching for the enemy or in cultivating the soil, they carry their infants slung upon their shoulders in a sort of hammock made of sheep-skin; and when the cries of the child indicate a want of nourishment, they draw the hammock round to their breast to allay its hunger.

The inhabitants of Maïna, adhering strictly to the faith of the primitive church, do not, as De Pauw erroneously asserts, allow of a community of wives; they

repel with horror, on the contrary, the idea of such licentiousness. Equally do they shrink from the idea of imitating, in the destruction of their children, the horrible festivals of the Anthropophagi. It is unaccountable by what infatuation De Pauw could be possessed when he, who shows himself in many respects so able and judicious a critic, could attribute the ferocious manners of Africa to the people of Laconia. The social and patriotic virtues are practised however in silence by these people; they are not made the subject of boasting among them. The stories of their victories are preserved in songs, the language of which is simple and without imagery. They tell of their combats, of Turks vanquished, of ensigns torn to tatters, of barks submerged, of stones hurled from the rocks upon their invaders, of heaven reserved for the conquerors of infidels, of the crown of martyrdom descending upon the head of him who perishes by an illustrious wound;—such are the subjects of these songs—they were those of the Spartans their ancestors. Night affords no respite to the vigilance of the Maïnotti, fires lighted in all parts announce them ever on the watch. These fires are often snares which have lighted the Mussulmans to their destruction. Enormous dogs besides, which are accustomed to run down and destroy the wolves, roam about the villages during the night. By dint of that refined instinct so natural to this race, they distinguish perfectly, even in profound darkness, the people belonging to their village from strangers; and if a person or an animal not known to them approaches, even while yet at some distance, their cries, their barking, spread the alarm, and every body hastens immediately to his post.

The papas of Maïna are the least instructed of any of the Greek priests. After the example of the major part of their brethren, they allege the dearness of books, and the difficulty of procuring them, as reasons for excusing themselves from saying the breviary. Not less determined plunderers than the rest of the Maïnotti, they share in all their expeditions, that they may be sharers likewise in the booty. It is they who, above all others, cherish in their countrymen that *Xénélasia** which renders them so suspicious of every one who is not a Maïnote.

Maïna is divided into *capitaineries*, which are all more or less dependent upon the general governor of the country, the bey. This latter magistrate has imme-

* *Xénélasia*, hatred of foreigners. This word, sacred in their language, expresses the sentiment which is common to them all.

diately under his command some of the towns upon the gulf of Calamatte. These towns are disposed in the following order:

Armyros is at the distance of about a league and a half from Calamatte. This is, properly speaking, only a port where a tower has been built, with some shops occupied by bakers and other venders of provisions: the town of Selitza, to which this is the port, stands upon the declivity of a mountain facing the north-west, and contains about three hundred houses. Its inhabitants, a hardy and athletic race, do not unite in marriage with the Greeks in the towns under the government of the Turks; proud of their liberty, they can with difficulty submit even to their own bey. The little commerce they carry on in the gulf of Coron is however negotiated entirely by this magistrate.

Mandiniès is the second town upon the coast immediately dependent on the bey. It lies two leagues and a half from Calamatte, one league from Armyros, and half a league from the sea. The town, though not consisting of above a hundred and fifty houses, is divided into Great and Little Mandiniès. The latter division is built on the slope of Mount Saint Helios, the highest summit of Taygetes; the Great Mandiniès stands at the foot of the slope. Its chief productions are oil and silk, and it is particularly celebrated for the purity of its air. The valley which runs at the foot of this mountain is embellished by several hamlets picturesquely situated: in following the course of a little river which flows through it, we come to the ruins of an ancient town, which may very probably have been Pherea. The inhabitants, without the least suspecting what it may have been formerly, point it out under the name of Paleo-Chori, *the Old Town*, and from the ruins of some temple they have built a church, which is called Stavros. It is not surrounded with houses; but it is a place of assembly on festival days, and the inhabitants of Mandiniès repair thither to hear mass, and partake in the pleasures which the Greeks never fail to seek wherever they are.

Citriès or Kytriès, which ought to be the principal port of Maïna, as being the residence of the bey, is in reality little more than a heap of ruins. Burnt by the Albanians, it is now only composed of some shops, and a sort of castle or tower where the bey resides: in fact, it is only the port to another town which lies eastward at half a league distance inland. This town is called Dolous. It stands in a fertile valley which runs some way among the mountains of Taygetes, extending to almost half a league in breadth. Dolous is divided into the higher and lower town, one half being upon the declivity of the mountain, and the other spreading out in the valley: it is very populous, and inhabited by some charming

women, who, like all others of Maïna, are beyond measure attached to their country, and never speak of it but with transport. The number of houses that it contains is estimated at more than five hundred; they are all inhabited by numerous families, and if necessary the town could easily furnish six hundred warriors.

On the slope opposite to Dolous, and about half a league from it, stands a large village called Varousi. It is here that the bishop of the canton, who is always called the bishop of Zarnate, resides. On the authority of Father Coronelli, it has been supposed that there was a town of Zarnate; the good father has indeed been so obliging as to favour us with a view of it: but I must notwithstanding take the liberty of assuring my readers that none of that name exists; Zarnate is the name of a canton, or district, in the country of Maïna. It is the richest, the most populous, and the most fertile district of the whole country, and contains fifty villages scattered over a space not very extensive. Varousi, which is the chief place of the canton, and the seat whence the bishop of Zarnate extends his spiritual cares over the greater part of the republic of Maïna, is very much inferior to Dolous in extent and population, as it does not contain above a hundred and fifty houses. To make amends, it abounds with churches, and is inhabited by a number of clergy and papas: of the latter it must be confessed, that they do not bear a high character for probity.

Half a league further eastward, on the same slope with Varousi, stands Moultitza, another village of the canton of Zarnate, consisting of about a hundred houses. Silk, oil, wine and corn, abound in all this part of the country, and its population has increased exceedingly during the last twenty years. Some rivulets and a number of springs water these defiles. At the bottom of the valley, near Varousi, is a village called Cambo-Stavro. This was the native place of Panaïoti Comodouro, the bey of Maïna above mentioned who was thrown by the capudan-pasha into the bagnio at Constantinople.

In approaching the sea-shore, it takes three hours to go from Citriès to Kardamoula or Kardamyla, a town containing about a hundred houses. Here the ruggedness of Cape Tenarus begins to appear very sensibly; no more bay- or olive-trees are to be seen; the cultivator can with difficulty trace his furrows in the ground, and large forests of pines cover the sides of the mountains. Kardamoula is however the chief place of a capitainery. To the east of this town, at the distance of three leagues and a half, is the village of Castagna, so called from the number of chesnut-trees in the environs. Here the capudan-pasha was

beaten and put to the rout two-and-twenty years ago, when he wanted to subjugate this country, after having driven the Albanians out of the Morea. The capitainery was then commanded by Constantine Douraki. Castagna does not contain above forty houses. At a league and a half from Kardamoula, following the coast, stands Platza, a small port where vessels find a tolerable shelter and safe anchorage. The town contains about two hundred houses: it is the port to Coutoufari, which lies in the interior at the distance of two leagues, in a mountainous country. From this place are exported turpentine, hides, and fir-wood fit for the masts of trading vessels. Further on is Vitilon, the Œtylos of the ancients, and improperly called at present, by the navigators in these parts, Porto-Vitulo. The bay, which after the town is called Vitilon, has the advantage of being the deepest and safest upon this coast: the town stands upon the north side of it, and does not contain above fourscore houses. On the other shore of the bay of Œtylos is the town of Tchimova, containing about two hundred and fifty houses, and commanded by a captain named Piero Mavro Michalia; beyond that begins the country of the Cacovouniotes, of which I shall soon have occasion to speak.

There are many other towns and villages belonging to the country of Maïna, scattered about Taygetes or towards the defile of the Portes. Of these the principal are Passavi and Perivoli, near the valley of Belemina; Porama near the Portes, the defile which I have mentioned before as closed by Janitza on the side of Calamatte. Marathonisi is the most important place upon the gulf of Laconia; its principal trade is in cotton and gall-nuts. Above Marathonisi is a post called Mavrovouni. Bordounia is an independent association composed entirely of Turks, who believe no more in the prophet than they do in Jesus Christ. They have frequent bickerings with the Maïnotti, which sometimes end in blows; but as all these people have a common enemy, the oppressor of their country, they find it very much for their interest to keep upon tolerable terms with each other even in their dissensions.

I shall not attempt to describe each of these towns separately; the strength of several of them is indeed little known to me. I shall content myself with saying generally, from authorities on which I can rely, that the population of Maïna may be estimated at forty thousand, and that the province contains about a hundred *chorions*, or towns and villages. The number of men is estimated at ten thousand, which agrees with the capitation paid to the capudan-pasha. The captains are fourteen in number, and there are besides an inferior descrip-

tion of magistrates called *zapitades* or primates, to whom is intrusted the police of the towns. The military chiefs are chosen by the public voice; this is commonly regulated by the fortune which has attended them, and the splendid actions they have performed: the wives of some have been elected to succeed them in these posts. They are always to be seen at the head of their bands, and wear antique casques exactly of the same form with that on the statue of Phocion, and these descend in regular succession from father to son. The captains in the neighbourhood of Cape Grosso carry besides bucklers, which would offer choice models to the imitation of our historical painters. By an unfortunate fatality these chiefs, always restless and ambitious, keep their cantons in a habitual state of discord. It is only when their common danger unites them that the Maïnotti appear in a favourable point of view; in their ordinary habits they must be objects of aversion to every one who has the happiness of having been born in a civilised country.

Heaven has, however, extended a propitious hand over this country: the northern cantons daily increase in fertility; agriculture improves rapidly about Vitilon and Kardamoula, and in the district of Zarnate. Grecian vessels from Spezzia, from Hydra, and from Poros, replace those of Venice which formerly used to trade to its ports. Foreigners would not, perhaps, find all the security necessary to induce them to establish commercial houses here: Venice, who kept an agent in Maïna, never ventured to engage in such a project. Yet it is far from clear, that by a person to whom the country was well known such an undertaking might not be pursued with advantage: the port of Citriès would, in such a case, be undoubtedly the most proper place for making the attempt. Though there are not, at present, any particular duties upon objects of trade, there is a general tax of two per cent. levied upon every thing indiscriminately, either exported or imported. The productions of the country are oil, silk, gall-nuts, honey, wax, cotton, kermés. The quantities annually exported of the last four articles are uncertain: the export of gall-nuts is estimated at about fifteen thousand ocques*; the silk at about sixteen thousand pounds; and the oil at about thirteen thousand barrels. Considerable quantities of wool and raw hides are also exported; and it would be very possible for Maïna to furnish abundance of cattle towards the supply of the islands in the Archipelago.

The admirer of the arts will also find many inducements to visit Maïna, and

* An ocque is a weight equal to about twenty-five ounces. The quantity of gall-nuts exported seems enormous; but it is so stated in the original.—TRANSLATOR.

penetrate into her remotest valleys. Every information which I was able to obtain respecting this country confirmed me in the assurance that it is rich in remains of antiquity. It was, according to Pausanias, full of temples; and the Maïnotti whom I have consulted, and from whom I have received notices in writing respecting their country, express themselves thus: "Monuments, remains of castles, of tombs, and of ancient temples, are found in abundance from Saint Sion quite to the confines of Calamatte: even to Cape Matapan, and to the river Eléos, scarcely can two leagues of ground be passed over without meeting with some. All the learned agree, that these monuments have been raised with the treasures of kings. Many marbles are also to be found with carvings and inscriptions upon them, which we do not understand. There are several dens and a great number of caverns: many people have endeavoured to reach the extremities of them, some of whom have succeeded. It is the country of the universe where the greatest number of antiquities might be found, as well under as above ground."

Such or nearly such is the country of Maïna;—such are its inhabitants, a hardy race who still preserve a spirit of freedom and independence. It remains for me to speak of an uncivilized horde, who inhabit the southern extremity of this country quite to Cape Tenarus, and who are known by the name of Cacovouniotes, or Cacovougnis.

The rugged rocks with which this region abounds, their summits blackened by thunder or by time, the red earth which appears at intervals among them, present but a fearful coup-d'œil to the navigator. A few scattered habitations are seen among the mountains, while here and there, on the borders of some creek made by the sea, stands a solitary village. The principal of these are Kolokythia, Boularias, Cariopolis, Mezapiotes, and Porto-Caillo, upon the gulf of Laconia: the former of these is considered by the Cacovouniotes as their capital. The country is every where barren and destitute of wood, and depends almost entirely for a supply of the first necessary of life, water, upon some springs and natural cisterns found in their caverns. They have only one river, the Skyras, in the neighbourhood of Porto-Caillo; but this has water the whole year through. The land is not sufficiently productive to support the inhabitants; and they would be constrained to abandon their country, if the sea did not offer inexhaustible resources in their fisheries, and the rocks were not the asylum of an immense quantity of birds, partridges, and other game. At the times of the equinox, before the seas are agitated by the turbulence of the winds, thousands of birds of passage assemble at Cape Tenarus, previous to taking their flight towards the country of Libya.

The Cacovouniotes, the wretched remains of the people of Nabis, whose very name denotes the estimation in which they are held by other nations*,—these pirates, few in number, but equal in ferocity to the Arabs of the Syrts, form a distinct society from the Maïnotti. Bold and adventurous upon the element from which their chief support is drawn, they fall equally under favour of a tempest, or a perfidious calm, upon all vessels who come within their reach and are not of sufficient force to defend themselves; a fate more terrible to them than being struck with thunder or dashed upon the rocks. Neither the fear of danger or of punishment can destroy in the Cacovouniotes this dreadful propensity to plunder; they cannot resist, they say, the alluring spectacle of so many European vessels continually passing before their eyes.

In a constant state of dissension among themselves, or war with their neighbours, they live with arms in their hands. Their wives partake in the dangers of their expeditions with a courage which appears supernatural. By a singularity which is however not unusual among pirates, they mingle with this spirit of rapine some of the most austere notions with respect to religion. Their fasts are so rigidly observed, that they would not even violate them though by their observance their lives must be placed in imminent danger: he who on a Wednesday or Friday should eat any thing but vegetables boiled in water, without seasoning, would be immediately shot. This great point of religion is strongly inculcated upon them by their papas; at the same time that these priests, instead of correcting their propensity to robbery and plunder, are the very people who excite and inflame their imaginations at the sight of an European flag, and who teach them to take, wherever they find them, the things of which they are destitute themselves.

A Cacovouniote may be distinguished at the very first glance from a Maïnote. The latter is well made, has a florid complexion, and a tranquil cast of countenance: the former has a dark and suspicious eye, and is squat and stunted like the plants of his country; he has a withered skin, and an expression of countenance which betrays at once the gloomy assassin. The tone of voice of the Maïnote is full and sonorous, that of the Cacovouniote is hoarse and guttural. The one walks with a brisk and airy step, the other rushes forward like a wild boar. The Maïnote attacks with fury and plunders with delight the Turk whom

* *Cacovougnis*, or *Cacovouniotes*, signifies *robbers of the mountains*, and is a name given to these people by other nations as descriptive of their nature, and of the sort of lives they lead.

he detests; the Cacovouniote has but one enemy, but that enemy is the whole human race, whom in his blind fury he would gladly tear to pieces and extirpate.

These are the principal characteristics by which the different inhabitants of this part of Laconia are distinguished. A few desultory observations upon some spots yet undescribed in the neighbourhood of Tripolitza, will conclude all I have to say on the Morea, previous to our proceeding on our route towards Constantinople.

In describing the fields about Tripolitza to the west, I have observed that Mount Roïno, or Menale, is not above half a league from the town on this side. Quitting the town by the gate of Caritena, and following a path to the right, we soon come to a torrent which descends from the mountain, taking a north-easterly direction; about a quarter of a league further, the ascent of the mountain begins, along the side of another very deep torrent: this is passed by a wooden bridge, to reach a small chapel dedicated to Saint Mark. It is built in the midst of rocks, and does not appear to have suffered, on the outside at least, from the fury of the Albanians.

Within this chapel is a naked altar, without images, and without tapers. The walls are covered from top to bottom with paintings in fresco representing ancient processions; but it was with regret I remarked that the Albanians had put out the eyes of many of these figures, and otherwise mutilated the heads. There are no inscriptions which indicate to what the paintings refer. Upon the vaulted roof, which may be at the height of thirty feet, is painted a zodiac, which is in perfect preservation, and which resembles exactly most others with which we are acquainted. As I was astonished to find these astronomical signs in a Greek chapel, I could not help inquiring how long the chapel might have existed; but all the answer I could obtain was, *God knows*. For my own part, not being much better informed upon the subject than themselves, I could not pretend to determine any epoch for the probable one of these figures having been first painted there. It is possible that by examining the pavement some inscriptions might have been found which would have contributed to elucidate the matter, but it was so covered with mud that it was impossible to attempt such an examination. I was much amused with some Greek women, who, without the least respect for Saint Mark or his chapel, were sitting round a large salad, on which they were feasting very comfortably. I returned to this spot several times, but without obtaining any further information. I was indeed told that the chapel had been part of a monastery;

but this seems to have been a thing said at random: there was a convent in these parts, but it was at the distance of three quarters of a league on the road to Mantinea. It is probable that the chapel of St. Mark may have been an ancient temple dedicated to some fabulous deity; but this I give merely as a conjecture. The walls are built of a very hard stone, and there are some Roman eagles on the side towards the north.

Ascending still higher up the mountain, at the distance of fifty toises from the chapel, is an *aire** of more than a hundred feet in diameter: the Greeks say that it belonged to the convent. I know not what to think of this assertion, as I never could find that the convent had any real existence. I can only therefore repeat, that there is an *aire* on the spot, so solid, and so regular, that I can scarcely believe either the Turks or the Greeks to have been capable of making it: the pavement is a hard red kind of flint, through which the grass seems unable to penetrate: in order to make it, the slope of the mountain has been exceedingly cut away, and this is a labour which one cannot easily suppose such men as now inhabit the Morea to have thought of undertaking.

From this spot the eye commands the whole valley of Tegea; it cannot however reach to the gulfs of the Alpheus on account of a projection in the chain of mountains, which cuts off the view on that side. Half a league further to the south, keeping along the side of the mountain, at about the same height, are some fields sown with rye, which extend to a second story as it may be called in the mountains; and pursuing this for another half league, we come to a village containing about fifty houses. This village, seen from Tripolitza, appears quite in the clouds, but when arrived there the situation is found to be extremely pleasant; above it are some very abundant springs, which form basons surrounded with weeping willows. The inhabitants are shepherds, and cannot be said to have very sumptuous habitations; but their huts are surrounded with little gardens, in which they cultivate some culinary vegetables. I would fain have entered into conversation with some of them: but their doors were all closed, and enormous dogs, the guardians of their penates, made such a display of the formidable teeth with which they were accustomed to attack their masters' enemies, the wolves, that I was forced to retreat in dismay.

* The *aire* is the threshing floor used in warm countries where the corn is trodden out by cattle in the field. It is of a circular form and paved. The corn is strown upon it, and a man standing in the middle holds the reins of the horses or mules, and makes them run round and round over every part, till the corn is separated from the straw.—TRANSLATOR.

Descending from this village, many sheep-folds and shepherds' huts are to be seen; and to the right at some distance are the ruins of a very large village, pleasantly situated on an amphitheatre at the end of a narrow valley. As nothing in antiquity could lead me to assign a name to this place, I presumed it to be a modern ruin, and to have been one among the numerous villages burnt by the Albanians. I am the rather led to think this, as the ruins have nothing of that character of grandeur which is impressed, I may almost say, upon the very dust of the ancient monuments. I measured the dimensions of some of the houses, and some old chapels; but I never could learn any name for the place. In like manner, numbers of desolated villages are to be seen all over this mountain, some of which are, no doubt, remains of the heroic ages. This may, perhaps, be the reason why the moderns have changed the name of Menale for that of Roïno, a word evidently corrupted from the Italian.

Pallantium was a league and a half further to the south, on the road which leads to Sinano, but no vestiges of it are now to be seen. The statues of Pallantius, of Evander, and of Polybius exist no longer, excepting in the immortal work of Pausanias, any more than the temple of the *Pure Gods*, by which the people of Pallantium swore in attesting the truth of what they asserted. In reading Pausanias one can scarcely imagine that he wrote two thousand years ago. If, as De Pauw says, he was not well acquainted with the Roman history, he had at least a remarkable talent at describing places. With his work as a guide, one might travel at this moment over the countries of which it treats: one might go to Asi, one might explore the fertile sources of the Alpheus, nor fear ever to be led astray by vague and illusive theories. His testimony is therefore extremely revered by many well-informed Greeks with whom I was acquainted, while they laugh at their own geographer Meletius.

Below Pallantium, to the south-east, are the ruins of Asi; and a league and a half from them, returning northward towards Tripolitza, is a ruined church surrounded by some houses, a half-fallen tower, and some feet of old wall, to which the Greeks give the name of Palæopolis, but they are in fact the ruins of Tegea. These ruins stand on an eminence, which is composed of vegetable earth. They face the east, and extend on that side quite down to the plain. For more than half a league round, large pieces of hewn stone are scattered on all sides, with many fragments of marble and enormous blocks of granite; while the plough in going but a little way into the soil continually turns up bricks and tiles, so that no doubt can be entertained of the spot having been the site of some ancient city. The soil

on the eminence cannot be cultivated, because of the very thin layer of earth by which the ruins are covered; nothing grows there in consequence but a feeble and yellow kind of grass, which withers away as soon as the heats commence. The part of the tower which remains may be from thirty to forty feet high; and it appears to have belonged to a fortification. There is no doubt, but that with the consent of the pasha researches might be made here which would be amply recompensed by the objects of antiquity that would be recovered.

The situation of Tegea is delightful; and in the days of its prosperity it may be presumed that it scarcely yielded in grandeur to any town of Peloponnesus. Among its most celebrated monuments was the temple of Minerva Aléa, decorated with the three orders of architecture. Pausanias tells us that the exterior was surrounded with Doric pillars; and in the interior were two ranges of columns, one of the Corinthian, the other of the Tuscan order. In this temple was painted the famous hunting of the Calydonian boar, with all the Grecian heroes who assisted at it *. The eye still wanders with delight over this valley, where are many very pleasant houses, several farms, and large groves of trees; and where in all parts agriculture is seen to flourish. We are presented at the same instant with a view of the passes into Laconia, Argolis, Mantinea, and Messenia. We see the celebrated mountains of Menale, of Parthenius, of Artemisius, of Cresius, of Boreas, and of Cronius.

Such are the parts of the Morea which I have visited: such is the delightful valley of Tegea. It remains now to speak of the manners and customs of the Moreans; of the nature of their soil, of the air which they breathe, of the diseases with which they are afflicted, of their domestic œconomy, of their faith, and of their prejudices. I would in short give such a picture of these people, that, if compared by intelligent and impartial travellers with the original, its fidelity may be acknowledged. Before I enter, however, on these subjects, it will be proper to begin with an account of the administration of the province: and this shall be done in the following chapter.

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* See *Pausanias*, lib. 8.

CHAPTER X.

Administration of the province.—Its division into cantons or villaiétis, into archbishoprics and bishoprics.—Its taxes.—Military state of the country.

It has been already stated that the government of the whole province is intrusted to a pasha of three tails, or beglerbey, who resides at Tripolitza: the pasha of two tails, who resides in time of war at Nauplia, is subordinate to him. The beys of Navarin, Coron, Modon, Mistra, Argos, Corinth, Patras, and Gastouni; the chiefs of Arcadia, Andritsena, Andreossa, Leondari, and the codja-bachis of Caritena, Sinano, Vostitza, Vasilico, &c. all pay the contributions received by them into the hands of the pasha; he has under him a defter-kiaya or intendant, and a moucabel-edji or controller of the finances.

The taxes are of a double kind, upon persons and upon property. The Turks only pay the territorial tax, but every subject not a Mussulman pays besides a *caratch* or capitation tax. This caratch is a sort of census, in which all are included above twelve years of age; and as there are no public registers by which the age may be legally ascertained, if any doubt should arise on this point, the cadi measures the head of the person in question with a cord, and according to this measurement the decision is made; for it is considered as an incontrovertible fact, that at such a certain age the head must be of such a certain dimension. Perhaps this is not the very worst mode of decision that might have been chosen.

The lowest rate of the caratch is a sequin of four piastres, which is about equal to six livres twelve sous*. The subject or raïa†, on discharging this annual tax, receives a square of red or blue paper, on which are five or six seals, called a ticket of caratch. All who are not Mussulmans are in this country distinguished by a particular costume, a distinction which extends even to the different ranks, so that when any one presents himself at the gates of a town, his dress immediately points out whether he be a raïa or a Mussulman. If the former, his ticket

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* Five shillings and sixpence English money.—Translator.

† The term *raïa* is applied to every subject of the grand-signor, whether Greek, Armenian, Jew, or any other who is not a Mussulman.

of caratch is immediately required, and woe to him who cannot immediately produce it! He is obliged to pay the tax anew and receive his ticket, happy if some strokes of the bastinado are not given him in addition. The ticket is renewed every year when the tax is paid. The inhabitants of Maïna have made a compromise for this tax, since it is considered as casting a sort of stigma upon the person who pays it. Some persons, particularly the papas or priests, are exempted from it.

According to the census, as I was informed in very positive terms by the codjabachis, the Morea contains four hundred thousand Greeks and four thousand Jews. These, with fifteen thousand Turks, compose the population of a country where flourished formerly one hundred and eleven towns.—And what towns? Those of Argos, Corinth, Sparta, Messené, Megalopolis, Olympia, Tegea, Mantinea, places of so much renown, places where were performed actions the thought of which fires the imagination, elevates the soul, and the recollection of which must endure as long as time shall last!—places, alas! where to the arts, to the sciences, to wealth, to glory, have succeeded depopulation, slavery, and misery!

The tax on moveable property is the next after the caratch. It includes objects of industry, furniture, and other things, but is levied very arbitrarily. The Greeks estimate this at a fourth part of the net produce of their gains; but it varies so much in different towns, that it is impossible to fix a general standard for it. A shop or a house with chimneys pays according to certain proportions; but the shop of a dealer in shawls, for example, pays much more than that of a sadler, and the proportions in which they are taxed are by no means regulated according to equity.

The Turkish government, in order to arrive at a proper estimate of the tax on actual property, has divided the province into twenty-four cantons or villaiétis. In some cantons where there are large towns, a sub-division is made, and they are then distinguished as the canton *inter muros*, and the rural canton. According to this idea, the following is the general division of the Morea:—

1. The canton of Tripolitza, including the town.
2. The rural canton, including the plain of Tegea as far as the four defiles of Mantinea, of Strata, of Kalilbey, and of Corinth.
3. The canton of Caritena.
4. . . . . Faneri.
5. . . . . Lala.
6. . . . . Pyrgos.
7. . . . . Gastouni.
8. . . . . Patras.

9. The canton of Calavrita.
10. . . . . Vostitza.
11. . . . . Corinth.
12. . . . . Nauplia di Romania.
13. . . . . Agia Petra.

This canton comprehends a part of Argolis, to Hermione and Trœzene inclusively.

14. The canton of Argos.
15. . . . . Mistra, *inter muros.*
16. . . . . The rural canton of Mistra, containing the villages of Laconia quite to the mouth of the Eurotas.
17. The canton of Monembasia, or Nauplia of Malvoisie.
18. . . . . Leondari.
19. . . . . Andreossa.
20. . . . . Calamatte.
21. . . . . Coron.
22. . . . . Modon.
23. . . . . Navarin.
24. . . . . Arcadia.

The pasha has no general authority over these cantons, excepting with regard to the civil police. Yet in times of war, or in particular circumstances where extraordinary impositions are called for, he has the power of levying them. The chiefs of the cantons are however obliged to appear before the pasha every year, to pay into his hands the general contributions.

Besides the above division, which concerns the civil government of the country, the Morea is divided for the religious establishment in the following manner:— There are six metropolitan towns, Monembasia, Nauplia di Romania, Corinth, Patras, Christianopolis, (the name given by the Greek church to Arcadia,) and Lacedæmon: five archbishoprics, Dimizana; Oléna, the archbishop of which resides at Gastouni; Zarnate, residence at Varousi; Chronius and Calavrita, residence at Calavrita; Langadia, residence at Jocova; and eight bishoprics, Coron, Modon, Andreossa, Cariopolis, (among the Cacovouniotes,) Vristenis, Reondas and Prastra, Amyclea, and Eleos.

The codja-bachis are the vilest and most contemptible among the agents to the satraps of the sultan; they think of nothing but forcing down their extortions, founding their hopes of fortune upon the iniquities and oppressions of which they are guilty. Unnatural monsters, degenerate brethren, they would mourn a change which the rest of the Greeks desire and invoke. As they are commonly of the families from which the archbishops and bishops are taken, they call in the assistance of the prelates in any disputes in which they are engaged; when the fear of spiritual excommunication commonly subdues the refractory, and makes them submit to the grossest extortions. The Turks, treated despotically, though with less injustice, are not called upon to assist in any kind of deliberations: the

taxes they have to pay are fixed, and they commonly pay them without a murmur. As belonging to the conquering nation, they are certainly less vexed and fretted ; but it must also be observed, that in case of war they are the only people, some Greeks from the sea-ports excepted, who are called upon to take arms.

By the impositions above enumerated a sum is collected annually, amounting to nearly two millions of piastres: one million goes to the pasha, and fifteen hundred thousand livres are swallowed up by the codja-bachis. The annual product of the soil in the Morea, united with that of the industry of the inhabitants, supposing that, as they say, a fourth is really swallowed up by the government, may be estimated at about fifteen millions of livres*. There are other burdens which fall entirely upon the raïas ; 'tis they alone who keep the roads in repair, and work at the fortifications: hence arises another source of profit to the pasha and his subalterns, in the sums paid by those who wish to compound, and exempt themselves from the labour: not a sol however of the money thus paid ever reaches the public treasury. There is a duty at the gates of the towns upon all fire-wood brought into the place, upon provisions, and upon liquors; this duty is taken either in money or in kind. Any one who is aggrieved by the collectors of it runs no great hazard in taking the redress upon himself by the use of his fists; these are indeed the only people among the Mussulmans against whom a raïa can raise his hand without danger of the bowstring.

The most solid revenues of the pasha arise from certain farms attached to his place; from the requisitions in horses, forage, and provisions, which he is empowered to make; from the inheritances of the public functionaries, whose property devolves to the sultan in case of their death while in office ; from the installation of the bishops and papas; and lastly by the *avanies*, which to people in place are a mine that yields in proportion to the extortions which they find may be practised with impunity. Every town or village is entirely responsible for any murder committed within its territory, as it is always assumed that they might have prevented it. If the victim be a Turk, or a foreigner travelling under the authority of a firman from the government, a heavy fine is set, and if this should be resisted, the place is put under military execution.

The beys or agas have the entire command in the principal inland towns, but in those on the coast the authority is only shared with the capudan-pasha.

* 625,000*l.* English money.—Translator.

The beys have the power of condemning to the bastinado, and of levying fines; the direction of the armed force also is confided to them under the orders of the pasha. Every week detachments from each of the sangiaks must appear, and pass in review before the pasha: on these occasions they fire several times to salute his highness, he remaining all the time motionless upon his sofa, scarcely condescending to honour them with a look. They then repeat a short ejaculation, praying heaven to preserve and bless the days of the sultan; after which they have a lodging assigned them, and are served with provisions. These ceremonies performed, they return without delay to the places whence they came, plundering the villages through which they pass in their way, while the inhabitants commonly revenge themselves upon any stragglers who may have lagged behind; these they kill without mercy, if they think it can be done with impunity. And yet the vexations inflicted by the despotic hands of an arbitrary government are not the most galling and oppressive of all that this people are condemned to endure. The most tyrannical, the most revolting, result from the petty insults and oppressions exercised by the subaltern tyrants, by those who have not the sanction of authority on which to ground their vexations, but whose tyranny is the result of mere individual caprice. I have seen one of the lowest among the Turks dismount from his horse, force a Greek from his shop, load him with his baggage, and compel him to follow him, without the poor Greek venturing to resist, or even to utter a complaint. I have seen, oh shame! young Mussulmans even raise their hands and strike Greek heads whitened o'er with age.

Unfortunate descendants of nations once so glorious, whose dissensions but protract your own slavery, ye are not however the only people upon earth subjected to like insults;—they are, alas! the produce by turns of all climes and all ages. Yet strangers as these people are in the bosom of their own country, they still love and cherish it, while tears steal softly down their cheeks when one talks to them of the glory of their ancestors. I have seen mothers at such moments press their infants to their bosoms, and bless their own fecundity, in the hope that some day one of those extraordinary men may rise up among them whom heaven sometimes sends for the blessing of nations, and who, assembling the sons of Greece under his banners, may restore them to something like their ancient renown, and revenge upon the heads of their tyrants the ages of injury and oppression which they have endured.

With regard to the military state of the Morea, it must be observed that its principal bulwarks are Nauplia di Romania upon the gulf of Argos, Coron,

Modon, and Navarin, to the south; Castel Tornése, Patras, and the forts upon the gulf of Corinth, to the north. Garrisons are maintained at all these places even in times of peace, if the appellation of garrison may be given to a few miserable apologies for cannoniers, (who have in fact little of the cannonier in them but the name,) and some spahis. It being a time of war when I was in the Morea, so that the province was considered in danger, although protected by a formidable fleet, a body of six thousand troops was then maintained there. I saw these poor wretches arrive at Tripolitza, from the different towns in the empire whence they had been ordered, most of them destitute of arms and half famished, having performed a long and fatiguing march without order and without chiefs. But the cavalry was the body which, of all others, entertained me the most; it was impossible in seeing them to surmise from what country they could have been collected. Some were on horses caparisoned with pack-saddles, having no other arms than a musquet, some had only an enormous lance, others only a pair of pistols, while the horses seemed to be lamentably defective in the quality most important to soldiers of such a species, the power of running away tolerably fast, so as to give their riders some chance of drawing themselves fairly out of the scrape.

The Albanians however, though undisciplined, had something like a regular organization. They were divided into *chiliads*, or bodies of a thousand each, having at the head of each division a *bimbachi*, or chief of a thousand. This chief was distinguished by a tunic, like that worn by the deacons of the church, and long epaulets which hung down to his elbows; he had under him captains, lieutenants, and commanders of companies, but these companies did not consist of any fixed number of soldiers. Each individual when enlisted received a sum of money, out of which he was to furnish himself with proper clothes, arms, and other necessaries, the government not charging itself besides with furnishing any thing except provisions; of these the general allowance was a pound and half of bread per day to each man, for which boiled wheat was sometimes substituted; to this were occasionally added a few olives, or a small quantity of cheese, but very rarely any meat. It is not difficult to form an idea of what a body of troops must be, without any proper discipline, without a military chest, or regular pay. If it be added that these soldiers were mostly armed with a fowling-piece only, without a bayonet, that some even among the infantry had nothing but pistols, that all were obliged to cast their own bullets and make their own cartridges, which are carried in a little square pouch, with a bottle of oil for cleaning the

gun,—when all these things are considered, one cannot entertain a high idea of the power of a country which depends for its safety upon such defenders.

In garrison, instead of practising themselves in the manœuvres of their profession, the Turkish soldiers pass the day in sleeping, smoking, drinking coffee, and playing on the mandoline: if however the enemy be mentioned, they make a great boast to each other of the number of heads they will strike off. Those who hear their conversations and compare them with their known feats in the hour of battle, cannot but acknowledge the justice of the adage, which represents them as

Fierce in the camp, but trembling in the field.

If they are menaced with danger, or are apprehensive of a surprise, instead of placing sentinels round the camp, the whole army keep watch together. This is a scene of great festivity; the dervises sing their canticles, or relate stories from the *Thousand and one Nights*, till they are all overcome with sleep; and more than once in the last war the Russians owed the advantages they gained to this most unaccountable mode of conduct.

CHAPTER XI.

Character of the Morean Greeks.—The Greek women.—Superstitions of these people.—Their honorary titles.—Pride of the Greeks in their ancient monuments. —Education of their children.—Amusements of the young people.—Music and songs of the Greeks.

Romei, (Romans) how much was I struck with this word when I first heard the Greeks called by it! Fallen from their ancient splendour, they have lost with their liberty, with their days of glory, even the name by which their forefathers were known. Children of Sparta, inhabitants of Tegea, of Athens, and of Argos, all are confounded under one general name; and that name taken from the Romans, their first conquerors, seems to have been preserved by the Mussulmans as a badge of humiliation; for in the estimation of these barbarians the name of Romans, of the *people-king*, is equivalent to that of vassal or slave.

In order to judge impartially the Greeks whom I have known, I will endeavour equally to avoid the cavilling and fastidious spirit of Monsieur de Pauw, and the too flattering opinion of Monsieur Guys, who pleased himself with the idea that he had found the ancient Greeks in modern Greece. It is certain that the Greeks in these days have, like all nations, a physiognomy peculiar to themselves; but, unhappily, this physiognomy draws its principal characteristic from the state of slavery and oppression in which they are plunged, differing in this most essentially from the former inhabitants of the country. But who is not, alas! well aware how much the iron rod of despotism debases nations, as well as individuals? For the rest, since the task I have undertaken is to represent things as they are, without pretending to explain their causes, I will neither overcharge nor weaken the characteristics of the people among whom I was so long a sojourner.

The Morean Greeks, or inhabitants of the Morea, are strong made, robust, and distinguished by a cast of features full of expression, yet, as I have observed, evidently debased by slavery. Endowed naturally with strong talents, which by circumstances are diverted from taking a course that would render them at once useful and ornamental to society, they are profound dissemblers, crafty and vain: extremely addicted to talking, little dependence is to be placed upon what they

say: entertaining no scruples of perjuring themselves, they scarcely utter a word, or traffic for the most trifling article, without invoking a whole legion of saints as witnesses to their probity. Gay, lively, inclined to dissipation, they make themselves agreeable, as companions, without inspiring confidence; possessing active imaginations, their language abounds with ornament, with figures, with metaphors, with similes: if they talk of liberty, it is in a strain of exaggeration which would make one believe that they are ready to undertake any thing, to make any sacrifices in the pursuit of it; yet it is too evident that the indignation they manifest against their oppressors, arises less from the desire of enfranchisement than from that of seeing their own mode of worship the predominant one. It is but too evident what is to be expected of people actuated by such an ambition. The descendants of Miltiades and Cimon, bowed down under the two-fold despotism of the Turks and their papas, are wholly incapable of conceiving, or prosecuting, an enterprise of that bold and generous nature requisite to afford a prospect of their restoration to the political situation the country once enjoyed. The modern Greeks, I cannot, alas! hesitate to say it, would see nothing in a revolution but the triumph of their religion, without concerning themselves about political liberty. I must add, that if they hate the Turks, they detest much more, astonishing as it may seem, the Christians who acknowledge the authority of the Pope. This fact is so certain that the Greeks, if asked who they are, always answer *Christians*, in the fear that they should be taken for Papists. This hatred of Roman catholics is cherished by their papas, who are continually talking of the maledictions uttered by the Pope against all who are not his disciples, and telling dismal stories of the Greeks that die among the Latins being deprived of the rights of sepulture.

The opinion I have here given respecting the motives that would actuate the Greeks in undertaking a revolution is supported very much by what passed in 1770. At sight of the victorious banners of Catherine the whole Morea hastened to arms; the Greeks assembling themselves together tumultuously without order, and without any plan, bathed themselves at leisure in the blood of the Mussulmans; not because they saw in them tyrannical oppressors and formidable enemies, but because they were infidels. They thought more of revenging the profanation of their temples, and the persecution of the Christian religion, than of throwing off the yoke of slavery which bore so heavily upon them *. Their minds were too

* The conduct of the Souliotes in the affair of Prevesa, an account of which will be found in a future chapter, gives the exact measure of what may now be expected from the Greeks.

weak, their character too vacillating, to permit of their ideas being directed to an end so noble as the general enfranchisement of the country. Thus, when subdued, we see them quietly stretching out their necks to their merciless conquerors, instead of intrenching themselves in the defiles of their mountains, and there perishing with their arms in their hands. It is true that the religion for which they fought offered them the crown of martyrdom, and this they received with as much transport as if it had been the blood of the Mussulmans with which they saw their lands dyed, instead of that of their own party. Such men may be good Christians, but they are bad defenders of their wives, their children, and their country. It is this spirit which has consolidated, for so many ages, the slavery of the Greeks.

Besides the above causes for believing that this slavery is not likely to be near its termination, there is another belonging to the character of the people which will operate not less forcibly, and that is the jealousy by which they are divided among themselves. The tyrannical empire exercised by the subaltern agents of the satraps, those vile instruments of their exactions, the codja-bachis, who are taken from among the Greeks, presents the greatest of all obstacles to the progress of liberal and enlarged sentiments among their brethren. I must here make an exception in favour of the island of Chios. To the honour of the magistrates and of the inhabitants it must be said, that such governors and such a people give reason for entertaining the most flattering expectation from the progress of reason among them. For the rest, I relate what I have seen, with the probable inferences to be drawn from it, without pretending to give them as absolutely necessary consequences. If, besides, to what has been said above we add an insatiable love of power, a restless and quarrelsome disposition, and a spirit of intrigue which seems innate in the Greeks, there will appear little reason to hope that an union among such persons can speedily be formed upon that grand and enlarged scale which alone could afford a prospect of their ancient splendour being restored. Such are the modern sons of Greece, at least such they appeared to me. The picture, I will own, is not flattering; but my pen has been guided by truth alone, and this is the object to which the first homage of every writer is indisputably due.

The Morean women have undoubtedly a claim to the prize of beauty, perhaps also to the palm of virtue. They may probably owe the first advantage to physical causes not difficult to be assigned. During the greater part of the year the sun warms the Morea with its benignant rays: the air is free from all humidity, and, charged with the perfume of thousands of flowers, is pure and vivifying, while

the temperature is mild and serene as in our finest days of spring. If to this be added the moderate share of labour to which the women of the East are subjected, and the regular lives they lead,—in these united causes a sufficient reason will be found for the beauty which has always distinguished the women of Peloponnesus.

The models which inspired Apelles and Phidias are still to be found among them. They are generally tall and finely formed; their eyes are full of fire, and they have a beautiful mouth ornamented with the finest teeth. There are, however, degrees in their beauty, though all in general may be called handsome. The Spartan woman is fair, of a slender make, but with a noble air; the women of Taygetes have the carriage of Pallas when she flourished her formidable ægis in the midst of a battle. The Messenian woman is low in stature, and distinguished for her *embonpoint;* she has regular features, large blue eyes, and long black hair. The Arcadian, in her coarse woollen garment, scarcely suffers the regularity of her form to appear; but her countenance is expressive of great purity of mind, and her smile is the smile of innocence. Chaste as daughters, the women of the Morea assume as wives even a character of austerity. Rarely after the death of a husband whom she loved does the widow ever think of contracting a new engagement. Supporting life with difficulty, deprived of the object of her affections, the remainder of her days are often passed in weeping her loss. Endowed with organs sensible to melody, most of the Greek women sing in a pleasing manner, accompanying themselves with a tetrachord, the tones of which are an excellent support to the voice. In their songs they do not extol the favours of love, they do not arraign the coldness and inconstancy of a lover; it is rather a young man who pines away with love, as the grass is withered on the house-tops; who complains of the cruelty of his inflexible mistress,—who compares himself to a bird deprived of his mate, to a solitary turtle dove;—who requires all nature, in short, to share in his sorrows. At this long recital of woes, the companions of the songstress are often melted into tears, and quit her with warm expressions of delight at the pleasure they have received.

If the Greek women have received from the hand of nature the gift of beauty as their common dower, and a heart that loves with ardour and sincerity, they have the defects of being vain, avaricious, and ambitious; at least this is the case with those in the higher ranks of society. Totally destitute of instruction, they are incapable of keeping up a conversation in any degree interesting, nor can supply their want of education by a natural playfulness of imagination which gives birth intuitively to lively sallies, and often charms in women more than cultiva-

tion of mind. It may be said in general that the Greek women know nothing: even those who are born in the higher ranks are ignorant of the art of presiding in their own houses; an art so well known, and so well practised in our own country, that a woman destitute of real knowledge has often by this means drawn around her a circle of the most cultivated and most amiable among the other sex. As a proof of the total want of education among the Greek women, I cannot help adding that I have often heard at Constantinople, even from the mouths of those who bore the title of princesses, the grossest language used towards their servants, such as would not be endured among us but from the very lowest dregs of the people. It is not difficult, from this specimen, to form an idea of the charm which such sort of female society presents to Europeans of polished countries.

A belief in sorcery or witchcraft, that great stumbling-block of the human understanding in all ages and climes, is exceedingly prevalent in modern Greece. A number of old Sibyls, withered sorceresses of the race known among us by the name of Bohemians or Egyptians, the refuse of Thessaly, a country celebrated in all times for female magicians, are in high repute in every part of the Morea. They explain signs, interpret dreams, and all the delirious wanderings of the imagination. Reverenced, feared, caressed, nothing is done without consulting them; nor is it difficult to conceive how unbounded an empire these imposters obtain over imaginations as ardent, united with minds as little cultivated as characterize the Grecian women.

A young woman wishes to know what sort of a husband she is to have. She consults one of these oracles of fate, who gives her a pie seasoned with mint and other aromatic herbs gathered from the mountains. This she is to eat at night without drinking, and go to bed immediately, first hanging round her neck, in a little enchanted bag, three flowers, one white, another red, and the third yellow. The next morning she puts her hand into the bag and draws out one of the flowers: if it be the white, she is to marry a young man; if the red, one of a middle age; if the yellow, a widower. She is then to relate what she has dreamt in the night, and from her dreams the Sibyl draws omens, whether the husband is to be rich, and whether the marriage is to prove happy or not. If the predictions be not accomplished, no fault is ever ascribed to the oracle; either her orders were not exactly observed, or the *Evil-eye* has rendered her divinations abortive. This *Evil-eye*, the *Arimanes* of the ancients, is a dæmon the enemy of all happiness, the very name of whom terrifies even the most courageous. According to the Greeks, this spirit or invisible power is grieved at

all prosperity, groans at success, is indignant at a plentiful harvest, or at the fecundity of the flocks, murmurs even against heaven for having made a young girl pleasing or handsome. In consequence of so strange a superstition, no one thinks of congratulating another upon having handsome children, and they carefully avoid admiring the beauty of a neighbour's horse, for the *Evil-eye* would very probably at the same instant afflict the children with a leprosy, or the horses with lameness. The power of this genius even extends to taking away treasures of every kind from those by whom they are possessed. If however, in complimenting the beauty of the children or the horses, care is taken to talk of *garlic* or to *spit*, the charm is broken.

In consequence of this prejudice, that one constantly sees garlic hung up in a house newly built, that the *Evil-eye* may be kept at a distance. Every Greek vessel also is provided with a head of garlic tied up in a little bag, as a preservative against tempests*. Garlick! garlick! *Scordo! scordo!* is the general cry whenever any misfortune is apprehended; and never is any accident, of whatsoever kind it may be, imputed to any thing but the *Evil-eye*. A singular custom which prevails in Greece is, that when any one has fallen under the influence of that metaphysical allegorical being called *misfortune*, he salutes it, not in terms of anger or reproach, but with this simple sentiment: "*Welcome, O misfortune! if thou art alone!*" This mode of salutation will appear very appropriate, when we consider how rarely it happens that one misfortune occurs without being accompanied by *another*, or perhaps by *others*.

My indignation was once so excited by seeing the influence which one of these sorceresses had obtained over the minds of a number of persons upon a particular point, that I was strongly inspired with a wish to undeceive them as to the extent of her power. I therefore took the liberty of making some objections to her art; this put her at first into a violent rage, and she began fulminating against me. Far however from producing the effect she expected, I only assumed a higher and more decisive tone, and bade her beware how she incensed me, for I could really bewitch her, and subject her to be tormented by the Devil. She was like one thunderstruck; and I saw plainly, that though she might be sufficiently wily to make others her dupes, she was not enough so to

* A captain who has purchased a vessel which he is to command himself, takes possession by going on board and hanging up in it a crown of laurel; this ceremony is called espousing the vessel. The bag of garlic is hung up immediately after it has been performed.

be above being duped herself by those who were free from belief in her agency. I saw her again several times, but she never ventured again to talk to me on the subject of magic.

These puerile fears are common to both sexes in the Morea. The men, decided blasphemers, swear without mercy by the heads of their children, or by their souls, but they dare not pronounce the name of the Devil. If they are desirous of uttering the wish so common among mankind towards each other, *Que le Diable t'emporte!* instead of expressing themselves in these plain and direct terms, they turn the phrase circuitously: "*May he who is in a certain place far from hence take thee!*" a truly humorous modification. In the churches however, where they are supposed to be entirely safe from this object of their terror, he is mentioned freely and *sans cérémonie;* the papas consign their flocks to him without mercy; they dispute, they rail at each other with his name perpetually in their mouths, though the moment they are without the walls they would almost expect him to be at their elbows, should they dare even to utter a letter of it.

Their habitual language equally bespeaks them full of superstitious notions. A pretty woman who wants to enforce strenuously any thing she has advanced, says, "*May I live!*"—"*May I preserve my sight!*" If she wants to make a falsehood pass current, a thing which happens occasionally in Greece as well as in all other countries, she changes the latter phrase and expresses herself thus, "*May I lose my sight!*" though the imprecation is generally uttered with a kind of hesitation which betrays some apprehension for the safety of the eyes. The name of the Virgin is to be found in all places where the ancients were accustomed to use that of Jupiter in support of an affirmation.

Amongst the signs of malediction in use among the Greeks, the most forcible is the holding out the five fingers extended all at once. This explains a passage in the Andria of Terence, where one of the characters says, using the same action, *Ecce tibi dono quinque*,—"I give thee five." So much exception is made to the number of five, that nobody thinks even of repeating the word in conversation unless accompanied with an apology. What is the origin of so strange a prepossession? I know not, and do not think it a matter of great importance to investigate.

After having shown how much the modern Greeks are given up to superstition, and the degree of debasement to which their minds are reduced by the slavery under which they have so long languished, another feature of their character will

appear the more extraordinary; this is the vanity which all have more or less of being distinguished by the most pompous titles. Nothing is heard among them but the titles of archon, prince, most illustrious, and others equally high-sounding; the title of *His Holiness* is given to their papas. The child accustomed to forget the most endearing of all appellations, the wife forgetting that which she ought most to cherish, salute the father and the husband with the title of *Signor*, at the same time kissing his hand. This name, which is only a term of submission, is by the pride of the Greeks preferred to all others, for the very reason that it seems to acknowledge superiority in the person to whom it is addressed.

It is from this sentiment of vanity that those Greeks who have acquired any knowledge of the history of their country, speak with so much pride of the ancient relics still scattered over it. According to the affinity which may be found in their names to any of those celebrated in antiquity, they call themselves the descendants of Codrus, of Phidias, of Themistocles, of Belisarius. The same sentiment leads them to hoard up money, that they may be enabled at last to purchase some situation which shall give them the power of domineering over their brethren; and this achieved, it is by no means unusual to see them become more insolent and tyrannical towards them than the Turks themselves. They justify in this respect but too fully the common saying, that the Turk has no better instrument for inforcing slavery than the Greek.

To give a complete idea of the moral character of this nation, the ceremonies attendant upon the birth of a child must by no means be omitted. No sooner is it come into the world than it is covered with amulets, vows are offered up respecting its future fate, and it is marked on the forehead with mud taken from the bottom of a vessel in which water has been kept for some time: this is done to keep off the *Evil-eye*. Some days after preparations are made for the fairies' visit. The room is ornamented with the cleanest tapestries, the child's cradle is decorated with shawls, with precious stones, and some sequins; all sorts of precautions are taken that nothing may be left about the room which these invisible visitors might be liable to stumble against; and this done, the people in attendance seat themselves in respectful silence, and remain motionless during the time that the visit is assumed to last. These fairies are four in number, and their errand is to confer their gifts upon the new-born infant; nor does the mother ever fail to boast of the power of her visitants, and the favours they have lavished upon her child.

This ceremony over, that of baptism succeeds. The child is carried to church,

not, as with us, simply to be sprinkled upon the head with water,—whatever may be the season it is immersed entirely*, and, without any regard to its weakness, or compassion for its cries, well washed and rubbed; it is only by this means that the original sin of the father of mankind, the work of the dæmon, can be counteracted. The papas who performs this ceremony wipes the child dry, saying, "*Go, my son, now thou art clean.*" Thus preserved from the *Evil-eye*, enriched with the gifts conferred by the fairies, and regenerated by passing through the holy water, the child is consigned entirely to the care of its mother; no hireling is ever employed to afford it nourishment, its first smile is met by the affectionate glances of her to whom it owes its birth, it receives all the cares, all the attentions which its feeble age requires from maternal tenderness alone.

The only time that a Greek can be said to be thoroughly happy in the course of his life is in infancy; for he is left to grow at full liberty, like the robust vegetables which adorn his native soil. At this delightful æra the Greeks are not subject to the barbarous treatment which the children of the lower classes in more civilized countries too often experience, nor are their countenances expressive of any kind of painful sentiment. Very rarely beaten, their offences are acquitted for some insignificant imprecations which pass fleetingly over their minds, and have no other effect than recalling them to docility and obedience. All the little sports of infancy common to most countries are familiar to them.

When arrived at the age that reason begins to develop itself, they are sent to school to a papas. In examining the mode of instruction practised by these ignorant masters, one is led to wonder how a child ever arrives even at the knowledge of his letters. The master seated in his arm chair or upon a bench, in the attitude of one half stupefied by the vapour of opium, and armed with a long wand, with which he strikes at random, hears his scholars. One among them reads, and the others follow aloud with a variety of tones and inflections of voice directly in opposition the one to the other. But the most singular part of the story is, that these rogues, already as crafty as their fathers, soon acquire the art of deceiving the master completely, by reading with the utmost effrontery in different books, though they are assumed to be reading the same lesson. This however produces but little difference with regard to the lessons; for after a short time the scholars, more faithful to the impressions of the voice than to what they

* I speak here only of the Morea and Albania. I am told that in other parts of Greece they have the precaution in cold weather to warm the water for the baptism.

have before their eyes, repeat after each other, while the book does not contain a syllable of what they read so well. After reading comes writing, an exercise which is better understood, but which few children acquire a habit of doing with facility. The first elements of religion are equally taught, provided the papas knows them himself. In any case he instructs them how to extend their arms properly, and to incline their bodies as they make the sign of the cross; he teaches them that the Turks are dogs, who cannot fail to be eternally damned; and that, if they respect the papas, and pay them well, they may be sure of going to paradise themselves.

In order to form the child to a rapid pronunciation of the Greek language, and to a harmony of intonation, I have known masters in the Morea repeat to their pupils the following verses, which are only a play upon words resulting from an inversion of phrases put into measure:

Ἐκκλησια μολυβοκαιτηλοπελεκημένη,
Ὅπου τὴν ἐμολυβοκαντηλοπελέκησεν
Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ μολυβοκαντηλοπελεκητῆ,
Νἄχα κ' ἐγὼ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ μολυβοκαντηλοπελεκητῆ,
Τὴν ἐμολυβοκαντηλοπελέκιζα
Καλλίτερα παρὰ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ μολιβοκαντηλοπεκητῆ*.

This exercise, under the form of a game, is particularly used to cure children who are subject to stammering, or to shortness of breath. The verses are well calculated to teach the proper articulation of an idiom, the participles of which, and above all the compounds, are what Horace calls *sesquipedalia verba*.

The Greek girls cannot properly be said to receive any education. They are instructed in nothing but a few domestic occupations, and when grown up are in a considerable degree sequestered from society.

Among the amusements of the young men, foot races hold the first rank. This exercise is particularly prevalent in Arcadia in the fine days of summer; the old men, or papas, preside at it, and a prize is awarded to the victor. Wrestling,

* Monsieur Pouqueville has given in his work a sort of French translation of these verses, in which it may truly be said that there is neither rhyme nor reason. The verses themselves seem to bear a considerable affinity to the well-known English ones beginning

When a twister in twisting would twist him a twist.
&c. &c. &c.

which would hardly admit of being translated into Greek; and these Greek verses seem equally untranslatable into any other language. Such is the opinion of a very good Greek scholar to whom they have been submitted.—Translator.

the dgerid, and the disc, games handed down from antiquity, still maintain their place among the pastimes of the youth. At the former I have been present myself, and have no doubt that it is performed exactly as in former times at the celebrated Olympic games. The athletæ, undressed from the waist upwards, appear two by two. They are surrounded by an immense concourse of spectators, all offering up prayers for one or other of the combatants. When the signal is given by the music, they advance with measured steps, beating time, and then take attitudes like those of our fencers. After clapping with their hands, they animate themselves by humming certain airs, and then the contest commences. Their hands are pressed with all their strength upon the shoulders of each other, as a first essay of their respective powers; but like two sturdy oaks they remain immoveable, and commonly resist the shock. Soon their nervous arms are interlaced within each other, and it is at this moment that their greatest exertions are called forth: we see them employ by turns, or sometimes at the same moment, all their strength and skill, make use of all their stratagems, till one at length falls to the ground upon his back, and holds out his hand to his antagonist as an acknowledgement of his defeat. Proud of his triumph, the victor then receives the prize contended for, while the vanquished hastens eagerly away through the crowd, to avoid the looks of the spectators.

It was in the presence of Mustapha-pasha, who was extremely fond of this exercise, that I saw it performed. To the wrestling succeeded the dgerid, which was performed by the Turks. Mounted on horses rapid as the wind, they charge with the utmost impetuosity, throwing lances four feet in length, the stroke of which often does some material injury: to this sport was ascribed the number of one-eyed persons to be seen among the officers of the pasha's household, and among his delis or cavaliers. The disc, in which the ancient Greeks showed all the strength of their powerful arms, consists in supporting a stone of twenty pounds weight in the palm of the hand, when raised to a level with the head. Then setting out from a given point and running to an appointed place, he who can throw the disc furthest obtains the prize. It was probably by this game that the charming Hyacinthus perished; he who was metamorphosed by the gods into a flower, and for whose loss Apollo was so inconsolable.

These games, with the exception of the disc, are now practised by the Greeks at certain epochs, and upon the occasion of certain festivities. It is then that the people, forgetting for an instant their misfortunes, and restored to the natural liveliness of their character, deserve to be studied. What shouts! what bursts of

laughter resound on all sides!—what delight sparkles in every eye! Songs are afterwards to be heard from every quarter, while the dances, by turns serious and solemn, or light and airy, from their varied effects give added animation to the scene.

Among the dances which I have seen is one called the Candian dance. This is commonly performed by the young girls, and resembles somewhat the ballets executed on our theatres. It has the appearance of being Ariadne indicating to Theseus the windings of the labyrinth. At least the intrigue or plot of the dance, if I may be allowed the expression, answers to this story. At the same time it may be resolved into many other stories, if it were not that the name leads us to think of this, and that upon such a spot one is irresistibly disposed to refer every thing to ancient times. Those, however, who perform the dance are ignorant even of the name of the unfortunate princess whose adventure they represent: to them it is only a common dance. Yet the tradition of it, according to all appearance, must be referred to very remote antiquity.

In another dance, called the *valaque*, the young people seem to take a particular delight, from the extreme vivacity with which it is performed. A third dance has the name of the Pyrrhic. Two men armed with ponards advance with measured steps, flourishing their weapons, and pointing them first against their own breasts, then against each other's; after which the dance is continued with violent leaps, and other movements which require great power and strength. The name of this martial exercise recalls the idea of the celebrated king of Epirus, from whom its name seems to be derived. Perhaps it owes its origin to him, or he might at least encourage the adoption of it, as being well suited to his warlike genius. In seeing this dance I could fancy myself transported to ancient Sparta, so strong an affinity did it seem to bear with the amusements of that nation. I must confess that I was almost terrified when I saw the sort of delirium into which the performers had at last worked themselves, thinking that it seemed likely to end in some sanguinary affray.

Besides these historic dances, if so they may be called, there are others performed among the Greeks, one of which called the *romeika*, or Roman dance, pleased me exceedingly. In the midst of one of the vast saloons of the East, or on a lawn enamelled with flowers, there is something in it altogether enchanting. It begins with a slow and serious movement, which constantly becomes quicker and quicker, till the celerity with which it is performed at last is really astonishing. How charming is that long line of lovely women, holding each other by the hand, pass-

ing their arms alternately round each other, and throwing themselves into the finest attitudes. Songs sung by the dancers regulate the time in concert with the instruments. It is to be remarked that this custom, common in the East, of combining the song with the dance, is still to be found in those parts of France which were once occupied by the Romans, particularly at Marseilles, a Greek colony founded by the Phocæans.

To conclude what I have to say upon the dances most known and most practised among the modern Greeks, it remains only to mention one common among the Albanians, and distinguished by them under the title of *the robbers' dance* *. This was performed before the pasha by the Albanian soldiers, in a vast hall lighted only by tapers of yellow wax, which threw upon the spectators a pallid, gloomy, and sepulchral hue. There appeared the pasha seated upon his sofa, having in his girdle a poniard and two pistols, and a carbine lying by his side. Round about was his court, composed of soldiers dressed in large cloaks, standing in attitudes expressive of the utmost gloom and solemnity. The executioner, according to his usual privilege, was seated opposite to the pasha, with his fierce eye fixed upon him, as if ready to strike off the head of any one whom his highness might by a sign indicate to him, and lay it humbly at his feet. Such was the scene in which it was performed: such were the spectators of a dance calculated, as its very name imports, only to please such people as the Albanians. The Coryphæi, each with one arm round his neighbour's neck, and the other hand stuck into his neighbour's girdle, formed a circle, which beginning in a slow time afterwards made the most rapid movements, still maintaining the same rotatory figure, and mingling with their movements the most horrid cries, all which was accompanied with music beyond expression clamorous and discordant. It sometimes happens that the performers, in order to increase the interest of this dance, introduce into it the Pyrrhian which has been mentioned above, and which in its character accords perfectly with the other. After some time the circle is broke, and the performers disperse themselves in pursuit of the robbers, whom they at length seize and bring forward in triumph. It must be added, that the Greeks never assemble together in society without dancing. This exercise is the great amusement of persons of all ages; it forms a part of all public festivals. And in the

* Xenophon, in his *Retreat of the Ten Thousand,* speaks of a *robbers' dance* very similar to this, which the Greeks performed when they arrived on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus, in their return from the Persian expedition.

days of repose consecrated to religion, it assists in dissipating the gloom occasioned by their state of slavery.

Though the Muses no longer inhabit Helicon, and their melodious songs no more resound through the valleys of Thessalia;—though the chaste sister of Apollo no longer leads her companions in chorus along the banks of the Eurotas;—though Pan has quitted the bowers of Arcadia, and Minerva has no longer any altars in Athens;—while the forgotten Peneus flows unobserved through the valleys of Tempe,—and the Alpheus, deprived of the glory attached to its name, is no longer visited except by the shepherds who tend their flocks on its banks, or by travellers whom the ancient renown of Elis has attracted thither;—though the art of Therpander is now almost unknown among the Greeks, enveloped in the general catastrophe which swallowed up with their liberty the arts and sciences for which they were so celebrated;—though all these things, alas! are so, yet among the Arcadians, and the inhabitants of the coast, some songs are still to be found which are evidently remains of antiquity.

Rhapsodists still exist, who after the example of ancient times celebrate the exploits of warriors, in such strains as formerly were sung in praise of the buckler of Achilles, of which so many wonders are related, while groupes of women weep at the plaintive accents to which they listen. These songs are generally accompanied by the lyre. With their dances it has been already mentioned that songs are generally mingled. Sometimes the chief of the dancers sings certain strophes, which are afterwards repeated in chorus, to the sound of the lyres, the tambourines and pipes, which regulate the steps of the dancers. These strophes form altogether a hymn or song, extremely celebrated among the modern Greeks: it is indeed almost to them what the *rance de vache* is to the Swiss. It inspires even the wildest inhabitants of the mountains with gaiety: there is not a shepherd who does not sing it in his valleys, or a sailor who does not warble it on board his ship, as an irresistible charm against *ennui*. This hymn, in short, heard by the exiled Greek in a distant land, dissolves his heart with the recollection of his country and his paternal roof*.

They have other songs entirely of a tender nature, where the lover speaks in sounds the most languishing and affecting. With these I have been sensibly touched; but it is true that I heard them for the first time in one of those lovely

* It is given in the Appendix, No. 2, with an English translation; as are also two other pieces of modern Greek poetry.

nights when the obscurity, combined with the perfect stillness of the air, predisposes the mind to the reception of melancholy impressions *. Some of the airs which are to be heard in the Morea are, however, evidently not of the country, but borrowed from the Italians. They have probably been introduced by the inhabitants of the Ionian islands, whose intercourse with Italy and the Archipelago have afforded them opportunities of collecting songs, which they have adapted to their own tastes.

Notwithstanding their ignorance of the principles upon which the arts of poetry and music are founded, impromptus in both may occasionally be heard from the Greeks, which would not disgrace countries where the rules of these arts are better understood. Such impromptus or *cotsakias* are indeed very much in vogue among them at present; and it is by the readiness with which they are uttered that the *beaux esprits* of the country principally endeavour to shine. Nor are these merely meteors of a moment: admired in the circle where they originate, they are repeated from one to another till they become as it were a standard source of entertainment, and are thus brought into general circulation. On many occasions, indeed, in social parties of pleasure, they who did not salute each other with a *cotsakia* † would hardly be esteemed Greeks.

The music of the Greeks of Epirus, the fierce Albanians, is of a very different character: it is wild and barbarous, like the people by whom it is used, and breathes nothing but war and carnage. It seems framed only to be repeated by the echoes of the vast caverns and rugged rocks which they inhabit. Such music, truly infernal, could only originate among the Scythians, or the Albanians who so strongly resemble them; and it is accompanied by these children of the Acro-Ceraunian mountains with songs, which refer back to the glorious times of Scanderbeg their chief. One of their highest pleasures in them is, that they employ them as a means of insulting the effeminacy of the Osmanlis; for, though the Albanians have adopted the Mussulmans' mode of worship, this seems to have been done merely from motives of policy, since they take every opportunity of showing the most sovereign contempt for them.

I cannot conclude this subject without adverting to the religious songs of the Greeks; these, executed in concert in the Christian churches, appeared to me replete with interest, and truly calculated to charm the ear. I am aware, how-

* For a specimen of these songs see the Appendix, No. 2.

† Of these also a specimen will be found in the Appendix, No. 2.

ever, that this charm is partly to be ascribed to the Greek language, which, pronounced in all its purity, and with an exact attention to its prosody, has in itself a natural melody. This concert of Christian voices at the foot of the altar is indisputably very superior to the solemn, but too heavy and monotonous march of the full choir in our churches.

If the *cotsakias* form the principal amusement of the *beaux esprits* of both sexes in Greece, I must not omit to observe, that their conversation is also enlivened by another species of wit, and that is proverbs. It will, perhaps, not be unamusing to my readers to be presented with some specimens of the manner in which they are introduced. Take care, said one of them, of exciting the suspicion of your enemies: *it is better not to disturb a serpent that sleeps.* Let us suffer with patience: *he that would have the rose must take the thorns.* And, in waiting for the hour of deliverance, *let us kiss the hand that we cannot cut off.* An inconsiderate rashness may destroy us for ever: *and when the chariot is broken, they show us the road that we ought to have taken. One hand washes the other,* says one; *and both wash the face.* I know the world, I can never forget a favour, *vinegar given is sweeter than honey.* Perhaps, sometimes, too much frankness is hurtful; for *he who tells truth is driven from the town,* but *nobody throws stones at a barren tree.* I offer up my vows for the happiness of my country; and if sometimes I controvert the prejudices by which it is blinded, I care little about idle clamours: *the dog barks, but the caravan pursues its way.* I blush at the greater part of our maxims; and instead of *kissing the hand that we cannot cut off,* let us deserve by our virtues to see an end of our miseries! Let us render ourselves worthy of our ancestors! Charitable towards each other, inseparable and united, *let us take the hand of him who reels, and God will support us.*

CHAPTER XII.

Religion of the Moreans.—Their bishops.—Monks or caloyers.—Papas.—Their Lents and other fasts.—Easter.—Sacraments.—Their festivals.—Marriages.—Furniture.—Funeral ceremonies.

Most travellers have spoken of the Greek religion, giving such explanations of its doctrines and liturgies, that the subject may appear almost exhausted; there still however remains something to be said respecting their church establishment. It is well known that the Greeks follow the primitive church, without acknowledging the pre-eminence of the successor of Saint Peter, or the procession of the Holy Ghost excepting from the Father alone; theological questions involved in such obscurity that they had better never be agitated. It is sufficient to say that the descendants of Lycurgus and Solon belong to the august family of Christians, whom reason will one day all unite under the same standard. Their worship,—tolerated, acknowledged by the capitulations of the Mussulman emperors (for the latter revere Jesus Christ under the name of Issa, as the prophet who is one day to preside at the universal judgement), would flourish much more extensively, if their ministers, the papas, who are for the most part ignorant and coarse in their manners, did not daily dishonour themselves and their religion by a conduct in direct opposition to the principles they publicly inculcate.

The ministers of the Greek church may be divided into regulars and seculars. The patriarchs and bishops, who are taken from the class of caloyers or monks, are devoted to celibacy. 'Tis among this order alone that a few are now to be found tolerably well informed upon theological matters. But if they are not wholly uninstructed, if they wear a mask of respectability in their external conduct, they disgrace themselves by the perpetual intrigues in which they are engaged to arrive at the dignities of the church; these are often carried even to the length of proscriptions.

The caloyers, who are destined one day to be patriarchs and bishops, usually begin their studies in the monasteries of Mount Athos*. Most of them belong

* The Greeks call Mount Athos Ἅγιον Ὄρος, the Holy Mountain, from the number of monasteries there. Some of these are among the rihest and most powerful religious societies of Greece.

to the principal families among the Greeks, either to those who have the title of *princes* in the Fanal*, or to the families of the superior citizens. In these monasteries, as well as in that of Patmos, they study the Fathers of the Church; they even read Bossuet and some of the best French theologians, of which they have tolerably good translations. But with their usual subtlety of spirit they load even the most plain and simple articles of the Christian faith with a thousand difficulties; it seems as if they had brought the scholastic sophisms and dialectic quarrels into the country of Aristotle. Mount Athos, therefore, instead of being the asylum of peace and tranquillity, is the abode of discord and intrigue. Its inhabitants are less occupied with praying to God, than with fomenting cabals to raise themselves to honours and distinctions. It is to these monasteries, besides, or to those of Meteora†, that the patriarchs retire who have been deposed by the divan; so that it often happens that the very same men who have descended the Holy Mountain triumphantly in the midst of honours, to take upon themselves the patriarchal office at Constantinople, have returned to it in tears and sadness, to expiate by a long penitence the fatal ambition which led them to aspire to the government of the Greek church.

But if Mount Athos be a perpetual scene of dissentions and intrigues, it is only the point at which the far more extensive and powerful ones constantly carrying on at the Fanal ultimately aim. It is in this abode of oligarchy that the great intrigues are first set on foot which are intended to raise some prince born there, but as yet only a simple caloyer of Mount Athos, to the patriarchal dignity. By dint of money the vizier or those about him are first gained over, and they gain over the sultan, by whom the investiture is given; for the Turks, in their capitulations with the Greeks, reserved to themselves the right of confirming the elections of the chiefs in all the religions tolerated in their extensive empire, as well the patriarchs of the Greek and Armenian churches, as the high priest of the Jews.

But though the monasteries of Mount Athos and the isle of Patmos can boast of having within their walls the children of the first families belonging to the Greek persuasion, they are not the only societies of these monks in modern

* The *Fanal* is the name given to that part of Constantinople which is inhabited by the Greeks.

† Meteora is a district of Thessaly, about thirty leagues from Janina. In it are a number of monasteries of caloyers, built among the mountains. Some of them are in places so exceedingly steep that they can only be reached by means of rope ladders, or by getting into a basket which the monks draw up by means of a crane.

Greece. There are several in the Morea, but it is very rarely that even a bishop is taken from among them; and indeed, instruction is so entirely neglected in these houses, that it must be confessed the members are not very well qualified for such a dignity. The most remarkable among the religious communities are in Arcadia, in parts about Sinano, in the neighbourhood of Mistra, near the mouth of the river Lemnis, opposite to the island of Hydra and near Vostitza. The austere lives led by these cœnobites are so much the more extraordinary, as no such austerities are enjoined by the rules of their order. They are clothed in hair cloth, and, in a country abounding with things to please the palate, live upon the coarsest food, cultivating the earth with their own hands. They lie upon the ground, and several times in the week inflict corporal discipline upon themselves. Their time is in short divided between their manual labour and their religious exercises, either in the church or in their own cells. Their usual study is the gospel, or the homilies of the primitive fathers; but, whether from reason or from ignorance, they regard all controversial theology as a tissue of chicanery offensive to God. In a word, the caloyers of the Morea, by their austerities and modes of life, resemble the disciples of the Abbé de Rancé, the celebrated monks of La Trappe.

These convents, besides some endowments, receive large contributions from the alms and donations of the faithful. The monks in the superior convents of the order, in the time of Lent send out some of their fraternity to make evangelical excursions about the country, which never fail of being very profitable. The fathers of Mount Athos and Patmos, and even some from the monasteries in Bœotia about Thebes, travel about the Morea, confessing, blessing, exorcising, but never except for ready money. I once found one of these missionaries accompanied by several priests, who had been administering *Extreme-unction* to a whole family, all of whom were in perfect health*. I could not help therefore expressing my surprise that they should think of going through such a ceremony; but they replied with great simplicity, that they thought it as well to take this precaution, since they might not perhaps have another opportunity of receiving it from so holy a man. It was impossible not to smile inwardly, but I took care to avoid saying any thing which might disturb their faith.

There are but very few female religious houses now remaining in the Morea; most of them were destroyed by the Albanians, after they had massacred the in-

* The *Extreme-unction* in the Greek church differs from that in the Roman. It requires seven priests to administer it, and is administered indiscriminately to all who can afford to pay for it; always however with the idea that it is to restore the communicant to health.

habitants or sold them into slavery. These houses generally occupied some of the finest spots in the province. Some are at present about to be re-established; they are resorted to chiefly by women of ardent imaginations, disappointed perhaps in their earthly attachments, and who, from the necessity of finding some object on which their affections must be fixed, throw themselves into the arms of religion. Very few young girls are to be seen, as with us, consecrating the prime of their youth to the service of their God.

The bishops have the superintendence of all the convents in their diocese. They receive their investiture from the pasha of the province to which the diocese belongs. These pastors recall, from the simplicity both of their dress and their habitations, the bishops of the primitive church; there is no appearance of splendour about them, but in their religious ceremonies. Constantly watched by the Turks who detest them, they are obliged to maintain a conduct free from reproach, even if their consciences would not lead them to it: once degraded in the public esteem, they would attempt in vain to conciliate the good-will of the pashas; even supported by the public opinion they have often difficulty enough to avert their anger. They may frequently be seen in their dioceses walking on foot, or mounted upon an ass, carrying in their hands the pastoral crook, emblem of the mild nature of their functions, and of the spirituality of their power. Occupied not only in endeavouring to speak comfort to the people, but in protecting them as much as possible, they interpose as mediators in all discussions which it is of importance to keep concealed from the Turks. Through the influence given by their rank, independently of the means of persuasion derived from their education, they often succeed in conciliating the most opposite interests. And yet, if the very same persons are encroached upon with regard to the limits of their diocese by any neighbouring bishop, then the *man* breaks out, the peaceable character which had acquired them so much respect is thrown aside, their dignity is forgotten, and they give themselves up to the most scandalous broils.

One of the most arduous and painful functions of the bishops in Greece is to maintain order and discipline among the inferior clergy; among those ignorant and fanatical papas, far the greater part of whom dishonour the ministry by their dissolute manners. These ministers may be either married or single. The papas who had contracted a marriage before he took orders may continue to live with his wife. In defence of this regulation, they urge that the apostles in becoming followers of Jesus Christ did not divorce their wives, and that when they

received the command to teach the gospel, and the power of remitting sins was conferred upon them, their master made no inquiry whether they were married or not. It is therefore very common for those among the Greeks who intend engaging in the ministry, to marry before they enter it, choosing a robust healthy woman likely to live many years; for if she should happen to die they cannot take upon themselves new ties. Those who are not married when they receive orders, must remain single. The people, who are commonly disposed to pay great respect to persons capable of enduring privations, honour their single more than their wedded priests; but the Turks, who judge the man alone, watch them the most narrowly; and if they are only accused of any violation of their vow of celibacy, their beard is immediately shaved, and they are led about the town mounted on an ass, exposed to the derision and contempt of the populace. The rumour of an affair of this kind, which had happened in Candia, had spread even to Tripolitza when I was there, and occasioned the utmost terror and dismay among the priests.

The papas, from their extreme dirtiness and the coarseness of their manners, are positively disgusting. They never go out without their *stole* * in their pockets, in case they should be called upon to perform any of the functions of their ministry, a thing which happens not unfrequently. I am sorry to be obliged to say that most of those who came under my observation were cheats, greedy of gain, malicious, detesting all christians not of their own communion, never speaking of them but with the utmost contempt, and uttering terrible imprecations against them. They have so little real sense of their situation, that they do not scruple quitting their orders if they think it for their interest, or are inclined to it from caprice: I have even known them go into service, or become public dancers. Others, still more debased in mind, have not scrupled to associate themselves with the bands of robbers that infest Romelia, or to put themselves at the head of the maritime expeditions made by the pirates of Cape Tenarus. It is indeed rare not to find an almoner among a band of robbers, or on board a piratical vessel: such an one however has no hope of escape, if he should be taken by the Turks: he is immediately, horrid to relate! impaled alive.

This union of robbers and papas will not appear by any means unnatural, if we consider the ideas these unhappy beings have of religion, and the traffic they make of its most holy ceremonies. They sell absolutions for any crimes to those

* The *stole* is a part of the canonical dress, a sort of very long band.

with whom they associate, reserving to themselves to purchase an absolution of other papas for carrying on this traffic, and this absolution they never fail to obtain by offering a sufficient price for it. It may however be urged as some extenuation of such a profanation, if any may be admitted, that they are compelled to exonerate themselves in this way for the price they have been obliged to pay for their places, as the patriarchs and bishops sell by wholesale what the lower clergy thus deal out in retail. If they find their bishop watching them too narrowly, they sometimes take umbrage, and in revenge assume the turban; nor is it very unusual among the renegadoes of the East, to find united with the name of Ali, Selim, or Mustapha, the title of papas, the testimony of their desertion. Bishops who are really respectable for their learning and good conduct are very much to be pitied for having any concern with persons of such a description, actuated only by meanness and cupidity, and scarcely understanding Greek enough to read their breviary. Many of them excuse themselves from any trouble upon this latter account, and repeat a few prayers which they have by some means or other learned by heart, but the sense of which they are very far from comprehending.

Fasting is considered in the Greek church as so very important a part of religion, that there are only a hundred and thirty days in the year free from it. Besides the four Lents which precede Easter, Whitsunside, the Assumption, and Christmas, they have vigils without end. Every Wednesday is a fast, because it was on that day that Judas received the money from the Jews for betraying Christ, and Friday in remembrance of the crucifixion. It is difficult to form an idea of the manner in which the Greeks live on these days, particularly during the whole of the Lent that precedes Easter. The women are then occupied in searching for snails, and gathering herbs of various kinds, often from the most rugged rocks, or from lands the most unproductive. Perhaps it is this which has given occasion to a proverb very common, that *a Greek can live where an ass would be starved.*

The time of Lent is one of expiation; and though all other crimes may be compromised, he who should have violated a fast, and should accuse himself of it, would scarcely be able to obtain absolution at any price. I have seen people in sickness, or women lying-in, refuse not only to eat meat, but to take a small quantity of broth, because it would be violating the fast. I have remonstrated with them in vain, representing how great a risk they were running; they answered me coolly, that what God had ordered could not be dispensed with.

Witnessing such austerities, I was curious to see the religious ceremonies observed during the fortnight preceding Easter. They began on the eve of Palm Sunday, when the shops were shut. The next day the Greeks, carrying branches of laurel, palm, or olive, celebrated the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem. Confession succeeded on the following days; and this is the great harvest of the papas by their traffic in absolutions; for these there is a sort of tarif. A man of the ordinary class pays for blasphemy one or two parats; and in this way all sins have their stated prices, rising in proportion to the rank and wealth of the offender, and the nature of his offence.

On the present occasion I was witness of a very amusing scene with our host Constantine. He came home in a great rage, with his mustachios fresh trimmed, having been to acknowledge his peccadillos preparatory to Easter; but far from having any appearance of the penitent about him, he was swearing and railing like any Pagan.

"Hey!—how's this?—what is the matter, Constantine?" said I.

"May he die!—may he who belongs to a certain place far from hence take him and carry him away!—the rascal!—the villain!"

"Take whom?—some Turk?"

"Bah! bah! much worse!—a papas of St. Demetrius."

"How!—dare you speak thus against a papas?"

"Aye, to be sure; for he would not give me absolution."

"You are such a dreadful sinner that I am not at all surprised."

"Bah! that is not the thing: no no, he wanted twelve piastres, not a doit less. There's no bearing that:—who can go to confession at that rate?"

"Well, and what is to be done in such a case?"

"Done?—why go to another, to be sure; and that's what I will do before this story gets wind."

In effect, away he went, and presently returned with an air of triumph, making signs to me with his hands that he had succeeded, he had got his absolution, and gave only five piastres for it; so he was even with the other rascal.

On the Thursday before Easter all the Greeks, old and young, males and females, go to church and partake of the sacrament in both kinds. In the evening they have a sort of general supper in the church, and the night is passed there in prayers: the women, dissolved in tears, relate the history of our Saviour's sufferings at this period, they follow him step by step through his passion, and seem as if they actually shared his torments. The next day, Good Friday, they

abstain from every kind of food till sunset, and then take nothing but a little bread and water. They pass the night again in watching, but not in the holy place: they go about the streets wandering hither and thither, and telling stories to pass away the time, taking care however to be very sparing of their oaths. On the Saturday the countenances begin somewhat to brighten, they are illumined by some expression of hope; all hands are actively employed in preparing cakes and dressing eggs, which are coloured in a variety of ways. The bleating of lambs which the people are carrying to be blessed is to be heard on all sides; some have their horns gilt, others are ornamented with ribbands. Noon arrives, distant strains of joy begin to resound from every quarter, the odour of the preparations begins to scent the air; the lyre and the tambourine, silent during the whole time of Lent, now again salute the ear with their jovial notes. The nuptial garments laced with gold are taken from an old chest of osier, the women clean their houses, torrents of water stream over the floors. At length, upon a signal given, every one throws out at the window the old earthen vessels used for cooking during Lent, that they may be broken to pieces; a ceremony which is called throwing Lent out at the windows. In the evening they all repair to the pasha's house to ask permission of him to be merry, making him a present; and he never fails to grant a request so well supported. During the whole of this week, the Turks, tolerant either from principle or from interest, show a sort of respect to the Christians, while they teaze and vex the Jews; the Turkish children will run after them in the streets crying out *Tchifout*, *Tchifout*,—A Jew, a Jew.

The night between Saturday and Easter Sunday is passed again in the church; and as soon as the sun begins to illuminate the most distant part of the horizon, a thousand voices utter a loud shout, and Halleluia! Halleluia! resounds to the heavens. The sanctuary is at the same instant thrown open, the bishop announces the great event of the resurrection, and the people embrace each other, crying, *Jesus Christ is risen!—Jesus Christ is risen!* Firing of guns, cries of joy, repeated a thousand and a thousand times, then announce publicly the Easter of the Christians. The liturgy is immediately celebrated, either under a ruin, the remains of Albanian fury, or upon the declivity of a hill which the rising sun gilds with its first rays. The august assembly of the faithful, the choir of the holy Sion, separate afterwards to break their fast. The lambs blessed the evening before serve for the repast, they are put upon the spit, basted with fat and rubbed with wild marjoram, and are eaten upon tables set out in the open air. The wine flows in abundance, gaiety abounds, and songs, the precursors of intoxica-

tion, announce that the Greek has forgotten the wretchedness of his situation. This whole day is nothing but a scene of banquets and of pleasure: the most lively, the most animated pictures succeed to the sadness and monotony which have so long pervaded every part. The streets, the markets, the hills, the valleys, all are alive, all present the gayest spectacles; dances and other sports are every where to be seen; even the churches are scenes of conviviality. The same festivities continue during the week, nay, a spirit of licentiousness creeps in among the people little consistent with the sacred subject which gives rise to it.

The perquisites of the clergy for the rest of the year arise very much from the custom of sanctifying the water, from benedictions, from excommunications, from exorcisms, and the sale of amulets, from administering the sacraments, the price of which is fixed, and from divorces. They are also paid for sprinkling the streets and the tombs, as well as for blessing the sea, which is done by throwing crosses into it. For all these ceremonies, 'tis money, and always money, that must be remitted to them. The excommunications belong to the bishops alone; they produce an extraordinary revenue. Every Greek trembles at the sound of an excommunication; for, if he be once struck with this anathema, he finds himself immediately abandoned by his family; thenceforward he is an outcast from them; all Christians who know him shun him, and he can no longer come within the doors of the church; nor can he be restored again to society till by a compromise with the bishop he obtains a revocation of the sentence pronounced against him. At present the Greek ministers are not hasty in having recourse to this extremity; experience has taught them that these spiritual weapons are but too likely to recoil upon the hand itself by which they are lanced, those who are thus driven from their own society having often taken refuge in the turban, as a cheaper mode of returning again among their fellow-creatures. The drogmans of the different nations who trade to the Levant sometimes have recourse to this expedient, for recovering a debt from those whom they find very dilatory in their payments; but it is only resorted to in the last extremity.

Divorce, a dreadful source of corruption, when not restrained by a wise jurisprudence, seems placed in the hands of the priests by some infernal deity. Often, upon the slightest pretence, they will, at the intercession of a husband who pays well, break the most sacred and respectable ties. Religion and good morals vainly exclaim againt such an abuse; the thirst of gain is superior to all other considerations in the breasts of these people. As to exorcisms, with them one may be amused as ceremonies too ridiculous to be the objects of any thing but laughter.

If any one suffers in his property, every thing which can be supposed to be bewitched is exorcised. They treat in this way hypochondriacs, maniacs, idiots, exorcising them at the foot of the altar, and leaving them lying there awhile upon the pavement, that the evil spirit, who always hovers for some time about the church, may get quite away, and lose all traces of the person he had tormented. The church of St. Angelo at Tripolitza was in high repute as a place of exorcism. I have seen women, who were furious, suddenly become calm, on having some verses of the gospel tied up in a little bag hung round their neck. A number of these things are also sold, to be ready for use in case of any emergency. They cure diseases in the cattle; they preserve the silkworms: or, if they happen to fail of success, the fault is not in those who sold them, but it was want of faith in those by whom they were applied.

The festival of St. George, which is after Easter, was celebrated by the Greeks while I was at Tripolitza, at a chapel dedicated to this saint near the ruins of Mantinea. The bishop, the clergy, the whole population of the town hastened thither before day-break. The sun had scarcely illumined the summits of Taygetes when the shepherds of Arcadia led their flocks into the valleys, and, leaving them to the care of some old men and children, hastened to the festival accompanied by their wives. At the same time came the inhabitants of the country about Lake Stymphalus, with those of Mount Pogliesi, and of the shores of the sea of Corinth. All these had travelled on foot the whole night. Hither also repaired the peasants of Mount Artemisius, of the forests of Nemea, and of Steno. Such is the renown that this assembly, or fair, has over the whole country.

The ceremonies of the day began by the celebration of the liturgy, during which the most profound respect, the most august silence, was observed by every part of the assembly. The branches of fir, of palm, and of laurel, were agitated by the zephyrs which precede the appearance of the star of day, when two young lovers came to swear fidelity to each other at the foot of the altar, and received from the hands of the prelate a crown of wreathed vines. The girl who was now taking upon herself the important character of a wife, had been the day before conducted to the bath, according to the custom of the country. Her goods and chattels were then removed, carried by horses, whose manes were ornamented with ribbands and embroidered handkerchiefs; while some children at the same time carried her clothes in baskets decorated with flowers. The dances were begun to the sound of the tambourine at the house of the lover; and curiosity attracted me thither with some of my companions. We were scarcely entered when the young

girl, with her hair braided with threads of gold, her face painted, her eyebrows and eye-lids dyed with *surmeh*, and her head bound with a purple *bandeau*, appeared, and came humbly to kiss our hands. She seemed then to smile at the festivities which were going forwards in honour of her marriage; but this morning at the altar she appeared all timidity; she seemed scarcely even to have power to advance. "Is this Helena?—or, perhaps, Iphigenia?" I thought within myself: "she bears the nuptial garland, and comes forward as a trembling victim."

When evening arrived, and vespers closed the ceremonies of the day, I saw her quit her paternal roof. She hesitated: her mother held her eagerly pressed against her bosom; yet a gentle violence must tear her away. Supported by her young neighbours, preceded by a child holding before her a mirror in which her features were reflected, she proceeded with slow and hesitating steps, while epithalamiums sung in chorus announced the important triumph of her charms. How many ardent vows and wishes accompanied her! How many years of happiness was Heaven invoked to grant her! About half way she was met by her husband and his companions, who ranged themselves at the head of the procession. Arrived at the door of his house, the husband placed himself on the left hand of his wife, when flowers and fruits in abundance were showered upon them. The bride was then raised up by her companions and carried into the house; for her feet must not touch the threshold, it would be fatal to the happiness of the union. Such were the ceremonies to which I was a witness. They vary somewhat in Arcadia: there the bride, mounted upon a plough drawn by oxen, is conducted in triumph to the house of her husband.

But to return to the festival in honour of St. George, from which I have wandered, in order to conduct my young bride through the remaining ceremonies of her nuptials: the plains and slopes around Mantinea were enlivened the whole day by sports and dances. The company, seated together by families upon the turf, partook of a repast which had previously been blessed by the fathers. The guests, full of health, and with good appetites, were not remiss in doing honour to the feast; and the wine flowed freely, while vows were offered up for all their friends and relations, recommending them to St. George: nor was a glass in honour of the saint himself omitted. Then followed pastoral songs, accompanied by the lyre; not such as were heard formerly, when the immortal geniuses of Greece were animated with the true poetic fire; but simple, such as the less cultivated Spartans might be supposed to have sung in the infancy of this species of poetry. Some old songs yet speak of Tityrus; and this name is sometimes given to the ram, who

with the bell round his neck marches at the head of the flock. Sometimes, also, it is given to the shepherd. Thus a name which was formerly so celebrated in Arcadia, and to which the sublime muse of Virgil has rendered so sweet a homage, is still preserved in spite of the disordered state of the times. The dances and sports on this occasion only finish with the close of day, when the guests disperse, crowning themselves with garlands of flowers, and sing as they pursue their route to their respective homes.

Amusements such as these cannot take place at the festivals which happen in winter: it is sad to say that these but too generally deserve only the title of orgies. At the Epiphany, when the several members of a family assemble together under the roof of the chief, to commemorate the offerings made on this day by the kings,—the Greeks, true to the character given them, of drinkers, in which they seem even to have improved upon their ancestors, are often surprised by Aurora with the glass still in their hands. In the carnival they scarcely ever quit the festive board. The streets of the melancholy town of Tripolitza are at this period filled with shops for eating. There are balls, and some masks carrying thyrses run about the streets pursued by children calling after them *Io! Io!* At night the young men masked make visits to their friends. I was very much surprised on the last day of this diversion at seeing, after sunset, the country round scattered all over with bonfires of straw, round which the Greeks were leaping and dancing, saying that they were burning the beard of *Chronion* or *Time*. I know not whether any tradition mentions such a custom in ancient times, but it did not appear to me one of modern invention.

It is obvious, from hence, that the festivals of the Greeks are only attractive in the summer; when nature, always rich, always beautiful, presents everywhere delightful bowers and flowery lawns. Besides the objections above enumerated to winter festivals, it must be observed, that the houses in Greece are not calculated for the reception of a large number of guests. No longer are those pompous palaces, those vast peristyles, where the arts and sports shone in concert, to be seen in the country. Though marbles, the same as those of which they were built, are still to be found, they lie neglected in the bowels of the earth: buildings are only erected in haste to serve the purpose of the moment. In such a situation as that of the present Greeks there is no inducement to pursue the arts, to display any taste.

Their very furniture bears a strong impression of their state of degradation. Extended upon a sofa, clumsy and rough in its construction, they are served upon

a round table, raised about a foot from the ground. Nothing sumptuous, nothing elegant, is to be seen in setting out the table. A total neglect of the arts is discernible even in the most simple things; and this is perceived still more sensibly among the great than among the lower orders of the people. In effect, it is by the peasants of Arcadia that we are most reminded of the models of antiquity: they have little *amphoræ* of metal, in which the wine is served at table; and cans that the shepherds carry upon their shoulders, strongly resembling ancient vases. The latter are made of olive wood, and have some indifferent figures traced upon them in colours. These are done by the inhabitants of Caritena and Faneri.

The ceremonies observed at the interment of the dead in the Greek church, will be best illustrated by giving a detailed account of the funeral of a codja-bachi, which happened while I was at Tripolitza. Being a person of rank, it was not sufficient that a wife and children, with their garments torn, and their faces lacerated, should accompany the object of their tenderness to the asylum where his remains were to be deposited; a last tribute must be paid to his vanity: the credit of his family required it, and all the pomp of religion must be displayed to do honour to his inanimate dust.

While a sumptuous car was in preparation, while they were tranforming the bier into an elegant litter, and enwreathing a crown to adorn his head (for the Greeks crown the dead, regarding death as the crown of the troubles of life), it was necessary that the virtues and good qualities of the deceased, whether real or imputed, should receive their due tribute of praise and adulation: and for this purpose the most celebrated female mourners in the town were summoned to attend. When they came their eyes sparkled with delight, in the hopes of being well paid, as it was a person of rank they were to celebrate. They were introduced into the room where lay the deceased, the family having all quitted it. The ceremony commenced by some bumpers of wine being handed to them; and they then began to inquire into the amount of the gratuity they were to expect. This occasioned a good deal of wrangling between them and the servant; the latter, indeed, would not have been a Greek if he had omitted to dispute for the price: but at length an agreement was made. They next informed themselves of the Christian and surnames of the deceased; of his good qualities, and of the good actions he had performed: to all which the officious servant answered with great emphasis; not forgetting to magnify every thing, and present it under the most favourable point of view, citing several instances of magnanimity and generosity, ornamented

according to his own taste. This done, he quitted the mourners, and left them to the performance of their duty. I cannot well conceive how these women refrain from immoderate bursts of laughter at the ceremony they are called upon to perform. Nothing can be more ridiculous than their lamenting, in strains so piteous, one of whom they could not have any knowledge; and extolling good qualities which they could have no assurance that he possessed. Above all, the idea of their weeping for a codja-bachi was highly absurd, since it is very probable that they had cursed him a hundred times during his life. They weep, however, with the utmost gravity and solemnity, as well as the utmost apparent sincerity, and present a scene so truly extraordinary, that I have thought it well worth preserving in its genuine colours.

Grouped round the bier they begin at first with a low kind of murmur, then proceed to sighs and sobs, and afterwards begin to utter cries. Moderate at the beginning, as if they would not exhaust themselves at once, they raise their voices insensibly, they become more and more animated, seeming as if by contact they electrified each other. They then strike their bosoms, tear their hair, scratch their faces with their nails, rolling upon the ground as if they were mad, and shedding torrents of tears. Presently the scene is interrupted by a deadened and mournful sound, and one of the mourners with a hoarse and hollow voice chaunts the names of a parcel of saints, concluding as if she sunk into a trance. Another of the company then takes up the subject, and thus pronounces the eulogium of the deceased:—"What a man!—what an excellent man! He was noble and illustrious by his ancestors, his grandfather and his father were codja-bachis,—he was a codja-bachi himself, and would have been a prince; who knows whether he might not have restored our fallen country! He prayed to God like a saint, he gave alms to the church, the Panagia holds out her hand to him, he never failed on festal days to keep a lamp lighted, and to burn incense before her image! Let us weep for him!" And then the lamentations were recommenced.

The bier had in the meantime been ornamented with flowers; the body, clothed in nuptial garments, with the face uncovered and a crown round the head, was exposed to the view of the company, and the prayers of the faithful were offered up for it. The mourners ranged around, failed not to pronounce their eulogium to all the visitants;—no less indefatigable in their office than their sons when employed in preparing a feast, they did not seem at all impatient for the hour when their tears were to cease. At length however it arrived, and the codja-bachi quitted for ever the house he had occupied. The owner of a very

large property, nothing now remained to him but a mournful winding-sheet, for before he was laid into the grave he was stripped of all his ornaments. The lamentations of the mourners increased at every step from the house to the cemetery, the place where the concluding act of the tragic-comedy was to be performed. The last adieu to the deceased was accompanied by hymns from the priests, with the bishop at their head in his pontifical robes.

But the tomb is closed, the codja bachi is shut out for ever from the list of human beings, and the train return back to the house. The widow is supported home, and the mourners on arriving there salute with renewed cries the house deprived of its master. A repast was served to which all the family sat down, they ate, they drank, there was no more lamentation, the whole company separated in good humour. The mourners received their pay, and retired highly satisfied to compensate by their enjoyment at home for the tears they had shed. But as it is not in the power of every body to be at so much expense, mechanics commonly invite their friends and relations to come and weep. I have seen neighbours render this service reciprocally to each other. There are even people who go voluntarily to weep at the interment of their acquaintance, in hopes that the same will be done by them when it shall please God to take them away.

In the valleys of Arcadia, where the manners are more simple, the expressions of grief are much more natural. The place destined for the repose of the faithful is always in some delightful spot near the towns and villages, but very rarely about the churches. The sports of youth are never carried on near this asylum, indiscreet joy is always kept at a distance from it. It is ornamented with bowers of odoriferous shrubs, with tall cypresses, or slender planes, where the birds assemble to warble their melodious strains. On certain days appointed by religion a particular worship is paid at these tombs; the papas recite prayers, and incense is burned upon them. The relations carry lighted torches, and sprinkle the tombs with *colyva**. I was present on one of these occasions, mass was celebrated upon an altar of turf, the women ate the colyva which the papas had blessed, and offered up prayers for the happiness of their relations, as they used formerly at Rome upon the tombs, that the earth which covered those who had existed might lie light upon them.

* Colyva is made of boiled corn, mixed with grapes and almonds, and garnished with flowers.

CHAPTER XIII.

Particulars relative to our situation.—Account of a Greek impostor.—Expedition of the Delis against the Robbers of Arcadia.—Their triumphant return to Tripolitza.

It was thus that in making myself acquainted with the manners and customs of the Greeks I endeavoured to amuse the hours of my captivity, and to render it in some measure useful to me, without ever losing the consolatory hope of one day recovering my liberty and being restored to my country. Familiarized with danger, my comrades and I insensibly lost the apprehension of it, nor could conceive it possible that any thing disastrous should happen to us. Living in a miserable hut, we were by degrees entirely reconciled to what at first seemed so great a hardship, and who knows whether by a longer continuance there we might not in the end have thought ourselves happy! Rising with the dawn, our day commenced with jovial songs and lively sallies; we went together to breathe the pure air and inhale the perfume of flowers upon the mountains, and when the heat of noon came on we returned to refresh ourselves with sleep in our hut. There, extended upon our coarse mat, we slept as serenely as if it had been eider-down, and when the stars began to sparkle in the heavens, prepared the only regular meal that we made. Adhering to this temperate mode of life we remained entirely free from illness; nay more, a guide of general Bonaparte's, who has been mentioned already as one of our fellow-prisoners, was before this troubled occasionally with spitting blood, the consequence of having been stabbed at Rome on the left side of the breast with a stiletto: but during our stay at Tripolitza, from the purity of the air and the healing quality of the ewes' milk, impregnated with aromatic herbs, which he drank every morning, he was by degrees radically cured. To melancholy and chagrin we were strangers, and every day seemed to beam upon us with a fresh assurance that the term of our captivity could not be far distant.

I had for my own part devoted myself to an occupation which I found a very powerful auxiliary in assisting me to keep the fiend ennui at bay. I studied the Greek language with the most unwearied assiduity, and soon made so much pro-

gress in the acquisition of it, that I could even speak and write it with tolerable facility. My situation gave me access to the best houses, and afforded me opportunities of making many acquaintance of the most agreeable kind that the place could offer. I met several of that description of men whom chance or industry carries into all parts of the world where any prospect appears of improving their fortunes. I questioned them, I noted down the information I collected from them; many of their observations were not much worth noting, many things they told me were exaggerated, but interspersed with facts and with truths, the knowledge of which was valuable. I drew my inductions from them, I compared them with my own observations, and found them of no small use in the further pursuit of my views.

Against some snares it was however necessary to be upon our guard, and more than once it required considerable prudence or good fortune to draw ourselves fairly out of difficulties in which we were unwarily entangled. One instance of this kind shall be cited.

A Greek in a Sclavonian dress had been for some days in the habit of lurking about wherever we were. He followed us in the streets; and his eyes seemed to hint that he had some project in his head which he wished to impart. At length he accosted us as if by chance, and said hastily as he passed by us, "We are friends, expect me tomorrow." It will easily be imagined what an impression conduct and words of so mysterious a nature would make upon minds wishing with so much ardour for a change of situation. We could scarcely speak. This seemed some angel of consolation by whom we were speedily to be rescued: no one could entertain an idea but that he had good news to impart, else why so much circumspection? It never entered our heads that he was an Ionian; and, what was still worse, from the island of Cephalonia. In effect, the next day he appeared; and after having taken an exact survey of our miserable abode, said, with a very mysterious air, that he was employed by general Chabot the commander at Corfu, and was provided with a Russian passport, that he might travel with the greater security: then raising his hands to heaven, he prayed the Deity to punish his perjury if every word he said was not true. He added, that some time before the siege of Corfu, he had been sent into the Morea to learn the nature of the armaments which were preparing in those ports. He had, if he was to be believed, taken infinite pains in the accomplishment of his mission, and not confining his researches to this one spot, had explored the Ægean sea and visited Candia, where also it was suspected that preparations were carrying on. Returning from

this island he again visited the Morea, where he had made an arrangement with the inhabitants of the western ports for throwing some supplies of provisions into Corfu. His mission being terminated, he was now about to return, and had no doubt of being able to get into Corfu without difficulty; he was therefore come to make us the offer of carrying any letters we might wish to send to the French General commanding there.

The imposture of this fellow was too glaring to merit any objection on our parts to what he had been saying, and appearing to believe every word implicitly, we conjured him to remain attached to our interests, and to come and see us again; at the same time we assured him that we desired nothing so much as an emancipation from the situation in which we then were. The next day he reappeared according to his promise, and feigning still greater zeal to serve us, "I but this moment," said he, "parted from a Maïnote, who is one of my particular friends. I mentioned you to him, and he is no less desirous to serve you than I am. He has two horses at his disposal, which is just half what we want, but they are not very good ones; if I had money I could procure better, and if we set out in the early part of the night I look upon your escape as certain." We feigned to accept his proposal, but when we said that we had not a piastre, we found his tone completely changed. He now discovered that the enterprise was replete with danger, and at length abated so far in his offers to us, that he finished by only renewing that of carrying letters to Corfu. This we accepted, and remitted him a packet with an air of great mystery and confidence; it however contained nothing but our names. He then quitted us, saying that he was going to mount his horse immediately, and invoking all the saints in his calendar for our deliverance.

We scarcely thought any more of him, agreeing among ourselves that he was a consummate cheat, when at the end of two days he once more appeared. He had an air of the utmost sadness and dejection, and spoke with an accent of such real distress and affliction that we scarcely knew at first what to think. He thanked heaven a thousand times that we had not been led away by his suggestions, as we should inevitably have perished in the enterprise he had the rashness to propose. His guide, he said, a Greek—who could have believed it?—his guide had robbed him and fled into the mountains. No watch or purse was now produced, things which before he had always been eager to exhibit; he had lost even the red cap which he was accustomed to wear upon his head: our letter however was saved, he had always carried that upon his heart, where our misfor-

tunes were engraven. He concluded, as will be presumed, by hoping that we would bestow something upon him to enable him to resume his journey. In order to get rid of him we made him a trifling present, and we learnt afterwards not only that he had never quitted the town, but that he was an emissary of the Russian agent who resided at Tripolitza.

Our evenings were very frequently spent in walking to an eminence which leads to the castle of Tripolitza, whence our eyes could wander over the widely extended plain to the ruins of Tegea. But here we were commonly in a short time surrounded by Greeks who importuned us with questions: however, if we sometimes found this rather troublesome, yet I often collected useful information from them. In showing me the *cemetery of the Russians* which I have mentioned before, they talked with pride of having numbered in their families martyrs to the general cause; and always seemed to consider all who upon this occasion fell victims to the fury of the Turks and Albanians as intercessors gone before to open them the gates of heaven, and revenge their nation for all the tyranny exercised over them by their oppressors.

We were one day visited by a young Englishman of a most pleasing physiognomy, who accosted us as friends, and spoke to us in a language which we were far from expecting to hear, but which was most grateful to our ears, that of our own country. He had served the French cause by fighting in their ranks, and though now returned again into the British service, he could not help still interesting himself in the fate of his former friends. He informed us of the general rising in the north of Europe against France, and of the new wars in which our country was consequently engaged, and also confirmed the intelligence we had before heard of Messrs. Beauvais and Girard having been landed at Patras, and conducted thence over land to Constantinople, but he could not give us any tidings of our other companions. We had no doubt that the pasha was duly informed of all the visitors we had, yet he never evinced the least distrust of us; he was either very negligent, or placed great confidence in our honour. I was often consulted by him in my medical capacity, even with regard to the health of his wives, and was permitted to see them. I was at full liberty to go wherever I chose, and having been fortunate enough to cure some of his delis, I was still more and more in favour with this corps.

Some terrible instances of the prowess of this band occurred during our stay. The following, being one of the most remarkable, may be adduced to illustrate the nature of the services expected from them. Three Zantiotes, who had entered

into the service of France while we were in possession of that island, found themselves under the necessity of becoming voluntary exiles from it when it fell into the power of the allies, on account of the persecutions which they suffered from these latter, for having accepted offices under the French government. They sought an asylum in the Morea, hoping that they should be able to live there in obscurity, unnoticed and unmolested by the Turks. As they were travelling, however, in company with some other persons from Patras to Tripolitza, they were attacked in the forests between Calavrita and Mettaga by a band of the robbers that infest Mount Pholoë. Armed only with some pistols and a very indifferent sword, it was impossible to defend themselves against a body of double their number, all well armed ; they were even compelled to have recourse to prayers in order to save the life of a Mussulman, whom the chief of the band would fain have massacred ; it was through the intervention of the Zantiotes alone, who were Christians, that the robbers could be induced to content themselves with only plundering the whole party. This loss was irreparable to the Zantiotes ; it was the ruin of all their hopes, as they had realised the whole of their little property under the idea of establishing some kind of trade in Turkey, and had the whole of its produce with them. The robbers however left them their clothes, with money sufficient to pursue their journey to Tripolitza, and to subsist there for some days.

When arrived in this town, as they had a safe conduct from the Russian and Turkish generals, they presented themselves before the pasha to demand justice and to reclaim an indemnity for their loss. They gave a very particular detail of their adventure, and said that the robbers were thirty in number. The pasha received them with great cordiality, promised that they should be satisfied, and gave them in the interim some pecuniary assistance. He immediately ordered out a troop of his delis, enjoining them to bring back the robbers, or at least their heads. "Be they among the steepest rocks, in the heart of the forests, in the furthest recesses of the caverns, or hid among the clouds that cover the tops of the mountains," said he, transported with rage, "it is your business to execute my orders, to seize them and bring them hither,—I will have it so, let not one escape."

It is not easy to conceive the barbarous delight which beamed upon the countenances of the delis as they received this injunction ; it was to them as high a gratification as they could receive, since it furnished them with a pretence for new murders and pillage. Never did a famished tiger rush forward with greater

impetuosity to seize its prey, never did it show more ardour in the pursuit of blood than was shown by these cavaliers in executing the sanguinary commands of their master. Armed in every possible way, one party set out at close of day by the road to Mantinea, while another penetrating through Mount Roïno took the road of Upper Arcadia. The latter were to scour the country on the other side of Pogliesi, and after visiting all the villages on the right bank of the Alpheus, and the valleys in the neighbourhood, were to reascend the river to Gardichi, and thence pass through a defile in the neighbourhood of Lala to meet their comrades at Calavrita. The first party in their way to the last-mentioned town were to scour the woods, the ravines, and the villages, to the north of the mountains.

When the Greeks heard of this expedition, they raised their hands to heaven, deploring the fate of the inhabitants of the whole country which was to be traversed by the delis. They related to me in what way the pasha's orders were executed by these cavaliers; that surrounding a village, they summoned the chief before them, requiring him to declare whether any strangers were now there, and to bring forth the inhabitants, of whom they had a list. If then it happened that any one appeared not included in this list, he was immediately seized, nay not unfrequently put to death on the spot, because, as the delis said, a head was much more easily carried than the whole man. But if no one was obtained by these means, they would often strike off the head of the first person who came in their way, as the number prescribed must at any rate be collected. Thus it was very likely to be completed without any one of the guilty, of whom only it ought to be composed, being included.

The expedition in question lasted ten or twelve days, during which nothing was to be seen but new heads exposed to view daily upon the gates of the seraglio. The terror inseparable from the secret executions ordered by despotism pervaded every part of the town; murmurs were heard on all sides, and it was whispered that several bodies had been secretly carried out of the seraglio for interment*. This was indeed true; but such measures are not so much taken to prevent the knowledge of an execution, as to render it, by such an air of mystery, more gloomy and terrible†. Some of the band who had plundered the Zantiotes were

* Some delis once being reproached with murdering innocent people when they did not find Laliotes, they answered coolly *"Pooh! they were only Greeks."*

† In the East, great culprits are always executed at night. Of this I shall have occasion to treat more fully when I come to speak of Constantinople.

however taken, and among them their chief Zacharias; he was apprehended in a house at Tripolitza where he had taken refuge, and the very next morning was impaled alive, just without the walls of the town. Not one of us had courage to witness this barbarous spectacle; but the Turk Mustapha, who used to visit us almost daily, gave us a pompous account of it. He said that this robber showed a resolution beyond what had ever before been witnessed. Fixed upon the stake, in that state of torture he never ceased replying coolly to the reproaches with which he was loaded by the multitude, till an Albanian put an end to his sufferings by striking off his head. This execution took place on a Sunday; it was fixed by the pasha for that day, as the town is then full of people from the country who come to market, and he intended it as an example to them. Some Romelian Greeks were at the same time hung upon the trees about the bazar.

The day was further rendered remarkable by the return of the delis, who made a sort of triumphal procession into the town. They entered it loaded with the spoils of their victims, dragging along in their train some unhappy wretches, whose sentences were already anticipated; and advanced flourishing their bloody sabres, making a great parade of the heads they brought with them, and uttering shouts of joy in honour of the cruelties they had committed. As they had passed through the valley of the Eurotas in returning from Arcadia, and had been guilty of some acts of plunder there, the Maïnotti had recourse to reprisals, plundering and murdering some Mussulmans who fell into their hands. The Zantiotes recovered a very small part of what they had lost, but the pasha continued to extend his protection to them, and found means to indemnify them in great measure for their losses. They often came to see us.

I have given these details a place here, as including some particulars which concern the interior police of the Morea; and that, in describing the country, the reader may not wholly lose sight of us, by whom it was then inhabited.

CHAPTER XIV.

On the modern Greek language, and the present state of knowledge among the Greeks.—Their tribunals.—Police of the towns and public highways.

Monsieur Villoison, who ranks so high among the learned in Grecian literature of the present age, could alone enter deeply into the subject upon which I am now about to treat; for myself, I am but too conscious that I am not qualified to do more than skim over the surface. He alone, or perhaps also the learned translator of the works of Hippocrates, Mr. Koraï, could be capable of fixing the actual epoch to be assigned to the literature of modern Greece. A child of the country once the most favoured of all Hellenia, it was reserved for the last-named writer to associate his name with that of the immortal oracle of Cos. This learned man seems to possess within himself all the knowledge of his illustrious ancestors, while the rest of the nation vegetate under the empire of the grossest prejudices. I say this, because though I must think that the Greeks are represented by De Pauw in too humiliating a point of view, yet I must equally acknowledge that they little merit the honours rendered them by Monsieur Guys and some other enthusiasts. This gentleman, born with an ardent mind, has laboured hard to find ancient Greece in Greece devastated by revolutions, by time, and, more than all, by the hands of the Turks. De Pauw, like another Burke, writes upon a country neither the men nor the resources of which he is acquainted with; setting out upon a contrary, but even a more false principle than Monsieur Guys. Neither attain the end at which they aim, because both have disguised what really exists, to find and to say what they desired, that they might accomplish the object which they had previously laid down to themselves. Perhaps I in my turn may have deceived myself, but at least it has not been through the desire of supporting a system; nor can I help being of opinion, that if the Greeks were in their present state abandoned to their own guidance, they would fall into the most frightful anarchy; that before they are capable of emancipation, it is necessary that knowledge and science should be more diffused among them. But whence are they to be derived? Where are their literati, their

writers?—where their sources of illumination? This reflection leads naturally to considering the present state of knowledge among the Greeks.

I must begin by rendering the homage due to the charms, the sweetness of their language, which, though degenerated, is still sonorous, still harmonious. The idiom of the moderns, perhaps, possesses all the beauties of the ancient, all its melody. Vainly would scholastics, by learned dissertations, endeavour to erect into authority their own harsh and barbarous mode of pronunciation; every man with an unprejudiced mind and a musical ear, would turn away from them to indulge in the very superior delight of hearing the magnificent orations of Demosthenes, the sweet modulations of Anacreon, or the sublime descriptions of the bard of Ilion, read by a Greek even of the present times. It is by associating this pronunciation with the happy rhythm of the ancient Greek that one can conceive how an orator could captivate an audience only by reading his productions; how he could enchain every ear that listened to him. The opinion of the learned academicians may be favourable with regard to the mode of teaching, but it can never gain adherents among those who are acquainted with the modern Greek, and know the charms of its accent.

The mode of pronunciation varies, however, among them; its different inflexions seem modified by the climate and the heavens. The Morean has a sort of nasal accent, and drawls out his words; the Athenian expresses himself with affectation; the inhabitant of Epirus, always harsh, carries, even in his mode of speaking, the impression of his mountains and of his character. I know not to what cause the ridiculous accent of the natives of Chios is to be ascribed, but they speak from the breast to the throat; while the Smyrnian scarcely sounds the Γ, and it is almost entirely cut off at Constantinople. From this diversity the modern language seems to be very different from the ancient, though in fact it perhaps varies from it much less than is generally supposed. Equal pleasure would certainly not be derived from hearing a woman of the Morea speak the language, as from hearing a pretty Greek of Constantinople, who softly whistles out the Θ, scarcely pronounces the Δ, and composes a new idiom of diminutives, accompanied with many graces of her own, and a sort of cooing like the turtle-dove.

After stating the motives which lead me to speak with so much commendation of the modern Greek pronunciation, I cannot omit a word of applause to those estimable Grecians, who in these days have travelled for the sake of instruction. The hope of generations to come, it is by the patriotic efforts of such people alone that

their fellow-countrymen can ever be enlightened as to their true interests. But, alas! in following such a career, what toils, what labours, are in store for them! Will not the ingratitude which even success may draw upon them be sufficient to check their ardour in their pursuits? Will not the difficulties they have to conquer subdue their resolution? It is commonly for the study of medicine, or at least under this pretence, that the Greeks travel into foreign countries. The acquisition of the language of their new country necessarily occupies much time, which would be better employed in acquiring positive knowledge. Many have, however, made a considerable progress in their studies; but how few even among these are capable of entertaining liberal and enlarged notions! They all detest the Turks, and have undoubtedly sufficient motives for holding them in detestation: but it is not enough to abhor them, they must also study the means of undermining their power. To instruct and enlighten the minds of the people is the only way by which this colossus can ever be effectually overthrown. But here a new obstacle presents itself.

The Greek when instructed will no longer be able to endure living in a state of humiliation: what then will he do in his own country? Will he not establish himself in one more free, more civilized? The leprosy of fanaticism, more dangerous even than the Ottoman scourge, withers the minds of those whom he would wish to rouse. But one thing then remains for him to do, and that is to write or translate some of the best works of civilized Europe, in the hope that they may make their way in time into all the towns of Greece. Hitherto in what a state of mutilation have translated works been presented to them! all great and noble sentiments, all that could rouse the minds of a people so long debased and degraded, has been constantly suppressed. Passing under the inspection of the inquisition at Venice, where the greater part of the works circulated in Greece were printed, they had afterwards to pass the ordeal of the Greek prelates. A book labouring under an anathema from them would not find a single reader; it would even awaken suspicion against any others by which it might be succeeded.

The clergy are those who more than any other class of people would have the power of introducing some kind of instruction among their brethren. Ministers of peace, through them the genuine principles of the gospel, with other branches of useful knowledge, might be spread, and civilization would soon follow. The oppressed Greek would by degrees recover his ancient manners, his ancient character, and would become worthy of political regeneration. He would no longer be seen dyeing his hands in the blood of the hated Mussulman at the moment

of any ephemeral success, and then quietly presenting his head to receive the crown of martyrdom upon the least reverse. Every step of advance in civilization would break a link of his chain, would be a step gained in undermining the dominion of his conquerors; while the latter, subdued by weapons which they have no power of resisting, would yield without any contest, and might be carried in triumph, chained to the cars of the victors. The effects that might be produced may be judged, in some measure, by the miracles which industry has within a comparatively short time performed in some parts of Greece. The marine of the country is increased to such a degree, that the Mediterranean is now covered with their vessels, and they can dispute the empire of their seas with the Mussulmans. Masters of a formidable artillery, they might soon contract powerful alliances: but then, is it not to be feared that in seeking allies they might in the end only be inviting new masters? It is therefore, I repeat it, only by the diffusion of knowledge, and by the progress made in civilization, that the Greeks can reasonably look for a new æra in their political existence. All Europe would rejoice in such an event: thousands of magnanimous hearts would be ready to assist them in throwing off their yoke. But let them beware of delivering themselves up too far to those who seem to be more particularly their protectors, lest they find that they have only forged themselves fresh chains, and reduced themselves to a state even more unfortunate than that from which they are rescued!—more unfortunate in proportion as the power of their new masters may be more formidable.

Let us now proceed to examine the actual state of knowledge among the Greeks. In the seminaries of France there are at the present moment many young men of this nation worthy of laying a foundation for the restoration of their country by the revival of literature and the sciences: nor are there wanting in Greece itself people endowed with knowledge that would not disgrace any part of Europe. Many speak and write the ancient language with a purity worthy of the most brilliant days of Athens. From these men we must date the æra when we may venture to talk of literature among the modern Greeks. Till this period the books which came from the presses of Vienna were rather calculated to perpetuate ignorance, than to open a brighter career to a people victims of the faults of their forefathers. They were commonly dull rhapsodies, bad grammars, catechisms, long sermons, ascetical books, and the like. In some translations of our best French writers, which have lately been undertaken by the Greeks, they have succeeded extremely well. *Telemachus*, and Rollin's *Ancient History*, are the first works that come under this description. Bossuet's *Exposition of the Doctrines of the*

Catholic Church, and Tissot's *Advice with regard to Health*, do no less credit to those by whom they were selected; but all are not deserving of equal praise. Some works of Lieutaud are wholly useless, not to say dangerous to those by whom they are studied. Then there are the *Thousand and One Nights*, with *Mother Goose's Tales*, and the *Magazine for Children*.

Very lately a few mathematical works have appeared, and some treatises on physics: but no one reads them; for in this unhappy country, among a great majority of the inhabitants there is a dread of informing themselves, and I have even heard Greeks speak of Fontenelle's *Worlds* as a very reprehensible book*. *Robinson Crusoe* is considered with a scarcely less suspicious eye, although in the translation this excellent work is mutilated in many places, beginning with a kind of *Blue-beard* tale, in a manner which almost renders the whole ridiculous. Marmontel and Voltaire are the two authors who are the most read of all that have been translated, and it is not one of the least extraordinary among the contradictions of character so prevalent in all countries and in all classes of mankind, that the inquisition never presumed to touch the works of these writers. The fate of the translator of Anacharsis, of that immortal work which will live as long as the French language itself, above all must not be passed over. This unfortunate writer at the very moment when he began to print his work was delivered up by the court of Vienna to the divan, who struck off his head. Notwithstanding this dreadful example, a Greek has been found courageous enough to brave death and continue the work of his friend, and it is sincerely to be hoped that in spite of the persecutions he experiences he will complete so laudable an undertaking†.

The greatest obstacle to the propagation of learning among the Greeks does not arise entirely from the opposition made to all works which contain sound maxims of philosophy, since, as I said, such of the works of Voltaire as have been translated have passed uncensured; a more formidable enemy in my opinion is to be found in a wretched periodical work published in modern Greek at Vienna. It is impossible to conceive a more lamentable tissue of absurdities, but it is not therefore the less read. Some really well-informed and liberal-

* This work, translated by Mr. Kodrika, was denounced to the patriarch of Constantinople. *Animal Magnetism*, and the invention of *Balloons*, both which the Translator describes in his Notes, were particularly reprobated.

† Respecting this work some further information may be obtained by referring to the Notes attached to Lord Byron's Childe Harold, p. 186, 8vo edition.

minded Greeks have however projected the publishing a new periodical work, which, while preserving the most careful attention to religion and good morals, shall revive a taste for learning, and circulate among their fellow-citizens the most enlightened productions of Europe. This work if well conducted will be of infinite value and importance. Nothing will be so likely to promote instruction among the Greeks, as such a publication carried on upon an extensive and liberal plan.

Among the present race of Greeks are some men of letters, whose works deserve to be particularly mentioned; the geography of Philippides, above all, comes under this description, and it is with pleasure I have seen the well-merited tribute paid to it by one of my countrymen, who is himself distinguished in this line*. The author seeing the defects of Meletius's plan, has avoided them, and modelled his work after the examples of the French geographers. Hence there is a method, a clearness in it, which cannot but encourage him to proceed; and it is much to be desired that he should give us the complete geography of Turkey in Europe, in the same way that he has done that of Zagora and the places he has seen. Let him, however, be very much upon his guard against the documents which may be received from his own countrymen. Every man is not an observer, the converse is unluckily rather nearer to the truth; the gift of being so is indeed one with which the very chosen few alone are endowed. By placing too much dependence upon others, he has already fallen into some errors with regard to the people of Maïna. It is not true that they plunder the Christians of the Morea; for in so doing they would inevitably be excommunicated by their bishops, though the latter are not themselves, in some instances, very scrupulous on the subject of robbery. Neither is it a fact that these people are ever likely to become again Venetians or Dutch; they love their country too well, and prize too highly the independence they enjoy there to give themselves up to a commerce which would estrange them from either. But this is not the place for refuting the errors which have crept into the work of Philippides; he has notwithstanding all the qualities requisite to form a great writer, and will doubtless fulfil the expectations formed of his future exertions.

Such a beginning gives hope as to what may be achieved in future, towards ameliorating the situation of Greece; though, as I have already observed, there are many obstacles to be subdued before any essential change can be expected.

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* See *Magasin Encyclopédique*, tome vi.

I know not what may be the state of Macedonia and Thessaly, but that of the Morea is very deplorable. Though Greece will gain much by the diffusion of knowledge, that is not all. Their marine is in a thriving state, they must establish manufactures, and improve their agriculture; the great objects of their speculations must be to circumvent their oppressors the Turks, to make themselves respected by them. Strong in these primary objects, when the day appointed by Providence for their emancipation shall arrive, they will find among themselves resources of which they can scarcely at present form an idea, and success will crown their laudable endeavours, provided their counsels are directed by wisdom and humanity.

Those Greeks are fortunate who, when engaged in any dispute, can be satisfied with the paternal decision of their bishops, or the arbitration of their friends. Woe to them if the contentious spirit so prevalent among them leads to carrying the matter before the tribunals of the cadis! they are then exposed to all the vexations which may be dictated by their caprice or cupidity. Sometimes even in submitting the cause to this minister of Themis, nothing is to be obtained but the most decided refusal of justice. For the rest, it is not always necessary to be a Greek, or to have concerns with the cadis, for such little rebuffs to be experienced in the East; the contagion is very prevalent among all descriptions of people. These considerations however cannot repress a great love of legal contentions among the Moreans, they have recourse to them even in the most trifling matters. The following story told upon this subject is ascribed by turns to several different places.

Two Greeks, who had been long united in a strict friendship, went together one fine day in spring to enjoy the air under the shade of a bower near the ruins of Mycene. The rising sun found them seated upon the turf regaling themselves with roasted lamb, and celebrating with the glass in their hand the festival of some great saint in the country. After they had finished their repast, over which they had a great deal of friendly and cheerful conversation, they agreed to sing. Stephanopouli, who had made the feast, taking a lyre sang of love, of the flowery meads, of the jessamine bowers, the crystal fountains, not forgetting his patron saint, the greatest without all contradiction among all the saints in Paradise. When he had finished Dimitri succeeded; he sang only the praises of Stephanopouli who had regaled him; wished him hundreds of years, health, hoards of wealth, with various other good wishes. Their songs concluded; the daughter of Pandarus, the plaintive Philomela, began to warble forth her delightful cadences, the friends

were enchanted. "See," said Stephanopouli, "what an impression my voice has made upon the charming nightingale, she cannot resist its attractions, she endeavours to imitate it in all her modulations."—"Say mine, rather," said Dimitri, "since it was I who sang last." This his friend could not allow, a warm dispute ensued, blows followed, and at length the affair was carried before the cadi. He heard their story, and then required to hear their songs; these concluded, he feigned to start back, and stroking his mustachios several times, fined both sides in proportion to the blows given and received; then addressing the disputants,—"Now," said he, "it remains to decide for whom the nightingale sang;—it was for me, infidels, so go your ways and agree better."

"If one is to believe these cursed Greeks," said another cadi, "they are always in the right. They say whatever they please. I know that they have more understanding than we have, and therefore I have my own way of dealing with them. I judge the matter first, and then let them plead as much as they please." Full of these ideas the cadis have but one criterion, by which every thing is decided, and that is money. During the time of their administration, which is limited, their whole aim is to reimburse themselves for the price the place has cost them, and it would be endless to cite all the tricks and *finesses* to which they have recourse for this purpose. I will mention one anecdote, as actions are the best medium for illustrating characters. Two papas reciprocally accused each other before a cadi of having stolen a goat, which each claimed as his own property. "Your holiness," said one, "has stolen my goat."—"On the contrary," said the other, "I am ready to swear that *your* holiness has stolen mine." As the words *holiness* and *robber* were frequently thrown in each other's teeth by the two advocates, the cadi at length, knitting his brows, called in the janissaries and ordered them to administer a certain number of strokes of the bastinado to both. Then adjudging the goat to himself, he said, "One of their two *holinesses* must have sinned, and to oblige them I am very willing to take the scandal of the robbery upon myself."

The police of the towns is not more equitably administered. Night patroles guard the streets and the neighbourhood of Tripolitza, for the purpose of arresting vagrants and preventing robberies; but far from restraining disorders, they are too often themselves the authors of them. Companies of Albanians go out every evening to guard the mountains, and return into the town in the morning. Soldiers accompany the magistrate whose office it is to superintend the markets, and at his orders they administer the bastinado to such traffickers as are found selling

with false weights. If the delinquents are detected in a repetition of the offence, they are nailed by the ear to the door of their shop; and if taken a third time in the fact, the magistrate orders them to be hanged without further ceremony.

A grand provost, known by the title of the dervendgi-pasha, is charged with every thing relating to the highways. His business is to take care that they are kept in good repair, and properly guarded; he is also charged with the care of the bridges, the ferries, and a variety of other objects which exist only in the pompous catalogue enumerated in his patent. When I was in the Morea a pasha of one tail, who resided at Mezalonghi, was invested with this office for the pashaliks of the Morea and of Negropont. He made his tour of inspection accompanied by a hundred cavaliers, who carried terror wherever they went. He had just been inspecting the road from Patras to Tripolitza, when I saw him at the palace of the pasha Achmet, to whom he came to present his credentials and pay his respects. He quitted this town to go to Argos, by Kaki-scala. In his way he received the complaints of the peasants against the shepherds, for damages done by the latter, who, to extend the limits of their pastures, often set fire to large clusters of trees, and would in time by such a procedure destroy all the wood in the Morea, if not checked by the hand of power. He besides made many inquiries into the state of the country; and lived entirely at the public expense.

From Argos he went to Dematta by the ancient route of Mycene, and thence to Nauplia of Romania, traversing a chain of lofty mountains in which are many huts of the Arnauts or Albanians who have taken to a pastoral life. His soldiers and himself did not omit by the way to make free with some of the lambs belonging to these poor shepherds, taking great care at the same time to guard them from any other robbers. For two months he continued his progress through the Morea in this way, not finding in the whole country above twenty bridges. In visiting Laconia however, and the southern parts of Messenia, he took care not to approach too near to the country of Maïna, as the Maïnotti, upon the first intelligence of the dervendgi being out on such a progress, always take care to keep themselves upon their guard; neither did he visit any of the maritime places, they being entirely under the jurisdiction of the capudan-pasha.

On these occasions the dervendgi always lodges at the houses of the agas, who feast him in the most sumptuous manner that they are able: sometimes where there is no aga to do the honours of the town, he takes up his abode at the houses of the Greek primates, whom he turns out of their habitations without any

ceremony, and levies contributions upon them. He also has a great preference to visiting at the convents of caloyers, where he eats up whatever he can find: these poor monks would live for a year upon the provisions and wine which the grand provost and his suite devour in a day. Woe to them if the dervendgi finds their fare good, or sees any thing in the situation that pleases his fancy! as there is nothing pressing in his business, he pitches his tents and stays among them till they are entirely ruined.

In such ways as these are robbery and plunder carried on by the very persons who, from their offices, ought to be the protectors of property. Protectors!—Alas! the Turks, in the state of barbarism into which they are plunged, think of nothing but ravaging to enjoy, nor can any thing better be expected of them, united as this principle is with their religious dogmas. Strangers upon this earth, they consider themselves only as travellers under the hand of destiny: it is repugnant to their nature even to keep up any thing that they find already constructed; thus they have no public roads, or establishments in which industry can find resources. If there are mills upon some of the rivers of the Morea, it is in the *timars* or fiefs that they are to be found, because the farmers of these are out of the reach of being taxed for the improvements they make. If here and there we meet with a bridge, either it is falling into decay, or it is but a miserable construction of wood thrown up negligently to answer some particular and temporary purpose. The ferry-boats, established at certain places, remain sometimes for years together without being repaired or replaced when they become old and unfit for use, so that from a want of the means of crossing a river, travellers, or persons going on business from one place to another, are often obliged to take some circuitous route. Many a village, which had begun to be somewhat flourishing because it had a ferry in it, and this brought some traffic to the place, on the boat decaying has fallen back into its former misery and soon been wholly forgotten.

To what purpose then, it may be asked, is this office of dervendgi kept up?—The answer is, that it is a place by means of which, like many others, some myrmidon protected by those in power is provided for, with the reserve that he shall be plundered in his turn by those from whom he receives it. What signifies to a pasha whether his pashalik be in a flourishing state or not? money is the thing he wants and money he will have. The Greeks who are raised to dignities, full of these maxims, even improve upon them. Under the sabre of the Turk the Greek is a slave; but under the dominion of his fellow-countrymen he is

plundered of every thing, and becomes ten times more wretched. The place of dervendgi might become formidable in the hands of an ambitious person; it might even be rendered dangerous to the pasha, if not occupied by one of his own creatures. It is for this reason that the pasha of Janina has conferred it upon one of his sons, Veli-pasha; and by these means this prince already powerful, who calls himself the Scanderbeg of Epirus, has consolidated his power still further. After having included within his dominion all Epirus and Thessaly, he now pushes his posts even into Macedonia; and more than once his son Mouctar has, from the tops of the mountains in the isthmus of Corinth, cast a look of desire upon the Morea.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the climate, temperature, and variations of the seasons in the Morea.—On the quality of the water in different parts.—On the diet and modes of cooking of the Moreans.

The Morea presents as great variety with regard to its temperature as with regard to the surface of the earth, the one is indeed the necessary consequence of the other. Bristled over with mountains, sometimes naked, sometimes clothed with magnificent woods, sometimes rising in points covered with primæval snows; embellished with delightful valleys, ornamented in some cantons with all the riches that agriculture can supply, this country seems to receive a particular influence from heaven, according to these different aspects; it seems as if Providence delighted in diversifying in a thousand ways the blessings conferred upon it. The climate of the Morea holds the exact medium between the scorching heat of Egypt and the cold of more northern countries. Neither those livid clouds which veil for a long time the azure of the skies, hiding the glorious star of day, nor that vault of brass deprived of moisture which the sun only ascends to burn the earth below, are here to be seen. A beneficent dew fertilizes the soil in the early days of spring, the clouds pour down in torrents of rain, or cover the earth with snow, according to the season. The mourning of nature is short, and

every night displays to the earth the firmament sparkling with the brightest constellations.

It is not difficult to persuade ourselves that with the fall of the celebrated towns and monuments of Greece, a great change must have taken place in the temperature of the country. If one observes the effect produced by clearing away the vast forests of North America, in softening the rigour of the seasons, and correcting the unwholesomeness of the atmosphere, by a parity of reasoning it seems by no means improbable that, Greece at the time the arts declined falling off from its former state of civilization, some deleterious effects should ensue to the physical nature of the country. The rivers, till then restrained within their channels, being neglected, obstructions may have arisen which have formed vast marshes; the time when several lakes in Arcadia spread themselves over the valleys is still recent in the memory of the inhabitants. It was probably in this way that the stagnant waters of the Alpheus formed the marsh where its sources now rise; doubtless it never would have existed if the channel in which the river formerly flowed had not been suffered to get by degrees choked up. The woods, so necessary to invite rains, by which the mountains were formerly covered, and which were held sacred by the religion of the ancients, exist no longer; or, if in some spots remains of them are still to be found, those remains are daily destroyed by the shepherds. Many valleys have been rendered barren by this loss; those of Argolis in particular, where the mountains deprived of their clothing no longer send forth during summer from their heated sides any thing but parching exhalations. The convulsions, the invasions of the barbarians which succeeded, having exterminated the ancient inhabitants, and future generations growing up feeble and depressed, the disorganisation of the country has continually increased, and with it its insalubrity.

The sun however still shines here with all its pristine glory, though from the changes the country has undergone its action is no longer the same. The loss of its ancient laws,—its ancient liberty, has altered the very course of nature. Let us then endeavour to give a picture of the physical state of the Morea as it actually exists, to describe the seasons such as they now are; it will be easy to trace the variations they have undergone by comparing the sketch with the testimonies we have received from the ancients.

The winter generally comes on in the Morea with abundant rains and dreadful storms of thunder. Never does the voice of Jupiter produce a more powerful effect than when resounding through the caverns of Taygetes, or when reverbe-

rated along the deep chasms of Olenos and Pholoë. To these storms which take place in December succeeds the first cold weather, but the severity of the cold is not felt before the beginning of January. The harvests of every kind are gathered in before this time. The fermentation of the wines is over and the liquor is closed up in the vessels; the oil has been pressed from the olives that grow in such abundance in every canton. The winds of the north and east then blow regularly, bringing the snows with them; the summits of Taygetes and its subordinate mountains are soon covered with the latter, nay if the north wind continues to blow, it rarely happens that the snows do not also cover the valleys of Tegea; the course of the principal rivers is however rarely interrupted by ice. The same degree of cold is not felt in the parts of Elis and Messenia, which are near the coast; but Arcadia, Achaia, Sicyonia, with the high parts of Corinth and Laconia, often experience severe winters, while the sun which still shines upon Arcadia seems to have lost the power of communicating heat.

The flocks during this period remain shut up in their folds. The Arcadian wanders about in a melancholy attitude, casting a troubled eye upon a spectacle so afflicting, while night only increases his anxieties. If the surface of the earth be covered for any length of time with snow, he hears bands of wolves, the inhabitants of Mount Lyceus, who quitting their lofty abode rove even to the very walls of the town, seeking the means of satisfying the hunger by which they are tormented; he hears them, and fires guns at random from time to time, in hopes to check their ravages, but fires them, alas! in vain. He draws with his family round a rustic fire, and endeavours to while away the long and tedious evenings with recounting stories to them, in which the marvellous is always the leading feature; while the wife and children, riveting their eyes upon him, listen eagerly, transfixed with terror, yet regretting when the narration comes to an end. During this time the fishers of Messenia and Laconia shudder at the noise of the waves which break upon their shores, they are fretted at not being able to brave the element whence their principal subsistence is derived. Vain would be the endeavour to charm away their chagrin by stories of sylphs and magicians, the narrations most grateful to their ears are those of shipwrecks and dangers at sea; they pity the seaman who navigates the coasts of Andros, or roves among the Cyclades, while their families, moved by details so terrifying, pray the God of the seasons to enchain the storms and calm the waves which his powerful breath has agitated so furiously. The horrible Cacovouniote alone rejoices in these tumults of nature, hoping that through them some hapless

vessel may be thrown upon his coasts, and become the prey of his rapacity. Retired within his hut, or sheltered with his flock in the remotest part of some cavern, he broils the flesh of a wild-boar or goat, with which his gun has furnished him; and at war himself with mankind, delights in listening to the warfare of the elements.

But the month of January, the period of these desolations, draws towards its close. The days are already increased in length; the snows begin to melt; the rivers swoln by them roll on with added majesty; the Alpheus has received such an accession of waters, that the plains of Elis, by the inundations they have occasioned, are become like a second Egypt; and the valleys of Psophis resound with the noise of the cascades pouring down the sides of Erymanthus. The rains return frequently, but in benignant showers; the nights are milder, and Nature seems to have sunk with them into a tranquil slumber.

The month of February, the malignant influence of which was so much dreaded by the ancients, announces the first awakening of vegetation. The perfumed narcissus and the humble violet peep out from underneath the snows; and the almond tree strews around its silvery blossoms * dispersed by the winds. The white poplar, the nut, the tree of Judea †, the cypress, the yew, the peach, the apricot, the cherry, the plum-tree, adorn the groves, the forests, and the orchards, with their flowers; while the anemone, the lilac, and the thorn decorate the romantic plains as the rivers return into their beds. The Arcadians at this time occupy themselves with grafting young plants. They commit their barley, their oats, and other productions sown in spring, to the ground, without, however, feeling quite confident that the vicissitudes of the season are at an end. The north-west winds will sometimes blow at this time of the year with such force, that they tear up numbers of olive-trees by the roots; and towards the end of the month the thunder, which had been silenced during winter, again begins to resound through the valleys of Elis and Arcadia. The cheerful pipe announces, among the pastors, the return of Aurora ‡; yet they are still fearful of driving their flocks to distant

* It must be observed that the almond-tree here alluded to is the sweet almond, the blossom of which is white, resembling very much that of the apricot: not the bitter almond, the pink blossoms of which are so great an ornament to English shrubberies in the early days of spring.—Translator.

† The tree of Judea is a great ornament to gardens in the warm latitudes of the south of Europe. It bears a beautiful pink flower, in form very much resembling the laburnum, and hanging in clusters of a similar kind.—Translator.

‡ The annexed plate exhibits a Morean shepherd playing on his pipe, with the mode of encamping in summer among the Morean nomades.

Summer encampments of the Mexican Shepherds

pastures. The Laconian on the sea-shore, and the inhabitants of the other parts of the coast, prepare to recommence their toils: they mend their nets, and make ready the barks which are soon to bear them upon the theatre of their industry. The agriculturists in the valleys of Tegea and Argolis repair their ploughs and other implements of husbandry; they discuss before the patriarchs of the families the best manner of sowing the corn; and groaning under the enormous burden of taxes, drink in hopes of finding a sweet oblivion to their cares. The youth, impatient of repose, wish to turn the latter days of winter to some account: the wolves have declared war against the flocks, and they are desirous of punishing them for the murders committed. They arm themselves, and sally forth to combat these base enemies. The attack is commonly begun by letting loose upon them on all sides that courageous race of dogs bred in Epirus, and known under the name of shepherds' dogs. The courage of the hunter increases every moment; nor does he quit the chase till he is charged with the spoils of the foe, and has stored himself with game to regale his family.

Spring begins in the first days of March. With the zephyrs then return the stork and the swallow, who quit the shores of Africa to resume their haunts in Europe. The nightingale renews her songs; she warbles her strains of love, and is answered by all the birds of the groves. The labourer sows his cotton and trims his vines. He brings forth his ancient plough, simple as that of Triptolemus, and harnessing his yoke of oxen, turns up a soil naturally light, and yielding easily to the pointed share. The acacia, the cytisus, the numberless roses of Elis, of Laconia, and all Peloponnesus are covered with flowers, and embalm the air with their perfumes. The bees quit the secret cavities of the oak and the ilex, where their stores are deposited, and visit at sunrise the nectared flowers to extract from them their honey. Charged with their booty, intoxicated with ambrosia, their wings can scarcely support them to reach again their homes on the wooded mountains. Now is the pastor delighted to see his flocks multiply: the tender lambs sport by the sides of their mothers; scarcely a day passes that does not add to his stores. The plane, the fig, the vine, the nut begin to be verdant with leaves; while the tender bud of the mulberry is just beginning to appear. The apple, the pear, the quince, the pomegranate of the valley of Tegea display all their beauties. The heat gradually increases; and the Greek, overpowered, yields to the influence of sleep for an hour at noon. The wind at this time blows most frequently from the south, bringing with it a hot and moist air, which is attended

with serious inconvenience, as I shall soon explain; and the cells of the moths will soon be seen upon the trees if they are not washed by very heavy showers.

The month of April is the time when Nature shines in her highest embroidery: vegetation is then in full vigour, and the smell of the flowers and aromatic plants, which flourish in all parts, would be insupportable any where but in the widely-extended air. The quail returns from the borders of Libya; and on the side of Hermione the cuckoo has been heard for some time. The birds have constructed their nests, nor are they often destroyed in these parts by the hands of thoughtless children. Those of the storks, above all, are held in a sort of veneration: and so propitious is the state of peace in which the feathered race live among the Mussulmans, that the chimneys are not sufficient for this particular class, so that they build their nests equally upon the domes and minarets of the mosques, upon the capitals of columns, or upon the pinnacles of the baths. In this month abundant dews precede the rising of the sun, and come on when it sets. Some storms, not accompanied with hail, and carrying devastation in their train, but benignant in their effects, increase the rivers and torrents.

I cannot describe the beauty of the dawn, the majesty of the rising sun, in this delightful climate; it is only in referring to the enchanting pictures given by the poets of antiquity that any idea can be formed of them. The heat in April is by no means insupportable: the wind blows commonly from the south, and at sunset leaves a kind of thickness in the air, which does not go off till night is completely closed in, and the heavens are spangled with stars.

Summer begins in the month of May, and continues till October. The air is then dry, and the heat constantly increases. That, as well as the cold, is felt the most sensibly in the great bason of Laconia. Here the thermometer often rises as high as thirty-four or thirty-five degrees. Elis has the advantage of a refreshing sea-breeze, but Argolis is almost suffocating. Many of the rivers are entirely dried up. Whole families during these months sleep in the open air, in the midst of a court, which is an essential appendage to all the houses. They often kindle fires at night, which they assert to be necessary for purifying the air. The nights are now embellished by a most charming spectacle: the air is filled with millions of luminous insects, called by the Greeks κολοφοτια, which appear like so many diamonds sparkling in the sun.

The atmosphere about Tripolitza is, at this season, more and more charged every day with the odour of the tithymal. This plant grows in great abundance

upon Mount Roïno, and is so powerful, that it will even occasion vertigoes to women with weak nerves. To remedy so great an inconvenience it is usual for the pasha, as the ladies of his harem are particularly liable to be affected by it, to employ the inhabitants of the town in plucking up and burning the plants. The fields are covered with madder, barilla, mint, and fennel; the groves are perfumed with the syringa and the lily of the valley; the pink and the peony decorate the mountains; and whole fields of white poppies, spread over Argolis, seem like patches of snow in the midst of the rice-grounds. The lakes in the north of Arcadia are covered with the flowers of the water-lily, the leaves of which might be supposed vast bucklers floating upon the water. The loriot suspends his nest to the branches of the oaks of Altis; swarms of cantharides hover about the ash-trees; and if the Moreans were but made acquainted with their value, they might be converted into an important article of traffic. Towards the end of May the song of the nightingale ceases to be heard. At this time also the corn is cut, and immediately trodden out in the field.

The wind now blows from the east at sun-rise, and seems to accompany the sun in its course till towards ten o'clock. A dead calm commonly comes on at this time, and the air is then suffocating. The heat constantly increases till about three in the afternoon, when the wind veers to the north, and there remains till the dawn returns on the following day. Notwithstanding this regularity in the wind, the air is still subject to great variations: seldom does more than a fortnight pass without violent storms of thunder and lightning, accompanied by torrents of rain, which refresh the air and the earth extremely.

The environs of Caritena and the north of Arcadia are the most healthy, and the most agreeable parts of the country in summer. Elis on the side of Pyrgos is very unhealthy, on account of the exhalations and the damp of the evenings. It is, besides, infested with swarms of musquitoes, which seem engendered in the marshes. The valley of Argolis, with its rice-grounds and fields of poppies, is subject to contagion; and Nauplia is the focus of fevers. In Laconia there are many very delicious and salubrious spots. Mistra its capital, exposed to the burning south, is the hottest part of the district. The villages about Taygetes have the advantage of a very pure air: the valley of Calamatte is refreshed by the sea-breezes, but Coron is the most healthy spot along this fine coast. The situation of Tripolitza is unfortunate if more than a fortnight elapses without rain: it is then commonly visited by dangerous fevers. But the electric points of the mountains round attract the clouds so much, that the plain is seldom afflicted with any

long continuance of drought. The pasha at this time of the year directs his attention very much to the streets being kept clean, and will not permit the drains of the houses, which at other times are suffered to run into them, to be kept open.

The inhabitants of the Morea do not seem affected by the heat; and they enjoy, through its influence, a variety of fruits which compensate amply the inconveniences arising from it. The freshness of the evenings and the delights of the morning air are such, that the violent heats of noon are hardly thought of. The children run about with only a single garment, a sort of shirt, and they are sunburnt like the Arabs; but none of those scrophulous diseases are to be found among them which prevail so much in our large towns. They early contract a taste for wine; and seem to be by nature expert dancers and runners. The view of the gulf of Lepanto and of its shores is never more beautiful than in summer. The mountains of Epirus, from the summits of Chimera to the double head of Parnassus, covered with snow during winter, are adorned at their base with the most delightful verdure. Their brows, as well as those of Pindus, which rise above Cocytus and Acheron, attract the clouds, and send their beneficent emanations to those who navigate the bay of Corinth.

The rains which come on in October seem to bring with them as it were a new spring. The grapes fall beneath the knife of the vine-dresser, songs are heard on every side, we seem to see Anacreon and Silenus revived; the mirth of the vintage increases every day,—every day we see added numbers occupied by it. The winds which blow from the south and the west preserve the warmth of the earth, while the rains produce again a delightful verdure. Yet this warmth, yet this verdure cannot retain the migrating crews which have now for some time enlivened the woods. Notwithstanding the beautiful sites still offered to the birds of passage, they assemble upon them only to consult about their departure, they feel that the season of storms and of frosts is approaching; yet they do not seem to quit Peloponnesus, where they have lived in peace and happiness, without much regret. The middle of November may be fixed as the old age of annual plants; and in the month of December the birds who are fond of a boreal temperature arrive in large troops. They inhabit the neighbourhood of the lakes which are exposed to the north, for the climate of the milder valleys does not suit their habits. Their hoarse and shrill cry resembles the noise of the waves;—when they rise in flights they are said to prognosticate the coming on of a violent storm of wind. Such is the general course of the seasons in the Morea.

He, says Hippocrates, who proposes to make accurate researches in medicine,

ought first to consider the effects which each season of the year may produce. Having therefore given a sketch, as far as my means of observation will permit, of the climate and seasons of the Morea, I ought perhaps now to proceed to the deductions which may be drawn from it: but there seem to be other points which should previously be considered, particularly the quality of the water in different parts of the country, and the diet and modes of cooking; things which have no less influence upon the health of the inhabitants.

The water is not in general pure. That of the rivers during summer is generally foul and muddy, since the channels are seldom filled but in the case of heavy rains, when vast quantities of sand and mud commonly come down with the water from the sides of the mountains. It is in winter and the early part of the spring only that the waters of the rivers are fit for use. The inhabitants of Tripolitza, as long as the rivulets flow from Mount Menale, collect the water in cisterns, and this is what they usually drink. When this supply ceases they are obliged to have recourse to their springs and wells; but as they are at no depth in the ground they have all the bad qualities of waters from marshes. In the winter when there is abundance of rain, the wells about Tripolitza become troubled and overflow their margins. If a dry season comes on, either they are entirely exhausted, or the water that remains in them is altogether fetid and unfit for use. Having had the opportunity of making my observations upon several wells in different quarters of the town, I always found the same results, though they varied as to their depth.

The waters of Carvathi, of Steno, and of Aglacambos, are very hard, and will not dissolve the soap, owing to their coming entirely from the rocks; at the feet of some of the calcareous mountains are springs of water of a saponaceous quality. The waters of Lerna are febrile, as the inhabitants report; those of Corinth should be of the same quality, to judge by the lymphatic constitution of the inhabitants, which seems the same in both places. The water of Mistra, as well that of the river as of the springs, is generally reputed to be delicious. This contradicts the system of Hippocrates, who says,—"Every town exposed habitually to hot winds, such as blow in winter between the east and the west, and sheltered from the north, ought to abound in water; but these waters are commonly brackish and at a little depth from the surface of the earth, consequently are hot in summer, and cold in winter: they are therefore not salutary to the health of man, but are likely to occasion him serious diseases."

The inhabitants of the valley of Alpheus, those of Fraxio, of Faneri, and of

Miraka, prefer the water of the river to that of their springs. One sees fountains established at a little distance from its banks by the piety of the Mussulmans, that the faithful may in travelling find a salutary beverage. It is incredible that if they had found the water of the river pleasant and wholesome, they would have constructed fountains almost upon its banks. No: doubtless experience taught them to distrust the wholesomeness of the water furnished by the river. In the neighbourhood of Sinano and Andritsena are some springs strongly charged with sulphurate of soda, and a stranger drinking of them unwarily would find himself extremely incommoded; they are known to have produced eruptions, not however attended with any serious consequences, and which in the end died away of themselves: the inhabitants who are accustomed to them do not find the same effect. On this side, near the temple of Apollo Epicurius, there are thermal springs, and the soil every where is mingled with pyrites of copper. Vegetation is much earlier about these parts than in any other, and the productions of the earth are more varied. The waters of Mount Ithome, and those of Arcadia where the soil is altogether argillaceous, are the best; and the canton of Messenia, with the exception of Navarin, has no reason to be dissatisfied with her lot in this respect. The water of Navarin appeared to me thick, white, and salt. How often have I regretted that it was not in my power to examine the quality of the water in each particular place! I might then have been able to account satisfactorily for many phænomena which presented themselves to my observation.

The diet of the Moreans does not vary essentially from that of the Greeks in all other parts of the empire. Compelled by their religion to the observation of long Lents, their table is served for the greater part of the year only with dishes *au maigre*. These consist of the vegetables in use in their kitchen, dressed with oil or butter, and having for seasoning pepper, mint, marjoram, capsicums, or long pepper, and other spices or aromatic herbs. In most of the dinners at which I was present ripe olives salted, from Coron, and caviar were served, and sometimes poutargue. Of caviar it may be said that it is the national ragout, and any one who did not speak of it with respect would be held very cheap. *Tourtes* of fish or vegetables are also served; but this is not the table kept by the ancients, or such an one as that a gourmand would find a subject of harangue in every morsel that went into his mouth. O downfall of the arts! O tomb of talents!—what would Apicius say, could he rise from the dust with which he has so long mingled, and see a *tourte* made with red poppies, fennel, and lettuce! The aromatic herbs however with which these dishes are seasoned, excite the appetite by the mere

odour they spread around, and it is the usual commencement of the dinner at the table even of a rich man. An enormous dish of snails is next served, with a quantity of garlic, of which the guests all eat with a very high relish. In the times when the use of meat is permitted, the Greeks generally prefer eating it roasted. They sometimes dress a whole lamb, putting it upon a spit, first rubbing it over well with fat, and sprinkling it with marjoram; they eat pork and kid in the same way: if they make ragouts, it is commonly with hare.

Salt fish, mackarel, the sea-eel, the xiphias, and the Muscovian baleuc are much esteemed. Many other sorts of sea-fish are also eaten by the Greeks, but they have a determined repugnance to the enormous carps of Stymphalus, and the other lakes of Arcadia; these they say produce the leprosy. It is indeed not improbable that the flesh of this fish, being greasy and oily, and the scales extremely viscous, there may be some pernicious quality in it. I am also inclined to think that the fish caught on the coasts of Elis are not very wholesome. It is not uncommon with the fishermen, in order to facilitate the inclosing them in their nets, to throw to them the root of the tithymal and euphorbium, which intoxicates them: taken in this way the flesh soon corrupts, and, notwithstanding the salt, retains something of the pernicious nature of these plants. It is even asserted that it will produce cutaneous eruptions. Is this really so? I am indeed inclined to believe there must be some truth in it, since all people agree in asserting it. As this kind of fish, however, is sold cheap, the people are always very eager to purchase it.

Fruit forms a principal article of food in the Morea, particularly melons, water-melons, and gourds. These last are like the manna from heaven to the people. In summer scarcely any thing else is to be seen among them, and they eat them with the utmost delight raw, and without any kind of seasoning. Sometimes they cut them into small pieces and mix them, instead of bread, with their milk; in fact, when they are in full season the Greeks almost renounce bread, a thing so indispensable to a Frenchman. It is remarked that contagious diseases are most liable to break out in seasons when the people eat to excess of gourds and other aqueous fruits. At the tables of the great, macaroni is a dish very generally to be seen, strewed over with the hard cheese of Sicyon scraped fine. The pastry, a fertile source of indigestion, is still heavier here than elsewhere, from the oil used in making the paste, and from honey being substituted instead of sugar. The cakes of the country are therefore a sort of lead, to any stomachs but those of Greeks and Turks. The best dish brought to table is the pilau, and this always makes a part of every dinner *comme il faut*. Raw salad

is a thing scarcely ever served; and they have no dessert. Their preserves of cherries and citron are good, but nothing can be more detestable than their *dragées* and *bonbons* of all kinds.

The bread eaten in the Morea is in general of a good quality: in the country they knead the dough well upon a skin stretched out very tight, and when they have no oven, or do not choose to have the trouble of heating it, bake it by laying it only on hot embers. Most houses have ovens built upon the floor, which has no pavement; the ovens are about a foot and a half high, and three feet in diameter, but run up in so slight a way that I have more than once broke one down in attempting to sit upon it. If the bread generally to be found in the bakers' shops is very much under-baked, this is not the fault of the baker, but of the prevailing taste in the country, which will have it so. The great people however, both Turks and Greeks, begin now to discover that bread well-baked is preferable. Three different sorts of bread are made in the towns. The first, known among the Franks by the name of Armenian bread, is a sort of cakes of a soft nature, and rather more like *buns* than bread; they are made of brown flour, and are heavy. Workmen and people of the lower class, who want things slow of digestion, generally eat these by preference. The second sort is made of dough of a similar kind, but moulded into loaves of about a pound each, and very much under-baked. The third sort, called the Franks' bread, is made with very fine and delicate flour, tolerably light, and kneaded sufficiently to be pleasant if eaten the day that it is made; but it does not keep well, soon growing dry. This is made into loaves of about half a pound each. The Greeks commonly eat the second sort of bread, as they are extremely afraid of being thought opulent. None of the bread has a rosiny taste, as has been asserted: perhaps this assertion has arisen from smelling the anise-seeds which are sometimes scattered over the outside.

The Greeks drink a great deal during the dinner; but the Mussulmans eat quick, and never drink till they have finished eating. The food is then so distended that many of them can with difficulty hold themselves up to smoke, from their stomachs being immoderately puffed out. The pipe is the usual dessert of the country. After washing their mouth and nose, and soaping their mustachios well, they squat themselves upon the sopha to indulge in this favourite regale. 'Tis then that they are truly happy, that in complete indolence, without thought, they pass some of the most delightful moments of their lives.

Milk forms an essential article of food among the people, chiefly that of the ewe; there is something in it particularly sweet and aromatic, from the nature

of the plants on which the animal principally feeds. The Greeks however seldom eat it in its genuine state as drawn from the flocks, they prefer it infinitely when they have made *jougourth* of it*; they even talk of this preparation in as high terms of rapture as if it were the ambrosia of the Gods. I should say that the *jougourth* is one of the most sour and nauseous things imaginable. He moreover who has unfortunately seen how extremely dirty the cauldron is in which this food is prepared, must be considerably in want of something to allay hunger before he could eat it with pleasure. Truth will not permit me to make a much more favourable report of the butter: almost always in a liquefied state, it has much rather the appearance of white honey. It is kept in vessels of goat-skins. The cheese is in general too much salted, and very inferior to what is made in many other European countries. Mistra and Vasilico have notwithstanding obtained a considerable degree of reputation for their cheeses: the people fricassee them with butter. This ragout is however little suitable to any but an Albanian stomach, which could digest even the black broth of Sparta. But enough on this subject,—I will not pursue any further my dissertation upon oriental cookery; perhaps I shall be thought to have descended already too much into minutiæ: but the title of physician, which ought to imply that of an accurate observer, will I hope plead my excuse.

Besides wine, which is the usual liquor of the Greeks, there are other liquors drunk by them in common with the Turks. Among these their boza, as it is called, holds the first rank as an intoxicating liquor. It is made of bruised barley, left to ferment, to which a certain quantity of *darnel*† is added. Next to this are the sherbets; they are prepared with strawberries, raspberries, or apricots bruised with water, and sweetened; the small quantity of musk added to them is not sufficient to make them unpleasant. These liquors are extremely grateful in the violent heats of summer, particularly when cooled, as they commonly are, in ice collected from the mountains. The grape of Corinth, mixed

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* *Jougourth* is a sort of curdled milk, turned by heating the milk over the fire with some of the old *jougourth* in it, or for want of that the flower of an artichoke. Thus the original fermentation proceeds from this plant, and this the Greeks know perfectly well, resorting to it whenever their stock of curd is entirely exhausted. They never supposed their original stock to have been brought by an angel from heaven, though this is imputed to them by Mr. Eton.

† Darnel, a sort of rye grass which grows not unfrequently among corn. There are many species of this grass: that here referred to is probably the *lolium temulentum* or *bearded darnel*, which is said to be of an intoxicating quality. It is not common in England.—TRANSLATOR.

with rose water and sugar, is a liquor very much in vogue. The brandy which forms the basis of their *liqueurs* is bad, and might have a very pernicious effect upon persons of irritable habits. The Turks are exceedingly fond of a beverage made with mint and pimento infused in cold water. I must say that I never tasted any thing more powerful; it is like swallowing an alcohol the most concentrated.

CHAPTER XVI.

On the diseases incidental to the Morea, and particularly on the plague.—State of medicine in the Morea.—Physicians and surgeons.

The manner of clothing, the tastes, the habits of a people are of considerable importance in contemplating the subject on which I am now about to enter. A state of slavery has an important influence upon the physical constitution; even a greater or less degree of liberty creates shadings which ought not to escape an accurate observer. Nay, the ambition of their primates, and the fear by which the people are enervated, may be not improperly enumerated among the causes which create a predisposition to pestilential diseases in the Morea.

The inhabitants of the valley of Tegea live very much upon fruit, and, experiencing fewer vexations than some of the Moreans, have a greater manliness in their appearance, much more of grace and dignity in their form. Those of Upper Arcadia, living chiefly upon milk, love peace and repose; they are mild and calm in their dispositions. Both these classes, content with their lot, seem to have no wishes beyond the spot on which they were born. The inhabitants of the valleys about Mettaga, living during the winter upon chesnuts and farinaceous food, have not an equally submissive character: the old men of these parts are very subject to arthritic complaints. The Messenian, who eats a great deal of flesh and fish, has an activity of character which belongs very much to the neighbourhood of the coast. Brave and industrious, he early quits the banks of the Pamissus or the Neda: the aspect of his towns, which almost all face the east or the south, and the greater plenty in which he lives, give him a more animated

physiognomy. I speak here of the parts of Messenia near the coast: the case is different in the interior parts: here I have already represented him as old, from labour and hard living, at an early period of life.

I have mentioned the rice-grounds, the evaporations from which are so deleterious to the inhabitants of Argolis. A stranger can hardly fix himself at Nauplia di Romania, which is upon the eastern shore of the gulf of Argos, without paying the tribute of a quartan ague; nor are the inhabitants themselves exempt from that disease. The bad qualities of the air, and its malignant influence, may be easily judged by the sallow complexions of these people, and by seeing how much they are affected with goitres and scrophulous complaints. The functions of the stomach are therefore often very sluggishly performed, and the abdominal viscera become extremely loaded. From this predominating state of the lymphatic system, some persons are to be found attacked with the elephantiasis, and a great many with the dropsy. Bleeding is very dangerous in most of the diseases of this country, even in the pulmonary complaints which are here very common. Coughs and catarrhs are complaints extremely prevalent at Argos, as well as in the villages about the forest of Nemea, and those on the side of Mycene.

Wounds are with difficulty healed in constitutions so impregnated with aqueous particles. They often turn to phagedenic ulcers, which will only yield to compression and to change of place: several examples of this kind fell under my own observation. A woman of Aglacambos, who had for a long time had an ulcer in her leg, was obliged to fly the hot and moist climate of Argolis, as no prospect appeared of a cure while she remained here: she came to Tripolitza, where she was under my care, and by the remedies I applied the wound was entirely healed in a short time. Apoplexies appeared to me frequent at Sinano, as well as in the neighbourhood of Arcadia, and still more especially in the district from Caritena to Olympia; they seemed most prevalent when the south winds charged the air with moist exhalations. The usual remedy resorted to on these occasions is phlebotomy, which is administered without any regard being paid to the nature of the particular case; this is followed by a slight emetic of tobacco-leaves infused. Ataxial and adynamial fevers prevail very much in Elis during the summer, especially in those seasons when storms are very frequent. Pyrgos, in the district of Belvedere, is extremely subject to the most obstinate intermittent fevers.

The syphilitic virus, being generally intrusted to the management of quacks, occasions disorders to which the greater part of the afflicted become victims; but

this affection is trifling, compared with the leprosy and the elephantiasis. "It is chiefly," says Raimont, in his history of the latter complaint, "in those parts of the globe which are under a tyrannical government that the elephantiasis plays a principal part among the prevailing diseases, in concert with its allies leprous affections and pestilential fevers: good health does not go hand in hand with extreme slavery. Under an inhuman despotism the greater part of the lands are left uncultivated; they are often covered with stagnant waters. People who have no property think of nothing but making a scanty provision for their mere physical necessities; their food is consequently not abundant, and seldom very wholesome; their habitations are damp, and often placed in the most unhealthy situations. Such is now the lamentable situation of the Greek states." In Greece, free and flourishing, the leprosy and the elephantiasis were alike unknown; they have only been introduced into Greece enslaved, oppressed, and wretched.

It is in Elis, in the districts bordering upon the Alpheus, as well as in the country about the lake of Voulsi, and the other lakes of Arcadia, that the elephantiasis, according to the best information I could procure, is the most prevalent. In the space of six months, more than twenty persons from these parts came to consult me for the elephantiasis in the legs. Among them I observed that with two-thirds at least the affection was principally in the left leg. I saw a member of the divan at Navarin who had his left leg thus affected, and who was called in derision *effendi baldir kebir*, or the *effendi with the great leg*.

The elephantiasis has not however here the same hideous appearance as among those whom I had an opportunity of observing in Egypt; it seems as if the disease was in some measure counteracted in its dreadful effects by the climate being less moist than that on the borders of the Nile. I believe the leprosy to be less common in this country than the elephantiasis. If agriculture should continue to flourish, as there seems every reason to hope, and if a good government should ever give free scope to the natural genius of the Greeks, I have no doubt that both these horrible maladies would soon disappear. But what are these, compared with that more dreadful scourge which a moist winter and a hot spring seldom fail to bring on? What are they, I say, in comparison with the plague? that fatal visitation, of which it remains for me to treat.

The very name alone of the plague presents immediately to the mind the most dreadful of all afflictions with which a country can be visited. In Asia, in Africa, in Europe, in the bosom of those Greek isles once so blessed, wherever

this disease appears, desolation and death follow in its train. Yet considered as an emanation of divine vengeance, its nature and its principle are still enveloped in very great obscurity. Homer, the prince of poets, makes it a visitation of the Gods for the punishment of mankind. It is by this grand picture of human misery that he opens his divine poem. He represents Apollo irritated at the offence committed against his priest, descending from the top of Olympus with his bow and arrows, striking first the dogs and the mules, and afterwards the whole army. The people (he says) died, the piles were burning incessantly, for nine days the arrows of the God never ceased to strike. But was this really the scourge which we know by the name of the plague?

In modern Greece we do not hear of an innocent people punished for the fault of the King of kings; but a prejudice no less deplorable, by the terror that it spreads, predisposes the body to the impression of the contagion. The *Evil-eye*, the *Cacodæmon*, has been seen wandering over the roofs of the houses: who can dare to doubt this? It was in the form of a withered old woman covered with funereal rags; she was heard to call by their names those who are to be cut off from the number of the living. Nocturnal concerts, voices murmuring amid the silence of the darkest nights, have been heard in the air; phantoms have been seen wandering about in solitary places, in the streets, in the markets; the dogs have howled with the most dismal and melancholy tone, and their cries have been repeated by the echoes along the desert streets. It is when such things happen, as I was told very seriously by an inhabitant of Nauplia di Romania, that great care must be taken not to answer if you should be called during the night: if you hear symphonies, bury yourself in the bed-clothes, and do not listen to them; it is the *old woman*, it is the plague itself that knocks at your door.

These absurd terrors have even shaken the fortitude of minds in other respects the best organized; nor have grave historians scrupled to give a detail of signs which they call precursors of the plague. Let fable represent Hercules mounting his funeral pile, devoured by the burning fever of the plague; let it give us a picture of the misfortunes of Niobe,—of Apollo, conqueror of the serpent Python;—under these sublime allegories it may, perhaps, have been intended to describe this horrible scourge: but who can believe what is related by Procopius, where he describes the fearful signs which preceded such a breaking out of the anger of Heaven? "In 565," says he, "all at once were seen upon the walls and the doors of the houses, upon the vessels and upon the clothes, livid spots, which but appeared

the more as endeavours were made to wash them away *. This phænomenon was the forerunner of a dreadful plague, which broke out the following year. Winter being come, night and day noises were heard in the air like that of an army marching to the sound of the trumpet." And in another place he says: "In 747, a dreadful plague, which began its ravages in Sicily and Calabria, drew nearer and nearer to Greece, and made its way at last to Constantinople. It came on with marks like spots of oil; and this symptom was followed by one altogether as extraordinary: this was a wandering of the imagination, so that the persons afflicted seemed to see hideous spectres; they even seemed to hear them, and converse distinctly with them. They imagined they saw them enter houses, wounding some and massacring others; and the deaths of those who fell victims to the plague were attributed to their strokes. In the spring of 748 the contagion increased, and depopulated Constantinople." The same prejudices have been handed down and exist even in our own times: this scourge is ascribed to the avenging arm of God, and few are those who think of investigating the true nature of the malady. My fellow citizen Dr. Desgenettes, professor of the college of physicians at Paris, has however entered deeply into this subject. I would here add the observations I have been enabled to make.

To me it appears that the primary cause of the plague is the impurity of the air, and the unwholesome nature of the country. In those parts of Africa, in Egypt for example, where the plague is endemic, it always comes on during the season of the hot and moist winds that blow from the south. This is the uniform testimony of all who have observed the course of the malady with attention; and this established, it seems not at all foreign to truth and probability to consider it as a morbid emanation from the simoom, or wind of the desert, which kills like the stroke of lightning. For this we have the testimony of Bruce, Niebuhr, Volney, and others. It may however be objected, that the plague was not known formerly in Egypt, though the wind of the desert must have blown equally then as in these days. Herodotus makes no mention of any ravages of the plague, nor are any mentioned as long as

* These kind of spots are called by the learned Raimont, the leprosy of the houses. "The law," says he, "ordained among the Hebrews, that if they spread, the houses should be pulled down; and if the spots appeared again after the house was rebuilt, then it was to be wholly abandoned. I should conceive this appearance to have been in fact saline efflorescences, or it might have been the effect of a rot occasioned by the extreme humidity of the air. Houses consisting only of a ground-floor are particularly subject to be affected in this way." *History of the Elephantiasis*, p. 76. It is, besides, very probable, that the same humidity which occasioned this appearance would contribute to bring on the plague.

this country remained a Roman colony: but when it passed under the feeble power of the eastern emperors, its physical no less than its moral nature underwent a dreadful change; and the cradle of the arts, a spot once so celebrated, once so splendid, ornamented with such magnificent towns and buildings,—this spot became what?—the seat of the plague.

We must not, however, believe in consequence of what is said by Thucydides, by Lucretius, and Pliny, that the plague comes from Ethiopia. Bruce, who travelled into Abyssinia, does not say that it afflicted Axum. The caravans, which come every year from the interior of Africa, would then spread it in Upper Egypt before it could be felt at Cairo:—but the contrary is the fact. It proceeds from Lower Egypt, where it seems to lurk about Damietta, and is propagated by communication. From the time of Procopius it has pursued the same course. This we learn from the description he has given us of a plague which spread over all the then known world. "It began," says he, "in Egypt among the inhabitants of Pelusium; whence it spread to Alexandria, then to the other provinces, and so on to the parts of Palestine adjoining to Egypt." Dr. Desgenettes gives a testimony to the same effect, when he says that the epidemic appeared at Damietta in September, and afterwards broke out in the marine hospital at Alexandria. It is in vain that some travellers have asserted the plague to have been brought to Egypt by vessels coming from Constantinople,—the facts that falsify this assertion are but too numerous; numbers of our army fell by this disease when all communication with Constantinople was cut off.

It is not true that the plague comes on with such rapidity, as that people fall dead in the streets, struck with it as by a stroke of thunder. None but those who have no home under which to hide their heads perish in such a way; and this is not the only affliction with which people of that description might have fallen dead in a similar manner. There are in the East but too many unhappy victims, who during the greater part of the year, and above all in the season when the plague is most likely to break out, sleep always in the open air; and these are the people whose mode of life, whose misery, renders them very liable to be the first seized with the plague. In any case, those who appear to die suddenly must always have experienced some previous indisposition, something which announced them stricken with the pestilential fever. In those who are first seized, there is commonly great uncertainty as to the nature of the disease; it is not till many have fallen that its true nature seems to be developed. There are three distinct epochs, commonly, during the time that the contagion continues in any place, in each of

which it assumes a new character; though sometimes in the height of the ravages it assumes all the three characters at once. Terrible at its commencement, more by the consternation which it spreads, than by the actual ills which it occasions, the plague seems propagated extremely by fear, a principle very productive of that debility which is particularly favourable for increasing its ravages. At the least suspicion of the plague, I have seen men in other respects the most stout-hearted and courageous, alarmed and depressed beyond measure, so that they have brought on serious illness. Many, I believe, have taken the infection of the plague merely from the state of debility to which they were reduced by their terrors; the fear of death has hurried them to the tomb.

In the second period, when the nature of the disease is decided by the alarming progress it makes, the streets are crowded with funerals, while they are abandoned by all but those employed to deposit the victims in their last dreary abode. People shun each other as they would shun a noxious animal: they are afraid to inquire after a friend, a relation, lest the inquiry should only produce new sorrows in learning that they are no more. It is not till the disease is arrived at this desolating period that the Turks of Constantinople begin to believe in its existence: it is then only that they think of assembling to invoke the deity, and endeavour by prayers to avert his anger. Still, however, far from regarding it as an affliction against which human efforts can be of any avail, they contemplate it solely in the light of an irrevocable decree of fate. If they do not condemn the terrified Greek, or the Frank who shuts himself close within his own walls, they would consider it as a great sin in themselves to be wanting in confidence. Their prayers will be heard, if it be thus decreed; if their days are numbered, thus it must be, and thus it was determined from all eternity. This is not stupidity, it is not apathy,—it is religion. A Turk may lose his wives, his children,—his heart groans, he sheds bitter tears, but his head bows submissive to that Providence who overwhelms him. He remains in his own house; he gives his orders tranquilly; he acquits himself, dressed in his usual garments, of the duties of his worship. Death strikes again:—he is left quite alone: he raises his eyes to heaven. "This world," he says, "is only a place of passage!"—He dies in his turn, but without having experienced the agonies of death a hundred times over through his pusillanimous fears.

The ravages of the plague are only experienced at periods, and these generally at some distance from each other. It is a commonly received opinion that it breaks out every nine years at Constantinople: but this is a vulgar error; it

never appears there when war intercepts all communication with Egypt, neither is it contagious to the degree asserted by some of the Franks who inhabit the Levant. If it had been so, who among those that constituted our army of the East could have escaped falling victims to it,—what would have become even of our chief himself? It is well known that he one day with his own hands raised from the ground a soldier afflicted with it, and laid him upon his bed: yet no symptoms of the disease ever appeared upon him; and if the contagion had been as subtile as it is represented, coming thus in immediate contact with an infected person, he could not have escaped it.

In reflecting upon this disease, I know not how to flatter myself that any general specific against it should ever be discovered. How indeed hope this! since it is often difficult to pronounce, when a patient is first attacked, upon the nature of his malady, so Proteus-like are the forms which it assumes! So many fruitless experiments have been made, such a number of remedies have been proposed against the plague, that it is almost ridiculous to talk of them. Impressed with the idea that it is produced by a particular and homogeneous virus, a physician of the country, by name Valli, a native of Guastalla, lately made an experiment not less bold than curious. He fancied he discovered that persons who had been vaccinated did not take the infection of the plague, which then raged at Constantinople, and concluded thence that the vaccine virus neutralized the virus of the plague. He therefore took the matter from a pestilential tumour, and, mixing it with a certain quantity of vaccine virus, inoculated himself with it. It is certain that no ill effects resulted from the experiment,—but how draw any general inference from this solitary instance?

Let us rather pay the homage due to those modern governments who have had sufficient wisdom to oppose an effective barrier against the contagion, by building lazarettoes: and let us also hope, that by the extension of civilization, by the amelioration of laws, and the reformation of abuses in the governments of those countries principally afflicted with this dreadful calamity, the very principles of it may in time be destroyed. In waiting the arrival of this happy period, let us state that there are precautions which a stranger inhabiting the Turkish empire, or a traveller passing through it, will do well to observe. In the first place, let him arm himself with courage: a steady confidence, without carrying it so far as to run unnecessary danger, may contribute essentially towards preserving him in security. Let him, in the second place, use constant but moderate exercise, and eat only simple and wholesome food: temperate living is one of the most effective

barriers that can be opposed against contagion. As to the physician, his duty is traced by the engagements he has taken upon himself to succour the unfortunate. He ought to see the sick and console them; the minister of peace in the days of mourning, it is his part to carry hope into the midst of an afflicted family, and, by encouraging them, to awaken that fortitude which will best enable them to struggle against the danger. But let him avoid sitting down upon the bed of the patient, or, if possible, taking his breath; in that lies his principal danger. In thus conducting himself he is performing his duty; and if his hour be arrived, as he must one day die, he will at least have come to an end worthy of his vocation; he will have expired at his post, in the very act of performing good works.

The principal physicians of the Turkish empire are a number of crafty Italians, calling themselves *caloiatroi*, or *good physicians*, who travel about in a manner very similar to Beaumarchais's celebrated barber, when he visited Estramadura, Gallicia, and the two Castiles. They are very expert at making widows and orphans; but the indolent Turk, though he is the daily witness of their feats in this way, regards them only as the ministers of *fate*, feasts them and pays them, nor thinks of imputing their want of success in the healing art to any thing but an immutable fatality. Under the shelter of this prejudice, the *caloiatros* continues to practise his art, and to reap the harvest of it; to *reap*, as it may truly be called, since his drugs perform the office ascribed to the scythe of our mortal enemy. He displays a luxury and assumes an importance, which are no less ridiculous than the pretended depth of his knowledge; he is accompanied by a servant, who executes the several offices of interpreter, page, steward, and puffer; and who, trained up in the secrets of his master's art, after a few years sets up for himself as a successor of the great Hippocrates.

Every one who wears a *hat*, whether he be Turk, Greek, Jew, or Armenian, is a physician,—for the dress is all in all; but the Italians are in the highest repute. Thus these people come in swarms from the shores of the Adriatic, like birds of prey inso a country abounding with game. Struck with this migration, an ambassador of Venice at the Ottoman Porte once remarked that the *serene republic* had not lost its taste for crusades, as by means of its physicians it carried on a constant war against the infidels. All however do not make fortunes: the most successful adventurers are those who have served their apprenticeship as followers of some former physician in high repute. More would nevertheless succeed, if the thirst of plunder did not occasion divisions among them, which

lead them often to do each other justice in a manner not at all conformable with their general interest as a body. After a broil of this kind, their credit is lowered for awhile, and they are obliged to practise at an under price: an envious brother will take in hand for two piastres a malady that ought to pay twenty or thirty.

During my stay in the Morea, I had frequent opportunities of seeing some of these *chevaliers d'industrie*. It was not a little amusing to hear one talk of having studied at Corfu, another at Zante, another at Nauplia di Romania, under a celebrated physician the pride of his country, who could boast that he had made more than fifty phlebotomists among his servants. The *caloiatros* in chief of Tripolitza, the father of the wandering faculty, was a Greek who sold tobacco at the bazar. He had been cook in a public-house at Montpellier, and had a variety of specifics and amulets for relieving pain. Most of these gentry treated me as a brother, and came to me confidentially to ask me for receipts for such or such a complaint: according to their ideas, as well as those of many other people, the practice of physic consisted only in having a great variety of receipts. A good dose of jalap, of manna, or of Glauber salts, and above all bleeding, (for nothing is to be done without bleeding,) are their great weapons, so that one might conclude them to be of the same faculty with Moliere's physician. No less impudent than ignorant, they are continually boasting of the cures they have performed at such or such a place, taking care however that it shall always be one at a considerable distance; to hear them talk, you would suppose that they bleed without its being perceived, and draw a tooth with the point of a stiletto. There is not a town in the Levant, be it ever so inconsiderable, that has not its Æsculapius. In confidence and perjury they do not yield to the Greeks; and too much of the same species to have any complacency towards each other, no one ever mentions a brother but in terms of the most sovereign contempt. They are besides for the most part conjurers, nay, by an extraordinary combination of talents, almost any thing that may be desired of them.

The people however of the Morea, who cannot afford to pay for being sent in a regular way to their long homes by these able practitioners, have among them a few simple remedies, which give them a chance of remaining some time longer on their pilgrimage here below. I have been surprised to see how well the peasants could manage a putrid fever. Some glasses of generous wine, pomegranates, and limes, are the things usually given to the patient, the beloved lancet being kept at a distance very cautiously: by these means I have known a patient recover very speedily. I have often seen intermittent fevers subdued entirely by

a mixture of coffee and lemon-juice, which is the general remedy for them all over the country. The proportions are three quarters of an ounce of coffee ground very fine, two ounces of lemon juice, and three of water. The mixture to be drunk warm and fasting. Women inoculate for the small-pox; and I have not the least doubt that if vaccination were introduced into the country, it would be adopted eagerly. For such diseases as epilepsy, vapours, or insanity, they have recourse only to exorcisms and charms.

The few notions of surgery that exist among the Greeks are confined principally to the Albanians. Warriors by instinct and by taste, they are obliged to learn how to dress their wounds. Surrounded by enemies, whether they live independent in their own mountains, or serve under the banners of the pasha, they are equally exposed to danger, and almost of necessity learn how to reduce fractures and dislocations. Their surgical instruments consist of a little iron rod which they use as a probe, a forceps with a bill-head, with which the splinters of a fractured bone are extracted; another sort of forceps with rings; and razors, which are used instead of bistouries. According to the uses for which they are wanted, they invent bandages for fractures, or to compress vessels of the positions of which they have no idea; and these rough sketches are not unworthy the attention of persons practised in the surgical art.

Phlebotomy is delegated almost entirely to the barbers; and it must be confessed that they acquit themselves with tolerable dexterity, whether the vessels be apparent or not. They raise the vein by tying a silk cord round the arm, and close the orifice by applying cotton, which is bound on very tight with a silk handkerchief. They draw teeth with a pair of nippers, which resemble somewhat our pliers. I got one of Garangeot's keys made for them, and they soon became very dextrous in the use of it; nor can their delight in the possession of this instrument, which was wholly new to them, be well conceived.

If the profession of a physician be however exercised in the Levant principally by ignorant intruders, the character does not the less give great consequence to any one who desires to gain a complete knowledge of the country in travelling over it. A physician acknowledged by a commercial agent obtains an easy access among the Turks, though they are not in general very ready to receive strangers; and he has the great advantage of never being an object of suspicion to them. If he is acquainted with the language of the country, he may travel every where just as his fancy leads him, and examine whatever he pleases without incurring any risk to himself. He is the friend of man, he observes and studies

nature; the Turk sees in him only one occupied in examining plants, and meditating upon the secrets of his art. He may, under this veil, initiate himself fully into the secrets of the customs and manners of the people, and gain all possible information with respect to the statistical situation of the country; he may be every where respected and cherished, if he will deserve to be so.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mechanical arts, trades, and manufactures.—Occupations of both sexes.—Productions of the Morea.—State of commerce.

The state of industry in a country where the population is composed of oppressors and oppressed, is not very difficult to be conceived, If, however, in the Morea the observer does not meet with many things to satisfy his taste, he at least will meet with objects gratifying to his curiosity; he will find the mechanical arts of ancient times in the very bosom of the same country where they then existed. The plough, the first instrument for administering to the wants of man, is simple as in days of yore. The share, like the anchor of a ship, is of wood, armed with iron only at the two extremities of the curve, which are used alternately. In the light lands of Messenia one horse, or two asses, draw the share only, without any plough, and a man directs it with very little difficulty. In the stronger and more argillaceous soil of Elis and Arcadia, the share is fixed into a plough which has block wheels, and it is commonly drawn by asses, oxen, or buffaloes, very seldom by horses, and never by slaves.

The trades of carpenter and joiner seem quite in their infancy. With a straight saw, the blade of which is fixed into a handle like those to the saws used in England for amputation, and a hammer and hatchet, the Greeks will build a house entirely. It is only in the large towns, or those near the sea, that gouges and chisels for making mortises are used. In the villages, the planks are united by fining away the edge where the junction is to be made. The baths are generally built in a more substantial manner than the houses. In constructing the vaults of their domes they use a sort of centre to make the curve regular.

Notwithstanding this scarcity of tools, the mosques and churches are substantially built, the architects supplying by their industry and address their deficiency in other means.

The trade of a sadler is one which they have carried to a greater degree of perfection than most exercised by them. The saddles, the bridles, the housings, are often ornamented with embroidery of a very superior kind. No where is gold for embroidering the fine morocco of the Orientals so well prepared as in the Turkish domains. This kind of embroidery is particularly cultivated among the Turks; they eagerly adopt any patterns for it presented to them, commonly preferring them to their own.

Their colours for dyeing are particularly fine, and well deserve the attention of those who apply themselves to inquiring into the processes best followed for bringing this art to perfection. The silks of Calamatte are ordinary, and consist only of things used by the Moreans. The inhabitants of Mistra work iron tolerably well, and excel in cleaning and brightening arms; the daggers used by the Albanians are almost entirely of their manufacture. At Tripolitza and Caritena they make very fine soap, which pays a duty to the crown. Of late, serges of silk and cotton have been manufactured, which are sold even beyond the province. In short, without entering into a minute detail of every article, I will only say that there is more industry in the Morea than from the circumstances of the country could reasonably be expected. They begin to have some relish for objects of luxury; and the people of Hydra and Spezzia, who push their navigation even to the coasts of France, will in all probability soon introduce a taste for our arts and manufactures, which cannot fail being of advantage to both countries.

Women are not employed in cultivating the lands, except in Laconia. The severity of Oriental customs will not admit of women being seen in shops, to which, among us, they are so great an ornament. Delicate arts, suitable to the sex, are those which here fall to their lot. They make cloths of cotton, which serve for household purposes, and slight silks of the rough parts of the cods, which are used for their own wear. But their great occupation is embroidery; and this they do extremely well, and in very pretty patterns. It is done either with gold or with silks, the colours of which are particularly fine; and they imitate objects of nature, such as flowers, wreaths of vine, olive, or myrtle, and the like, extremely well: the most remarkable part of their work is, that they do both sides exactly alike.

The mothers separate the cotton from the seeds by passing it between two cylinders which turn in opposite directions. Some spin the cotton with a distaff, which they do with amazing rapidity; they afterwards wind it off one, two, or three threads together, according as they wish to use it. Washing, which in most countries is a very important part of female occupation, is an object in which they are much too little employed in the Morea. It is quite revolting to think how little clean linen is used in this country; the under garment is perhaps not changed more than once in a fortnight. The women are extremely exact however in the use of the bath, which makes their want of cleanliness in their linen appear the more extraordinary. They likewise perfume themselves extremely; but this too is a poor compensation for the absence of a quality which would supersede the necessity of it. They prepare a paint from red pinks, with which they colour their faces, and they blacken their eye-brows and insides of the eye-lids with *surmeh*.

Though the Morea is a very mountainous country, it is not the less extremely fertile; the argillaceous earth, by which the mountains are in general covered, is well calculated to repay the labours of the agriculturist. The masses of granite, of which the principal chains are composed, incline towards the north in Mount Pholoë, while in Taygetes they have an equal inclination towards the south. It seems as if Peloponnesus sloped gradually from one of these points to form the bason of the Mediterranean, and from the other to form the gulf of Lepanto. The soil, which is light and marly in Messenia, partakes more of peat and the spoils of vegetable substances in Elis; the soil of Arcadia is generally good; that of Argos is rich; and the whole northern part of the Morea supports almost numberless flocks.

In the neighbourhood of Coron and Calamatte, on the side of Citriés and Armyros, and in the canton of Zarnate, the olive-trees are particularly large and strong. The leaves of the mulberry-trees in this canton are of a brighter green than elsewhere, and the silk-worms fed upon them yield a very great abundance of silk. From Calamatte to Andreossa the whole country is cultivated, and the grapes are some of the finest in the Morea. Here also are abundance of oranges, lemons, and citrons. Magnificent oaks rear their heads to the skies, and seem to court a nobler destiny than being left to decay and fall from old age: they would be excellent for the construction of shipping, which would become the defence of the neighbouring shores, and would transport to other countries the superfluities of this. Corinth, situated in a most unwholesome atmosphere,

neglects every year more and more the cultivation of those vines which have long produced a very material article of her commerce under the name of *raisins of Corinth.*

The oxen of the Morea are low in stature, and have long white hair. As the people have no idea of fattening them, the most fleshy do not weigh more than from three to four hundred pounds. The cows give very little milk, and soon become dry after the calves are weaned; they are besides exposed to jackals, who often tear the teats, and to large serpents which suck away all the milk. The annual consumption of the Morea, in the towns subject to the Turks, is not above six thousand oxen and cows: both Greeks and Mussulmans in general prefer mutton to beef: against the latter a strong prejudice formerly existed, it being considered as unwholesome food; but this is now much abated, and less objection is made to eating beef. The inhabitants of Maïna and Messenia, more carnivorous, consume a sufficient quantity of oxen to make it worth while for speculators to turn their attention towards the possibility of establishing a trade for hides in the gulf of Calamatte. There are buffalos in all the cantons of the Morea, which are employed in husbandry, and when they can work no longer they are killed and eaten. They are in general handsome animals, their skin fine and well furnished with hair: this speaks the goodness of the pastures where they are fed.

The sheep are small, and have very large horns. Their wool, which is all exported, may be considered as of the second quality of wool from the East, imported into Europe. That of Arcadia is finer than in any other part of the province, because the sheep are kept folded in the open air almost all the year. The cheese is made from the milk of sheep or goats, those of Mistra especially, which are held in such high esteem in the East. The immense quantity exported speaks of itself how extremely numerous the flocks must be.

The horses of the Morea, little to be admired for their form, seem of a species between the Arabian and the Thracian breed. Full of fire, of vigour, and of courage, they run with a firm and rapid step over the mountains without ever stumbling. Those of Achaia and Argolis are the best: the latter however, from their make, seem more proper for draught horses than for the military service. The horses which graze on the banks of the Alpheus are full of fire, and have an animation in the eye not to be found in those of other parts: those of Laconia are small, but very useful for travelling over the mountains. The asses, which are very numerous in Arcadia, are little, mean, and miserable. They seem degenerated by the abject state to which they are reduced, as no care is taken of

them. They are used for carrying wood, charcoal, and the like. Numerous caravans of them may be sometimes seen coming to Tripolitza with commodities from the villages round, marching along one after the other in a regular file.

The greatest quantity of corn grown is on the side of Lerna, in the valley of Tegea, and about Aglacambos. The wheat and almost all other kinds of corn are sown without any choice of the seed; the first that comes in the way is thrown into the ground. The barley and maize are of a good quality, the rye is not equally good. The rice of Argolis is held at Constantinople the next in esteem to that of Damietta: many cargoes of it are embarked every year at Nauplia di Romania.

The olive-trees of the Morea are some of the finest to be found in any part of the world. The respect of the people for these trees is such, that they pay them a sort of veneration when they are loaded with fruit; to cut off a branch would be a crime against which the whole country would rise in arms. Every part of the province seems to suit this tree. Immense forests of wild olive-trees had covered various districts before any attention was paid to them by the inhabitants. It was not till the country was occupied by the Venetians that the people became sensible of the treasure they possessed: these new guests instructed them in the art of grafting the trees, and since that time olives have become an article of the highest importance among them. The trees are not subject, as in Provence and Italy, to be injured by the caterpillar, excepting in the neighbourhood of Argos. But the disease of which Theophrastus speaks, the blight, or east wind of May, often dries up the leaves, and injures the trees so that the blossoms fall off very much: the small quantity of fruit, besides, produced in years when they have suffered from this blight, never comes to perfection. The olive-trees blossom about March, and the fruit is gathered in October and November by beating the trees with long poles. The oil of the Morea is of a greenish hue, but of a delicious flavour, and has no smell. That of Maïna, which is the best, is held in particular esteem at all the principal markets of Europe. A considerable quantity of black or ripe olives are preserved with salt at Coron, and sent from thence almost all over the Levant.

The white mulberry-tree is one of the most favourite productions of nature in this country, and its leaves feed an innumerable quantity of silk-worms. The eggs of the worms are kept in a box in some cool place during winter, and in the spring brought out to hatch. A dram of the eggs produces from four to five thousand worms, but from want of proper care a great number of these die.

Since the Moreans learnt that if the mulberry-tree was left to grow wild the quality of the silk was much injured, they have bestowed great pains in the cultivation of it. The women, who are charged with the care of these valuable insects, pay much more attention to them than they did formerly, taking care to give them while very young only the tender shoots, and afterwards, as their digestive powers grow stronger, giving them leaves that are more grown. They equally take care always to have a large stock of leaves gathered ready, in case of storms and rain, because nothing can be more fatal to the insects than giving them the leaves wet. They begin also to build places expressly for keeping them. I know not whether these improvements are universally adopted; but I know that, in places where they have been, the people have found their industry so well rewarded by the greater quantity and superior quality of the silk produced, that every possible encouragement is given to persevere. Elis is the district which yields the best silk.

The cotton plant thrives particularly well in Messenia, in the country round Leondari, Sinano, and Caritena, and in Maïna. The fields in which it is cultivated are commonly divided by hedges of nopal, or Indian fig. The fruit yielded by these plants are here called *Pharaoh's figs:* they are of a more vapid kind than those of Egypt. Indigo might no doubt be cultivated with success in the Morea, upon the banks of the Alpheus and Eurotas, in places where cotton, nopal, and other plants which thrive in the same soil and climate with indigo are found to succeed.

The fig of Athens was celebrated among the ancients, and the exportation of it was prohibited by the laws. That of the Morea is perhaps one of the most exquisite which can be eaten, and for this reason the inhabitants cultivate the fig-tree with particular care. To prevent the fruit falling before it comes to maturity they have recourse to an expedient known to the ancients, and mentioned by Pliny, Suidas, Theophrastus, and Plutarch, to which is given the name of *caprification*. They collect the little figs which have fallen from the trees while very young, and which are commonly the nests of an infinite number of insects called *cynips*. Of these they make chaplets, which are suspended to the branches of the trees,—when the animalcules soon begin to hatch and come forth: they are provided with wings, by means of which they soon spread themselves over all the fruit upon the tree, which they pierce with a little sting, and immediately after die. A drop of something like a gummy liquor then oozes from the figs which have been pricked; and after that they are no more liable to fall; they besides grow larger

and finer than if they had not undergone this operation. It remains to be proved whether the seeds are not injured by it. The Moreans assured me that they had found from experience the necessity of caprification: they ascribe the credit of the discovery to the people of Cerigo. Pliny, in his sixteenth book, has given a very long detail concerning this process; and Linnæus, in his work entitled *Amœnitates Academicæ*, has collected all the known descriptions of it as practised among the moderns. Dried figs are a great article of commerce in the Morea: a sort of brandy is also extracted from this fruit.

The almond-tree is to be found in all parts of the country, and never fails to yield abundantly. A sort of little pies, and a sort of sausages, are made with a mixture of figs and almonds. Orange-, lemon-, and citron-trees also abound every where. The banana is cultivated in the gardens of Argolis and in the neighbourhood of Nauplia di Romania. The pomegranate seldom fails of affording an ample produce. Peaches, apricots, plums, are no where in greater plenty or of a finer flavour. During my stay in the Morea, large cargoes of oranges were shipped off, which I ascribed to the neighbourhood of the Turkish and Russian armies, since they are not usually exported.

The melissa, the mountain plants, and the fragrant trees of the valleys give a particularly perfumed flavour to the honey of the Morea. The bees are for the most part wild, and make their nests in the hollows of trees. Man, greedy of their treasures, searches out their haunts and plunders them; then fugitive, wandering, often afflicted with some fatal disease, they perish from famine, or by the cold of winter. The Morean does not see that for the sake of a momentary pleasure he risks depriving his country of these industrious creatures. Some people, beginning to be sensible of this, build sheds, to invite them to come and settle where they will be sheltered from the severity of the weather. The honey is white; and the wax, of a very fine quality, is sent into foreign countries.

There is no great variety of vegetables cultivated in the gardens; the ground in general is ill prepared: the Greeks are unacquainted with the spade, and only use a mattock for turning it. Spinage and artichokes, which will even grow naturally without cultivation, are among the best culinary vegetables. Cabbages and cauliflowers grow to a prodigious size: they have also very good carrots. Beans and French beans are produced in such abundance that they might become an object of exportation; but the seeds of both are much smaller than ours in France. The lettuces are small; and the celery never will be good while, as at present, they do not earth it up. The tomatos are very fine, as is the fruit

yielded by the *melongena*. The melons, water melons, and gourds, are not to be exceeded in any part of the world. Mint, balm, fennel, parsley, and other herbs, abound in the gardens. The orchards are well furnished with almonds, oranges, lemons, citrons, peaches, pears, apricots, quinces, cherries, pomegranates, medlars: they have also the arbutus, the service tree, and the carob tree*: all these might be improved, if more pains were taken in cultivating them.

The forests produce three species of oaks, which are mentioned by Pausanias; one of them is the *quercus suber*, or cork-tree. They also abound with the *quercus coccifera*, or kermés oak; the *quercus esculus*, or vallony oak†; the azarole *(cratægus azarolus)*, the plane, the larch, the wild olive, the sweet chesnut, and the *fraxinus ornus*, the ash which yields the manna: the Moreans, however, have not sense enough to collect this valuable article. Besides these, there may be found scattered about in the fields the *rhamnus catharticus minor*, or *rhamnus infectorius* of Linnæus, the tree that produces the seeds called *graines d'Avignon*, of which a very fine yellow dye is prepared; the henna or al-kenna *(Lawsonia inermis)*, which resembles the pomegranate in its stem and branches, and which furnishes a very fine aurora colour: it is with this plant that the women of the East dye their nails; the turpentine tree of Chios *(pistaccia lentiscus)*, the *mimosa linlibrizia*, or silk-tree with its beautiful tufts, and some date trees, which are quite barren. Of the pines, or turpentine trees, which yield pitch and rosin, there are immense forests upon the cold and barren mountains. Chesnuts are at one period the temporary food of nearly the whole country. In Mount Pholoë, where the peasants are half savages, they form their principal food for the whole year.

A botanist might compose a work worthy of the age in which we live, in undertaking a complete Flora Peloponnesiaca. Unfortunately I could not occupy myself with this object; but I must mention a few plants which fell in my way, and in indicating them I shall show the nature of the soil. In the Eurotas are found those celebrated reeds known in the earliest antiquity. In all the rivers and marshes the oleander or *rose-bay* abounds. The rivulets and fountains are bordered with lilies, tuberoses, hyacinths, narcissuses, and jonquils. The *agnus*

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* *Ceratonia siliqua*, St. John's bread, so called because the fruit of this tree was long supposed to have been the food of St. John the Baptist in the wilderness.

† The cups to the acorns of this oak are used under the name of *vallony*, as a substitute for gall-nuts in preparing black dye.—TRANSLATOR.

castus grows by the side of the lakes; and the great water lily *(nymphæa alba)* is spread over their surface. Madder and jalap are to be found every where: the viper crawls about under groves of bay *(laurus nobilis)*, of rosemary, of broom, of sage, and lavender, and among thickets of stunted wild olive trees. The dry lands produce the great mullein *(verbascum thapsus)*, the tree mallow, the silver scabious, the *campanula romentha* of a beautiful blue approaching that of the pigeon's throat, wormwood, marjoram, dittany, euphorbia, and larkspurs of various colours, all equally vivid and beautiful. In richer soils there is a sort of heliotrope, the stem of which does not exceed two feet, with a very fragrant flower; and in the meadows are several sorts of lychnis, gilliflowers, auriculas, scilla, scammony *(convolvulus scamonia)*, and saffron *(crocus orientalis)*. The black hellebore grows in Mount Menale, as well as the yellow gilliflower *(cheiranthus cheiri)*, the red pink, the hepatica, and the peony. Mount Ithome is covered with peppermint, which is collected carefully. No country in the world possesses a greater variety of aromatic plants or of a more powerful quality, The *aconitum napellus* is in no part more fatal; and the hemlock, which deprived the world of Socrates and of Aristomenes, seems still to possess in full vigour its former deleterious qualities.

The Greeks are almost the only inhabitants of the Morea who concern themselves with the chase, if we except some of the great men among the Turks, who take a particular delight in this amusement, and who breed harriers at Mistra for the sake of pursuing the hare. The Turks never eat birds, and the Greeks hold them very cheap: both bleed the hare as soon as it is taken, throwing away immediately the liver and lungs, and afterwards the whole intestines. The Arcadians cherish with great care the fine breed of Molossian dogs from Albania; they are employed by the shepherds to guard their flocks, and to destroy the wolves, the foxes, and the jackals. These dogs will not mingle breeds, any more than the harriers with the dogs of the bazar as they are called. The latter are a kind of brute species which roam about the Turkish towns, belonging to no one, and living in a state of privation and anarchy.

The lakes of Stymphalus and Orchomenos are full of carp and other fish worthy the attention of naturalists. The Greeks do not eat them, considering them as unwholesome food liable to create leprosy. Industry might however turn them to great account as an article of internal commerce, if this prejudice could be overcome. The rivers are full of fish, particularly the Vasilipotamos, the Roufia, the Atsicolos, the Pirnazza, and the Planizza; the principal are trout,

crawfish, eels, and mullets: some of the lakes of Mount Taygetes produce excellent trout. The fisheries might become a very important object about the coasts of Elis and the sea of Corinth. Every year a great quantity of mackerel and sardines are salted for exportation.

I have thus endeavoured to give a general sketch of the productions of this country. My stock of knowledge on the subject is not sufficient to permit of my entering upon learned dissertations on the nature of soils, and on the modes by which the cultivation of them might be improved: the above, as far as it goes, is a faithful picture of what the country actually does produce to reward the labours of the husbandman: it will not lead any one astray with the idea of finding here the golden age renewed, but they will see that it is a fine country; which would, under a better order of things, produce abundantly every thing necessary to supply the wants of man.

The commercial relations of the Morea must be considered with regard to its external and internal traffic. This province, single in its kind, cannot be compared to Sicily; that country indeed languishes under a feeble government, but it will admit of no comparison with the government of the Turks. As little can the country be compared with Spain, and still less with Sardinia, a spot in itself poor and unhealthy, very thinly peopled, and plunged in the most lamentable wretchedness. It is, then, considering the Morea in an isolated point of view that I mean to give a sketch of its commerce; I say a sketch, for my knowledge on the subject will not permit me to do more. Indeed the little information I have, is chiefly derived from the tribune Felix Beaujour, author of an excellent work upon the trade of Greece. His hints have assisted me powerfully with regard to the exports of the country, and to indicate whither the superfluities of the territorial produce are conveyed*.

The Moreans consume very few of the raisins of Corinth; eight-tenths of them are annually exported, amounting to about eight millions of pounds; they are charged principally upon Dutch and Danish vessels. Eight ladings of corn are generally shipped for Trieste, Venice, Ancona, and Genoa; and two ladings of wool,—one to Leghorn, the other to Marseilles. This latter town also receives annually from the Morea, either directly or by the way of Italy, five or six ladings of oil; and of silk, cotton, vermilion, vallony, and gall-nuts, two each. Butter,

* In the Appendix, No. III. will be found a table of the different articles of territorial production in the Morea, with the quantities of each annually produced, and the names of the cantons whence they come.

wine, cheese, fruit, and pulse, are only sent to Smyrna, the islands of the Archipelago, and Constantinople. The greater part of the wood is consumed at Zante and in the Ionian islands.

The export trade was formerly in the hands of some French and Italian houses, established at Patras, Nauplia, and Coron; but the greater part of them having been ruined during the last troubles in the Morea, it has fallen into the hands of the people of the country. The beys of Maïna have now nearly the whole of the oil trade; and the agas of Nauplia, Patras, and Corinth, that of corn. The European merchants are only a sort of brokers, who buy up corn at the harvest to sell it when the price rises. Even in this the Greeks begin to supersede them; they have for some time made large purchases in this way; and living with more œconomy, they have established themselves in many places as commissioners between the cultivators and the merchants.

The merchandise imported into the Morea consists of woollen cloth, coffee, sugar, indigo, cochineal, and gold lace. The two first articles compose at least three-fourths of the total value of the imports, and before the revolution they were supplied chiefly by France. Trieste and Venice have since been enriched by the losses of Marseilles, and what is at present not furnished by these towns is imported in Greek vessels at their return from the fair of Sinigaglia: but the importations are never equal to the exportations; the balance is at least a fifth in favour of the Morea. The remainder, not furnished in merchandise, is paid by the traders in money: but this money goes almost entirely to Constantinople under the form of tribute, or in a hundred other ways: scarcely any part remains in the country to furnish the means of improvement in agriculture and manufactures, so as to enlarge the objects of trade and the quantities produced.

Nauplia and Coron are at present the principal residences of the merchants in the Morea, especially of the Europeans. The latter has obtained this preference from the salubrity of the air; the former, from its proximity to Tripolitza. This town, being the seat of the administration, is of course that where people of the largest fortunes are collected, and where there is the principal consumption of objects of trade. Patras has been abandoned on account of its insalubrity; and this town, once the most flourishing of Greece, will soon be little better than a desert.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Continuation of our stay in the Morea.—Extraordinary meteor.—Expedition of the garrison of Nauplia to Tripolitza.—Apostasy of a Zantiote soldier.—Sickness and death of the defter-kiaya.—Departure from Tripolitza.—Route from that place to Lerna.—Strata Halilbey.—Aglacambos.—The lake of Lerna—Argos—Mycene—Nemea.

To return now to ourselves. It remains to give a succinct account of the latter part of our stay at Tripolitza, noticing such facts as appear most deserving of remark. In the month of March the news from Syria being such as to create serious alarms among the Turks, the Maïnotti began to come forward with great boldness and confidence. Implacable enemies of the Mussulmans, they conceived hopes that their career was drawing towards a close. The cry of war, the din of arms, resounded through Taygetes; the Turks themselves even exaggerated their own defeats. According to them, the people of Libanus and Anti-Libanus had joined the French standard, a great revolution menaced their political existence, and the prophecies were about to be accomplished.

At this epoch, the thirty-first of March, an extraordinary phænomenon which appeared in the heavens increased the general consternation. About two hours after sunset three luminous globes appeared on a sudden over the plain of Tegea, apparently at the height of about fifty toises. They moved with great rapidity from east to west. In a quarter of an hour one disappeared, passing over Mount Menale; and in about ten minutes after three successive explosions were heard, like the distant sound of mortars bursting. I know not whether it be true, as was said afterwards, that the explosion was attended with a shower of stones; but be this as it may, the Greeks were exceedingly alarmed at the event, and talked of it for a long time as a very disastrous omen. Thus the elements and the circumstances of the times equally afforded matter for conversation; and every day brought news which furnished, even within the same twenty-four hours, abundant matter both for lamentation and rejoicing. At length, a sudden and serious incursion of the Maïnotti made imaginary fears give way to real ones.

A captain of Vordonia having received some insults from the delis of the pasha,

his brethren, to revenge the affront, quitted their own mountains and valleys, and carried their inroads even to the gates of Tripolitza. The pasha, astonished at their audacity, sent out a party of his delis against them; but these cavaliers, too prudent to venture themselves very near the enemy, who were posted in a sort of ambush among the ruins of Tegea, contented themselves with firing at them from a distance. The mountaineers, without deigning to notice them, quietly set off; and, turning their backs upon the assailants, moved forward towards the defile of Mount Chelmos, to return into Laconia. After some other slight rencounters the pasha, not finding that the prowess of his cavaliers was so great as might have been expected, thought it as well to treat with the enemy, and a truce was concluded. A few days after I met a relation of Gligoraki at the khan. Astonished at seeing him in a place where such a determined hatred was borne to his nation, I could not help expressing the apprehensions I was under upon his account. He, however, assured me there was no reason to be alarmed; that the pasha did not know him to be so near; and even if he did know it, he would take care how he attempted to molest him. "We are necessary beings to the pasha," said he, "since, under pretence of repelling our inroads, he sends parties of his cavaliers to scour the country, who establish fines and confiscations that administer admirably to his cupidity."

Some robbers from Mount Carvathi, and the neighbourhood of the river Chelefina, appeared about the same time; and Caradja, the pasha's drogman, assured me that organized bands of these people came every year from Romelia. The spring was their time of coming; and those who escaped the pale or the rope, returned home in autumn to increase the number of *haïdouts* or robbers, who carry terror to Constantinople. They penetrate into the Morea by the isthmus, to the scandal of the Turks, since nothing could be easier than to stop them there, if ever so little attention was paid to guarding the pass; above all, if the governor of Acrocorinth was attentive to his duty: but he, Caradja added, was more likely to enter into a compromise with them. Still, however, there would be another way for them to take by the Scyronian rocks*; but neither would it be difficult

* It was from these rocks that Theseus precipitated the robber Scyron (after whom they were named) into the sea, retaliating upon him what he was accustomed to do by travellers. The Turks do not permit travellers to take this route, because there is a toll established for going over Mount Geranien, called μάκρη πλάγη. This passage of the Scyronian rocks is a sort of inclined cornice, formed by a wall built against an immense rock. Two trunks of trees, slightly covered with earth, form a sort of bridge forty feet above the sea, which breaks with great force below. The inhabitants of Megara and Lepsini, or Eleusis, are the only persons who have the privilege of passing by this road.

to guard this also. The fact is, that the Morea is reputed among the Romelians to be a very rich country; and the Albanians, by whom it was once so plundered and ravaged, encourage this idea very strongly. It is not surprising, therefore, that people who have no fear either of death or punishment, seduced by such a prospect, should consider it as a harvest of which they may as well endeavour to partake, especially as the character of a successful robber is one held in great honour among them. The time when they are out upon their plundering parties is always esteemed by them the most brilliant part of their lives, as well as the happiest, provided they make a competent booty.

In the month of May an extraordinary tax was laid upon the Moreans of a million and a half drachms of silver * towards defraying the expenses of the war. The press was also carried on very warmly in the maritime towns of Greece, so that the public distress was constantly increasing. Out of six thousand men sent from Macedonia to guard the Morea, the greatest part had been driven by misery to desert; while those who remained faithful to their standards first sold their arms, and then had recourse to theft. When both these means of relieving their distresses failed, they adopted the last measure which despair suggested, and this was to do themselves justice by force. The garrison of Nauplia di Romania, which had already mutinied several times, in consequence quitted this town spontaneously, and marched towards Tripolitza, determined to pillage the town and expel the pasha. Although they had set out from Nauplia on the evening of the preceding day, the route they had taken was not known till they were descried at a quarter of a league from Tripolitza;—an excellent specimen of the vigilance with which the police of the province is administered. The town was therefore on the point of being taken by surprise, and owed its safety entirely to an old woman who was spinning cotton upon the ramparts. She, perceiving the approach of a large body of troops, gave the alarm, and the barriers were immediately shut, while every body in the town ran to arms.

What a moment for the inhabitants! They thought of nothing but that they should see acted over again the same dreadful scene they had experienced when the Albanians choked up the streets of the town with dead bodies:—they thought that new pyramids of sculls were about to be raised. The women, screaming, beat their breasts and tore their hair, clasping their children in their arms, convinced that it was for the last time. The Greeks carried every thing of value that they possessed to the houses of the Turks, hoping that by this means something

* About 42,000*l.* English money.—Translator.

might be preserved. All the inhabitants of every sect and persuasion took arms, and stationed themselves upon the walls; if not to conquer, at least to present a front which might appear formidable to the rebels. They would have shut us up; but we resisted, resolved to see the event, though risking, as they assured us, a certain death if a single gun should be fired. The pasha ran about the town at the head of his guards; he sent messengers out to meet the insurgents; conferences were established; and at length it was agreed, that quarters should be assigned them at Steno, and other villages, where they would find provisions. The next day permission was given for them to enter the town by detachments; and before night the whole body was collected there. As soon as each party was paid, they departed; and taking this opportunity to desert, Nauplia was left entirely without defence.

This month was also the epoch of another vexation and humiliation to the poor Greeks, since it was the time for renewing the caratch. Our host Constantine, who secretly aspired to the honour of being one day a codja-bachi, since he could both read and write, served as *huissier* for distributing the circular notices convening assemblies of the elders in the churches. The tone of importance which he assumed upon this occasion, his absurd vanity, as well as the ridiculous pride of the primates, might here furnish a humorous episode, if I had not already given a tolerable idea of the codja-bachis, or valets of the satraps, those elect of the Greek nation.

All this time we looked forward with eager expectation to the moment of our departure for Constantinople. Neither the fear of the bagnio nor the dangers of the voyage alarmed us. The roads of Romelia were almost shut to travellers, infested as they were by the *haïdouts;* and we could not hope to pursue our route by land, since even the couriers were obliged to go by sea. Caradja, who had interested himself much in our behalf, had delayed as much as possible the time of our departure, that we might wait for the first Greek vessel which should sail from any of the ports in the Mórea for Constantinople. He was under considerable apprehensions as to our future fate,—greater than he wished us to see. The codja-bachis, thinking of nothing but their hatred of the French, did not attempt to conceal their sentiments, but broke out more than once so far as to threaten us with the most ignominious treatment; giving us to understand, at the same time, that they were well informed upon the subject.

It was probably the idea of chains and bastinadoes, thus set before us, that occasioned one of our soldiers, a Zantiote by birth, to think of apostatizing from his

faith, and turning Mussulman in hopes of avoiding them. We were the last persons who had any suspicion of his designs, and were first advertised of them by the Greeks. We immediately wrote to the pasha, assuring him that we were innocent of having any share in our comrade's apostasy; observing that, if he had been a Frenchman, he would never have entertained an idea so base as that of quitting his religion. We begged therefore, since this man was only a foreigner in the service of France, that the esteem and confidence with which he had honoured us might not suffer any abatement. The pasha, pleased with our frankness, ordered the Zantiote to be brought before him immediately, with the imam who had undertaken his conversion. To the former he said, that he should order him the bastinado immediately if he did not renounce his ideas, and that he should already have punished him severely if he had not been a French soldier. To the imam he spoke in very harsh terms, condemning his indiscreet zeal, and bidding him recollect how he (the pasha) was accustomed to proceed with fanatics. This occasioned no small sensation among the people, who, blinded by their zeal for islamism, murmured grievously, accusing their chief of being a reprobate, and of detesting the mosques and their ministers; nay, they even applied to him the epithets of a *Caffre* and a dog. And yet, notwithstanding all this, they were at his feet the moment they beheld him. He recovered their confidence from the following circumstance; though perhaps, in what was ascribed to him, the ideas entertained were unjust.

His brother-in-law the defter-kiaya, or receiver of the finances, being taken ill, sent for me to attend upon him. He was confined in his harem, and I was very much rejoiced at an opportunity being afforded me for visiting this abode, the seat of romance. An old man with a white beard and a savage countenance, carrying an enormous bunch of keys,—a true Cerberus,—after having left me to amuse myself under a shed for a full hour, at length opened the gate which was to give me admission to the *sanctum sanctorum*. Taking me roughly by the arm, he pushed me before him along a passage which led into a square court planted with trees. In the midst of it was a piece of water, at which were a party of negresses washing, who the moment they saw me started up and ran screaming away. After being led along several galleries, and passing through several doors, which were only opened to give me entrance and then locked again, a curtain was drawn up, and I was presented before my patient. He was lying upon a couch covered over with a beautiful royal tiger-skin, to which hung very elegant tassels of fine red worsted. The carpet which covered the room seemed

as if it had been the spoils of some palace in France, since it was ornamented every where with the *fleur-de-lys* and the cross of Malta*. On the walls, which were only plastered and whitened, hung a recurved sabre, a Turkish musquet, and a pair of large pistols, with a number of other weapons of different kinds.

After having questioned and examined the sick man, I found that he had only a slight sore throat, and I prescribed what appeared to me proper for removing it. I would fain have had some of his beard cut away for an external remedy which I wished to be applied; but to this he would by no means consent. I was afterwards informed that his resistance arose from an idea prevalent among the Mussulmans, that it would be a sin to cut a beard which has once been suffered to grow, because it is the residence of an infinite number of angels, who watch over the preservation of him to whom it belongs. Was this a history made up to impose upon me? I cannot say: the thing seemed at least a vulgar prejudice, whatever might be the opinion of the defter-kiaya.

My patient however went on very well for some days without the application, and seemed all but recovered. The relations nevertheless sent for a certain Signor Avramioti, of Nauplia, who was to consult with me upon the case; but before this conference took place I received a message from the pasha desiring to speak with me. I found him in the divan with his *selictar;* he inquired very particularly after the sick man, who he informed me was his brother-in-law. I replied that he had still a little fever; when he proposed to me giving him an elixir which he had in his possession. I made some objections to it, the justice of which he acknowledged, and he said he would go and see him himself before night. He afterwards proposed to me to establish myself at Tripolitza, promising me his protection. I replied that my fate was inseparable from that of my companions; on which he dismissed me with warm commendations. The following night Avramioti arrived, and it was the last night of the defter-kiaya's mortal career; he was buried at sunrise the next morning. A whisper immediately ran all over the town that he had been poisoned. His death however may very possibly be accounted for without suspicion falling upon any body: he might be struck with the pestilential fever which then reigned sporadically, and this might occasion his going off very suddenly. But here, as elsewhere, people can scarcely believe it possible for a great man to die in a common way.

* The people of Hydra, who used to carry corn to the south of France, were many times paid in furniture and glasses which had been taken from the palaces. This accounts for the many sumptuous articles of French furniture which were at this time to be seen in the East.

The defter-kiaya being a public functionary, his property was confiscated, and a capidgi-bachi sent by the Sublime Porte came to take possession of it. His widow, whom I had seen several times, having in the course of my attendance upon her husband been sent for to her apartment, she too wishing to consult me, —this lady went into the pasha's harem, where she was no doubt considered as a valuable accession, since she was young, handsome, and full of sensibility. Her husband, whom she cordially detested, was himself distinguished for his extreme detestation of the French. He possessed all the qualities of a tyrant, and was abhorred alike by Greeks and Turks. He was indeed the object of general execration for his malignity and tyranny; and had drawn upon himself the anger of the pasha, from having done every thing in his power to prevent his being appointed to the pashalik. The Turks, who had paid their court to him while he was alive, because of his wealth and power, and of the fear with which he inspired them, no sooner saw him deposited quietly in the grave, than they began to speak their minds freely, and were not sparing in their expressions of contempt and aversion for his memory; while his successor in office did not fail to applaud the *fate* which had made way for his own elevation.

At length, about the latter end of May, we were informed that at the return of the capidgi-bachi, whom this business had brought to Tripolitza, we too should be irrevocably ordered to proceed to Constantinople. A Greek vessel was freighted at Nauplia, for him and several other passengers, and it was determined that we should be dispatched by the same opportunity: of this we had the first information from the drogman Caradja. I went in consequence to take leave of all my acquaintance,—of all from whom we had received civilities during our stay in the Morea. The delis of the pasha, his pages, the bey of Navarin, and several Greeks came to visit us, and made us many protestations of friendship, and of the interest they took in our welfare. I shall never forget the affecting manner in which the bey of Navarin took his leave of us. The bishop of Tripolitza sent for me, and said a number of very kind things. We carried away a great deal of regret, in a country where the utmost we could have expected was to have been regarded with indifference. Our frankness, our air of confidence, by averting all suspicion, had attached the people to us very much. Although prisoners, we had never received an insult without repelling it, and by this conduct we had made ourselves respected. We were permitted to come and go wherever we pleased; and had it depended on the pasha alone, I have no doubt that we should have been sent home even without our parole being required: there was a sort of generosity

in his character which did not admit of his suspecting any want of it in us. On our side we never would enter into any projects formed by the discontented: if ever a proposal of the kind was made to us, we always returned some evasive answer. Had we been fretted and oppressed, we might have thought of vengeance, and the impetuosity of youth might have led us to engage in such plans without considering the danger to be incurred; but treated with confidence, we were more effectually chained than we could have been with irons. Before we were sent off, the pasha assured us that he had recommended us strongly along the route we were to take. If therefore we were not so well treated as we had reason to expect, the fault is to be ascribed to the Greek captain on board of whose vessel we were sent: but of him I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

At length the moment of our departure arrived: it was the 31st of May, 1799. It had been retarded several days by the revellings of the capidgi-bachi, who at length quitted Tripolitza half dead in consequence of them. He went forward to Phitea to recover himself, and was to rejoin us at Nauplia. Seven months had passed since we first landed in the Morea: the objects that excited my curiosity were exhausted, a new route was opened before me, new subjects of observation were about to be presented, and I set out with pleasure in the pursuit of them. Our departure was to have taken place the day before, but was delayed on account of the Zantiote soldier, whom I have mentioned before, being missing: he had made his escape, though he was soon retaken on the road to Caritena. By this means the news had circulated that we were about setting off,—so that the neighbours all pressed about me, to receive my last good offices in my professional capacity. About a dozen insisted positively that I must bleed them, whether right or wrong; and I was extremely busy with my lancet, every stroke of it being repaid by wishes of a good journey and prayers for my happiness,—when my companion Fornier was obliged to drag me away, almost by force, to mount my horse.

We quitted the town by the gate of Calamatte, and followed the course of the ramparts till we came to that of Nauplia, where we found a young Albanian spahi who was to escort us. He told us that he was charged with a letter of recommendation and some orders in our behalf to Cassan-bey, brother of the pasha who resided at Nauplia di Romania. Here we received the adieus of our host Constantine; who not having been able to plunder us latterly as much as he did at first, was not sorry, I believe, to see us depart. Our course was directed eastward towards Mount Artemisius. As we approached it, we entered a road bordered by hedges, in which jessamine, roses, and pomegranates mingled their

flowers and perfumes. This continued for a quarter of an hour, when we came to a piece of land almost covered with an immense number of dead cantharides, but not at that time producing any bad smell. We proceeded along the bed of a torrent, which, though at this moment dry, is joined by several others descending from the mountains at the rainy season of the year, when they altogether form a lake at a little distance. At present there was no water in this lake; but the bed is bordered with a stone parapet, to indicate its bounds when supplied. From hence to Steno, which is a ride of an hour and a half from Tripolitza, the road is good and very direct. It is paved at intervals, and in many places has ditches at the side to drain off the water. The plain to the right continues to be well cultivated. Mount Artemisius, deprived of wood, is covered with grass: we were here only at a slight degree of elevation.

We alighted opposite to Steno at a miserable khan; close by it was a fountain, and a little tuft of plane-trees,—but the house was without doors or windows, and had as pretty an appearance of being the receptacle of cut-throats as could well be imagined. The master, who was sought in vain for some time, at length appeared, and brought us some eggs with a dish of olives, on which our Albanian began to make a very hearty meal. He had not been long employed in this way when he was joined by one of his comrades, who came in making a great blustering, and in a violent rage, that the other had not waited for him. But the dish of olives, and a good bunch of onions, which his comrade had stolen from a peasant, with some bumpers of white wine, soon calmed his anger and made him the best company possible. Although we had not been long enough on our journey to be fatigued, I was not sorry to stop here. I rested with pleasure on the green slope in the midst of corn-fields: I contemplated by turns the village of Steno, and a road leading from it to Phitea and several pleasant country-houses, along which a calvalcade of Turkish grandees were going at this moment. In front of me to the west were the ruins of Tegea, and the sources of the Alpheus, towards both of which my eyes were now turned for the last time: to the south were several hamlets, suspended upon the slopes of Mount Chelmos; but neither was Mount Roïno any longer to be seen, or that Tripolitza, where the *early* days, as they afterwards appeared to be, of my captivity had been passed.

At the moment when we were going to remount, one of our horses got loose and ran away to Steno. Our spahis being on foot, desired me, and Matthew the guide to Bonaparte, who has already been several times mentioned, to go after him. We were both well mounted, and instantly began our pursuit. Some

Greeks, among whom was the owner of the horse, charged themselves with bringing him back. I stopped for a few moments at Steno to give my horse breath. I observed that the village consisted of about a hundred houses, all built of stone; that there was a fountain, and several orchards. I again descended the slope of the mountain, to return to the khan.

We continued to travel for about a league along a road paved at intervals; and with my eyes fixed upon Mount Parthenius, which we seemed to approach, I endeavoured to discover whether there was any appearance of a way over it; but I sought one in vain. I was not more fortunate in discovering the ruins of Paleo-Mouchlia, from which I knew that we could not be far distant. As little could I discern Trixena, which lies in the midst of woods on Mount Parthenius. In about an hour we turned Mount Artemisius short to the left, taking a northerly direction. This we followed some way, having Parthenius with its wooded sides parallel to us on the right. The valley we were now traversing may be about three quarters of a league in breadth, but it is little cultivated. It abounded with such a prodigious number of tortoises, that I could not help looking at them with astonishment. The road ascended gradually without the direction being altered; and I had no idea whither it was to lead, as I saw nothing but the chains of Parthenius and Artemisius, which seemed here to unite. At length an embrasure appeared which separated these chains; and turning to the right facing the east, we saw beneath our feet an immense and deep valley presenting itself like a precipice before us. We stopped for a moment, and our Albanians took this opportunity of informing us that it was here the robbers were taken who were recently hung in the bazar of Tripolitza. But what interested me much more, was to learn that this road was called Strata-Halilbey. It is a vast staircase, as it may well be called, cut down the side of an almost perpendicular mountain, and is paved with enormous flags of a sort of blackish marble. A stone parapet guards it on the side towards the valley. It runs in a zigzag like some of the roads over the Alps and Pyrenees, so that those who take the lead see the further part of the cavalcade suspended as it were over their heads. The boldness of this work is truly astonishing and admirable, nor have I any doubt but that the credit of it is due to the ancients. It is most probably what Pausanias describes under the name of Trochos, the wheel road, which led from the country of the Tegeates into Argolis, by Cenchrea and Hisias. In descending this road we met a caravan of merchants, who were driving horses loaded with tobacco for smoking. They came from

Bournous, the antient Phtionte, a port in the gulf of Argos. We passed each other without difficulty, the road being eighteen or twenty feet wide.

From the top of Strata-Halilbey I distinguished upon a mountain fronting us some ruins, which appeared to me an ancient temple. In the valley into which we descended we saw a fountain of white marble, probably the work of some pious Mussulman; perhaps of Halilbey, the person who gave his name to the road we had just descended. Travellers, before they begin the ascent, commonly stop at this fountain to refresh themselves and their horses. It stands upon the right bank of a torrent. The valley in this place is not more than a musquet shot over. It forms a *cul-de-sac*. We made a halt for a few minutes on arriving at the bottom, when I could not help examining the road with still greater attention and renewed admiration. Soon after quitting the fountain we crossed the torrent: a little water still remained in its bed, and it seemed obstructed by the quantity of reeds and oleanders that grew in it. The thunder now began to grumble in the air, and such heavy clouds were coming up, that it was soon obvious we had little chance of escaping, being wet through. The Albanians espying a public house went in, hoping to find some wine: but they were cruelly disappointed; it was not without difficulty that they could even procure fire to light their pipes. We were now about half a league from Strata-Halilbey, continuing our route by the side of the torrent. The valley began here to grow somewhat broader, and presented to our view the eastern side of Parthenius, and the chain of Artemisius quite to Argos. We saw before us a superb country highly cultivated; but we no longer found any traces of a military way, except at the distance of a league, in the neighbourhood of Aglacambos.

The rain now fell in torrents, and this determined our spahis to bend their course towards the village just mentioned, though it was not our direct route. We turned consequently to the left, in order to ascend the declivity on which it stands. It took us a quarter of an hour to reach a covered place which is called a *vigla*, a sort of observatory a little below the village. Wet to the skin we took refuge in this kiosque, for such it may almost be called, which was sheltered only by a roof, and there we waited for our spahis. They arrived panting for breath, and lay down with our horses under the shelter of a very thick hedge impervious to the rain, where they remained till the storm was over. We afterwards took a winding path to reach the village; but when arrived at it, we did not find any body very willing to take us in. This made me begin rather to elevate my voice; when the

Albanians observed that we were not at home there, and it would be better to speak in a tone conformable to our circumstances. At length, in the very moment when the rain began to fall again heavily, the door of a hut was opened, and we were suffered to enter. As this happened to be the eve of St. Constantine, one of the greatest saints of Greece, we found a number of people assembled, drinking very sociably together. They scarcely gave themselves the trouble to move and make room for us, probably because two Albanians were of the party; and when we asked for something to eat, they told us they had not any thing. Our guides, however, complained of hunger terribly; and after having asked in vain for beef, mutton, and eggs, they would gladly have compounded for a morsel of cheese. At this moment a woman appeared: it was the very same who was so long under my care at Tripolitza. She immediately pronounced my name, and exclaimed *The physician! the physician!*—then hastily going out, she soon returned bringing plenty of provisions. Room was made for us, and every possible attention shown. I gave a hint that we should pay, and every thing then went on smoothly. The Albanians were so well satisfied, that they soon said they would stay there all night if the rain did not cease. I left them to eat and drink according to their pleasure, and sought an amusement more to my own taste in examining the village.

Aglacambos rises by stories quite to the summit of two wooded mountains between which it is situated. It is inhabited by Greeks, and governed by a codjabachi. There are several churches built with fragments of ancient marbles, which would probably be well worth examining accurately. The Greeks, who gave me this information, added, that on the side of the village towards Kaki-Scala there were many ruins scattered about. In comparing the position of Aglacambos with what Pausanias tells us respecting the ancient fortress of Cenchrea, it seems to me that the latter must probably have stood where Aglacambos now stands. It was then here, where we now see only some humble houses with bowers of pomegranates, of orange-trees, and acacias, that the inhabitants of Argos erected a trophy to perpetuate the remembrance of the victory they gained over the Lacedæmonians. They preferred this place to Hisias where they conquered; because in a situation thus elevated, the trophy would be seen from Mount Parthenius, from the frontiers of Laconia, and the heights of Trochos. But where are now these monuments? —these walls once so celebrated? Time has destroyed them entirely; and not a single inhabitant of the spot now knows even the name of Cenchrea.

I could not devote as much time to my observations as I wished: the weather had cleared, and our guards thought that they must avail themselves of it to por-

ceed to Milos, or Lerna, four leagues further. We therefore remounted our horses; and, without descending again into the valley which we had quitted, continued our route towards Lerna, along the slopes of Artemisius. We followed a strait path for an hour, having the valley of Aglacambos to our right. It appeared of a pentagonal form, and every where in high cultivation. The mountain is totally destitute of wood. The white and chalky earth of which it is composed produces very fine bay-trees, rosemary, and myrtles. The fragrant smell which proceeded from them, drawn forth as it was by the rain, refreshed and enlivened us exceedingly. About a league beyond Aglacambos we had a glimpse of the sea, through a rent in the mountains which close the valley to the south. We could not help saluting this sublime element with transport, though it had been so treacherous to us on the coast of Calabria; and though at sight of it the idea of our disappointed hopes, of our estrangement from our own country, of our relations, our friends, and, more than all, of our future prospects, pressed most forcibly upon our minds. The Zantiote soldier, whom I have had occasion to mention so often, had at this period an attack of epilepsy, which I have no doubt was brought on by the terrors he had conceived of the bagnio at Constantinople. He however soon recovered, and we proceeded on our route. We soon lost sight again of the sea; and about half an hour after came to a vigla, where was a station of Albanians. A soldier armed with a very long musquet came out and offered our guards fire to light their pipes.

A little while after a most extensive and delightful view was presented to us. We could see the whole gulf of Argos, which appeared like a still lake, with islands scattered about it here and there. At two leagues to our left was the town of Argos; and further on the ruins of Mycene, with the forest of Nemea and the lofty mountains that close the isthmus of Corinth. What a sublime moment!—The sun was just about to drop below the horizon, and the forests of Laconia, with Mount Tornika illumined by its declining rays, presented to the eye the finest and most glowing colours imaginable. The diaphaneity of the air, and the height from which we looked, enabled us to see for an immense distance round. Nauplia di Romania, with its castle on the summit of the lofty Palamide, closed the picture to the east; while in the same direction, though nearer to us, we beheld the western shore of the gulf of Argos. Here our eyes sought Genethlium, Apobathmos where Danaüs and his children landed, Thyrea, and many other celebrated places, now, alas! only inhabited by poor fishermen; they are still however pointed out by means of a little triangular fort, called Neochorion, which defends the coast and the road to Epidaurus-Limera.

On quitting the Albanian station, we travelled for about half an hour over heaths, in a southerly direction, and then returned into the road which we had quitted to go to Aglacambos. In another half-hour we came to a valley, where we inquired of some people whom we met, how far we were from Lerna, or Milos; for every body, even to our Albanians, knows the place by both names. We were told that it was a journey of two hours from the bottom of the hill we were then descending. They showed us at a great distance a little fortress built upon the ancient Mount Pontin, which they told us commanded the port of Lerna. Some way further we crossed the beds of two rivers which were dry, and soon after could hear the noise of the waves, though then at the distance of a league from the coast. The little daylight remaining permitted me to see that this bay was surrounded by numerous recesses or creeks, if that name may be given to them, indenting the shore like the crenated top of a rampart. Above was the fortress of which I have spoken, and the hamlet of Neochorion, or Ieni-Keus.

The day being soon after entirely closed in, I could no longer distinguish any objects but those immediately surrounding us, and the deep azure of the heavens beautifully illuminated by thousands of stars. The noise of the sea increased at every moment, some trees waved over our heads, a profound silence reigned in the naked mountain which towered above us to the left; and at length, after travelling three quarters of an hour amid the shade of night, we felt that our horses' feet were upon the solid rock. Turning then short to the left, some lights belonging to Lerna broke suddenly upon us, and in a quarter of an hour we arrived at the town. The khan to which we were conducted made a handsome appearance, and the people hastened to the aga to get the keys of it; but when we were introduced there, we found it furnished only with naked walls. Such as it was, here however my companions and myself were obliged to pass the night; we had each our joke upon the comfortable lodging our good stars had prepared, and then laid ourselves quietly down upon the floor in the first story. As there are considerable marshes in the neighbourhood of the town, they furnished a plentiful supply of gnats, who made themselves extremely merry all the night at our expense; so that in the morning we had swellings on our faces, such as we had never experienced even from the bites of the musquitoes in Egypt.

On the morrow, while preparations were making for our departure, I hastened to take a view of the place. There is no doubt that the ancient town of Lerna stood on this spot; the situation agrees perfectly well with all that we know respecting that town; and the name being still retained seems to speak for itself;

for, as I have observed before, though Milos* be the name which it now properly bears, it is as frequently called Lerna. It is about two leagues from Argos, and in its present state does not comprise more than thirty houses. They are tolerably regular, standing in a straight line directly at the foot of Mount Pontin, and facing the east. This mountain is naked and calcareous; an old triangular castle stands on its summit, near which are some ruins, probably those of the temple of Minerva Saïtis, but the wood by which the temple was surrounded has disappeared. At the foot of this mountain, upon the road to Argos, is the country-house of the aga of Lerna; it stands within a large enclosure surrounded with walls, very near the sea. The enclosure contains a very fine orchard composed of rare and valuable trees; round about are corn fields, the harvest from which was already got in.

The lake of Lerna, by which, as we are told in the fables of antiquity, Bacchus descended to hell in search of Semele, is to the south, at a little distance from the khan where we passed the night. The soil about it is a sort of peat, and is covered with reeds; so that it is impossible to get near the lake, as there is danger of sinking into the ground at every step. In fact, it is difficult to determine precisely where the lake begins. It is covered with gulls, cormorants, and king-fishers. Cornflags, *gladiolus communis*, *zostera marina*, reeds, and other aquatic plants, grow in numbers upon the banks. I should conceive its largest diameter to be forty-five or fifty toises. A rivulet flows from it towards the north, and after turning some mills runs into the bay of Nauplia. I know not whether there be any more rivulets issuing from other parts of the lake, as I had only time to examine one side. The inhabitants speak of this as a very dangerous spot. Nero, who visited it, endeavoured in vain to sound the depth of the water, though he had many stadia of cord with a lead attached to it. In these days, such an attempt would probably be crowned with better success. I should conceive the lake to be formed by the waters from the neighbouring mountains, in which an infinite number of torrents and rivulets lose themselves among the subterranean caverns, and they probably communicate with the lake. The inhabitants seeing me quench my thirst at the rivulet which flows from it, warned me to beware, for that the waters occasion fevers. Though I did not conceive that there could be any danger of such an effect but from drinking them repeatedly, and therefore did not desist, I noted down what they said, not doubting but that this was an observation founded on experience.

* It is called Milos, *the mills*, from several mills in the neighbourhood.

The inhabitants of Lerna have sallow complexions, with swoln faces; they are subject to leucophlegmasy, to obstructions, and to intermittent fevers. The plague commonly makes horrid ravages among them when it breaks out in the Morea. This place is the great port to Tripolitza and the neighbouring valleys, for shipping corn, wool, and the other objects thence exported. The principal agency in this trade is carried on by a French house at Nauplia. While I was occupied in my researches, my companions had been engaged in a contest with our Albanians, who wanted to make us pay for the boat in which we were to cross the bay,—though, according to their engagement, they were to carry us to Nauplia for the money they received at setting out.

I cannot conclude what I have to say of Lerna without an apostrophe to Argos, since the latter place is seen from the former, and the imagination involuntarily recurs to what it once was, when, as the city of gods and kings, its fame, its glory, was spread over all nations. The road to it lies along the base of Mount Pontin, almost at the edge of the sea, as far as the river Erasinus. This is crossed upon a miserable wooden bridge; and here sadness begins to supersede enthusiasm. Mount Artemisius is ascended, the river Inacchus is in view; all the objects of curiosity which abounded in these parts, the knowledge of which is handed down to us by tradition, are sought in vain, and on entering the town tears can hardly be restrained. Where are the temples, the magnificent edifices with which it was adorned? where the statues of so many heroes whose names yet live? Where is the tomb of Pyrrhus? Who can point out the spot where stood the palace of the king of kings, Agamemnon? Where is the theatre,—the stadium, in which were celebrated the Nemean games? In vain would any traces of these monuments be sought, nothing now remains of things so celebrated but some miserable ruins.

Modern Argos is a town built without any order or regularity. The houses are scattered about, separated by courts and uncultivated lands. The bazar is large and well frequented; it contains some fragments of antique columns. The town fronts the south-east, standing upon the declivity of a hill, and commands a noble view over the gulf to the island of Spezzia, the ancient Tiparenus. In this view are included the towns of Nauplia and Lerna, the valley of Argos covered with olive-trees, and the whole coast quite to Epidaurus-Limera and Monembasia. To the west are cultivated fields and vine-grounds, to the north the vast forest of Nemea, and to the east Mycene and the mountains of Corinth. The Planizza, which is the ancient Inacchus, runs to the east of the town, and flows

into the sea westward of an eminence where probably stood the ancient Thyrinthus. The waters of this river are clearer than those of the Alpheus; it is almost dry during summer, though it is supplied by a great number of springs, and runs for a long time among thick forests, protected by them from the sun. The water of the springs about Argos is reckoned the most wholesome of any in the Morea. The population of Argos is estimated at about ten thousand, three-fourths of whom are Greeks. The great trade of the town is in horses, but not the same rapid breed of *coursers* which gained the prizes so often in the sports of ancient Greece. The Turks who inhabit Argos are for the most part opulent, and have good houses; on which account it is the constant residence of some of the Italian charlatans.

South of the town there runs a large wall, which is supposed to have been part of a regular fortification: near it upon the mountain is a sort of castle mounted with about a dozen cannon. There is no doubt but that by spending some time at Argos many interesting objects might be recovered. On a rock near the castle above mentioned are said to be some inscriptions half effaced, and some fragments of bas-reliefs. On the side of the forest of Nemea are a number of mounds, where also fragments of bas-reliefs are frequently found. In the forest are caverns which would probably answer being examined,—and I was assured moreover that there were mines.

Mycene is only a league and a half from Argos. The village of St. George, the ancient Nemea, is on the road between these two places: it is inhabited by poor Greeks who work at the rice plantations. There is a gateway, called by the people of the country the Columns, over which is the lion of Nemea. This gateway is the same mentioned by Pausanias: it is astonishing that what in his time was only a ruin should still exist, when so many other monuments then perfect have wholly disappeared: but the fury of the barbarians who overran Greece would probably be rather directed towards a palace still entire, than towards an object already struck by the devastating hands that had preceded them. At Mycene is the tomb of the guilty family of the Atrides: the monument is still entire, and is composed of blocks of marble of an astonishing size, ornamented with bas-reliefs and other superb sculptures. Of this an engraving will be given in the second part of Monsieur Choiseuil-Gouffier's beautiful work,—*Picturesque Travels in Greece.* The peasants, insensible to the value of such a monument, use it as a sheepfold. It seems extremely probable that in searching hereabouts, the tombs of Ægisthus and Clytemnestra, which were nearly on the same spot, might be discovered.

A league to the north of Mycene is a village called Petri, in the neighbourhood of which, as I was assured by the Greeks, there are many caverns. It would be well if some traveller would investigate the truth of this assertion, since the den of the Nemean lion ought to be thereabouts. But, with an apology for this episode, I return to our own route.

CHAPTER XIX.

Nauplia di Romania.—Introduction to Cassan-bey.—Civilities shown by Doctor Siccini.—Mount Palamide, and the fortifications upon it.—Departure from Nauplia.—The island of Spezzia.—Hydra.—Psara.—Passage of the Dardanelles.—Arrival at Constantinople.

Our difference with the Albanians being arranged, we went on board our bark. At first the mariners were obliged to have recourse to their oars; but a light breeze springing up, the sail was hoisted, and in an hour and a half we had crossed the gulf. Our eyes had been occupied during the voyage with the various objects by which we were surrounded, and they were not fixed at last upon Nauplia without some anxiety. Our friend Caradja, at taking leave of us, told us that the populace of this town were a terrible set of rabble; and that the soldiery were very rough and brutal. This brought back to our minds what we had experienced at Andreossa, and we went on shore under considerable apprehensions of a like reception. One of our spahis hastened to inform Cassan-bey of our arrival, and to carry him the letter of recommendation from the pasha of Tripolitza. He soon returned:—but we with pleasure found that we were permitted to wait for him in perfect tranquillity,—that we were not subjected in any degree to the treatment we had apprehended. We were immediately introduced to the bey: his house was large, and had a very handsome staircase, which is not usual in Turkish houses. He waved the teasing us with a number of petty questions commonly put to prisoners, but gave orders that we should be conducted to the house of an Italian physician, by name Siccini, where we were to be lodged and boarded.

He received us in a very polite and obliging manner: we found his house an excellent one, and furnished in such a way that we could almost forget we were in Turkey. Every thing seemed new; chairs, tables, commodes, glasses,—he had a numerous and well-chosen library, a profusion of flowers, a charming view from the windows, and the sea breaking directly under them. The doctor desired we would excuse his leaving us for a few minutes,—when, after a very short absence, he returned, bringing with him a note from the French commissary, Monsieur Roussel, whom he had been to seek, and had informed of our arrival. This fellow-countryman, a victim to the disasters of war, was now a prisoner in his own house; but he offered us notwithstanding every thing his situation would admit, to promote our ease and comfort. Our answer was an entreaty to Doctor Siccini to procure us if possible the pleasure of seeing Monsieur Roussel: he very obligingly hastened immediately to the pasha, and to Cassan-bey, who consented to our request, and in two hours after our arrival we were happy in the society of a Frenchman. We had soon imparted to each other all the news of which we were possessed, as well as all the particulars concerning ourselves, and what had brought us into the situations that occasioned the present meeting. We saw by the appearance of our friend's house that he had been plundered by the Turks: they had however left him a young and charming wife, who was suckling a child which she had brought into the world since her husband's captivity.

Doctor Siccini, who had shown me particular respect as a brother, promised to procure me the means of going out under some pretence or other that I might see the town; and he did not fail to keep his promise. He carried me to visit the chief of the emirs who was ill with a quartan ague, a complaint not at all uncommon among those who breathe the unwholesome air of Nauplia. We found him in his harem shivering with the cold fit, and remained with him till it was over, when he immediately recovered his gaiety, though he had the misfortune to be blind. His wife was sitting by him with her face half veiled; and as she had only an old jewess for a duenna, who sat with the utmost gravity smoking a pipe six feet long, she sometimes contrived to let her veil fall off entirely. She then discovered to us a countenance and figure young and blooming, animated by fine dark eyes full of fire: her long black hair, divided into ringlets, fell upon a bosom white as alabaster: yet from the palms of her hands and her nails being dyed red, and a something altogether about her unlike what I was accustomed to among the females of my own country, though at the first glance I was disposed to

give her abundant credit for beauty, the impression was but momentary. Siccini, according to all appearance, was upon very good terms with her. She ordered sweetmeats and coffee to be brought: they were served by a young girl from the neighbourhood of Athens, whom she called her slave, and to whom I found the following history was attached. I give it a place here, because in learning it I became acquainted with a Turkish custom till then unknown to me, and which I do not think is generally known.

Her name was Tzoula, and she was a native of Lepsina, the ancient Eleusis. Her father died when she was very young; and her mother, contrary to the general custom of her country, married again. Poor Tzoula had but too much reason to complain of the usage she received from her father-in-law, till at length one day when he was heated with wine and anger he beat her so inhumanly that she fled the house, and went to Corinth, there to seek some means of gaining her livelihood. She was received into the service of a powerful aga, who placed her in his harem as servant to his wife, and she became by her industry and attention a great favourite with her mistress. So far was well:—but unfortunately she became no less a favourite with her master; and as her religion, for she was a Christian, strictly forbade her listening to the advances of a Turk, she was a second time constrained to fly, carrying with her the resentment of the rejected aga. Towards a young Greek however she had been less obdurate,—nay, she bore about her a fatal proof that she had listened to him but too readily. Death deprived her of her infant as soon as it came into the world, and she became the property of the pasha, in consequence of a law which condemns to slavery every young woman convicted of an illicit amour. When I saw this unfortunate girl she was beloved and cherished by those whom she served,—and perhaps ere this some beneficent hand may have dried her tears by purchasing her freedom; for the Mussulmans are not strangers to generous sentiments.

Another thing which struck me very much was meeting with a number of men about the streets asking alms, who called themselves the slaves of Ali, pasha of Janina. They were reduced to this state in order to reimburse some debts which they had contracted with Ali; in consequence of which this vizier had detained their children as slaves, and let the fathers, who were not of any use to him, go begging about the provinces.

When I rejoined Monsieur Roussel and my companions, and talked of the free manners I had observed in the emir's wife, Roussel said that the Turkish women of Nauplia enjoy more liberty than those of any other town in the Ottoman em-

pire. They have indeed assumed to themselves prerogatives which are revolting to the partisans of oriental severity, and it is generally agreed that they have a great deal of wit and address. The husbands in consequence abandon themselves to the most horrible jealousy; nor would scruple adopting any means to destroy before its birth an infant whose legitimacy there might appear reason to doubt. In such cases poison is the medium most commonly resorted to for satisfying their resentment. The women, who feel the oppression under which they languish, would gladly lend their aid to promote the success of a conqueror who would make some change in their favour. They could not dissemble their joy when they heard of any success of the French against the Turks; and the wife of Cassan-bey said boldly, that if the French came to invade their country she should go out to welcome them. Such propositions occasioned great scandal; and the Turks in revenge said, that if things ever came to an apprehension of their being visited by the French, they should use no ceremony, but shut the women up in the arsenal and then blow up that and them together. This arsenal, it must be observed, at the time the threat was uttered did not contain two hundred weight of powder. It was afterwards provided with a more ample store; and the guns being remounted, if there had been an adequate garrison, it might have been considered, when I was there, as in a tolerable state of defence.

On the third day after our arrival at Nauplia the capidgi-bachi arrived; but our departure was still delayed two days,—because, in the first place, this great man was fatigued with his journey; and secondly, the next day would be Monday, which was an unluckly day for beginning a journey. I continued to go out every day upon some pretence or other, and had a full opportunity of making myself acquainted with the town. Among other people whom I visited was my brother in profession, Signor Avramioti, who has been mentioned as having been sent for to the defter-kiaya at Tripolitza. I was called in to attend upon his little girl, who was ill with a dropsical complaint.

It is the general opinion among travellers, and it seems the probable one, that this town is the ancient Nauplium. The modern town fronts the north, standing directly at the foot of Mount Palamide, part of the town rising upon the declivity of the mountain. The view from the town extends over the bay and valley of Argos, including the shore of Lerna, and the cape of St. Angelo,—while a chain of mountains closes the prospect to the east, and Mount Palamide to the south: on the slope of the latter, where it rises above the town, are planted a vast number of cannon and mortars. The citadel which crowns it commands the port and

bay: the summit is often lost in the clouds. One is forcibly struck with the strength of Nauplia in approaching it, and half terrified when the eyes are carried up to this vast mountain thus fortified.

At the entrance of the bay of Nauplia, to the north, is a little fortress built upon an isolated rock, and the passage into the bay between the eastern side of this fort and the main land may very possibly have been shut formerly by a chain; but I conceive it to be impossible that the same should ever have been the case on the western side of the fort,—the distance appears to me much too great to admit of it. In this instance a great fault is committed in the view of Nauplia given by Father Coronelli; added to which, it may be observed that in his time Palamide was not fortified. The rock on which stands the fortress I have mentioned is just even with the surface of the water. The fortress consists of a little tower, planted only with a few swivels and two or three very indifferent houses. This point is therefore not at all dangerous to any vessel which would attack Nauplia by sea, for a single broadside would lay the whole fortification in ruins. A battery of twelve pieces of cannon, thirty-six pounders, which stands on the point of the continent, is somewhat more of a defence to the port. At a little distance from this, the vessels cast anchor upon a slimy bottom: the landing is upon a paved quay, at the very entrance of the town. The streets are spacious, handsome, and run in direct lines: but they are dull and solitary. In going along the principal street, one is surprised to find at the end of five or six hundred paces a gate with embrasures, and, looking up towards the mountain, to see it planted all over with batteries, in stories one above the other, which command the town, the port, and even the elbow formed by the shore on the eastern side. Some handsome houses are also grouped about this amphitheatre, and every thing bears the appearance of ease and opulence.

Palamide, which probably takes its name from Palamedes, the son of Nauplius, who fell a victim to the perfidy of the implacable Ulysses, is almost perpendicular to the east, to the north, and to the south: it is only accessible to the west. The Turks have their magazines of powder and arms in the citadel upon its summit: and this fortress would be a strong and almost impregnable retreat, if it was well provisioned. There is a covered way up to it from the town, casemated in such a manner that at the divisions of the stages the light is admitted so that the way may be seen very clearly. It requires a full quarter of an hour to ascend from the bottom of the mountain to the citadel. This building is of a pentagonal form, flanked with five regular bastions, which are mounted with brass thirty-six and

forty-eight pounders, all in very good condition. There is a mosque, barracks, and cisterns for collecting water; but there are no objects of antiquity. These particulars I have from a person of authority; for, as no Christian is admitted there, I could not see it myself.

Nauplia is the occasional residence of a pasha with two tails, who exists only in time of war, and is dependent on the pasha of Tripolitza. He administers the police of the town, and his power extends to Castri, the ancient Hermione, and Dematta, the ancient Trœzene. The service for opening and shutting the gates, and for the signals both by day and night, is the same as in the maritime places of Europe. The villaïeti of Nauplia extends to Agia Petra. This town is also the see of a Greek archbishop. It carries on a considerable trade in the productions of the country, and has commonly a number of foreign vessels in its port. France formerly maintained a commercial agent here. It is now only the residence of a sub-commissary, the commissariat being transferred to Coron in the gulf of Messenia, as being a more wholesome place of residence, and a port of greater commercial importance.

There is a way from Lerna to this place by land, but it is much more circuitous than coming by water. The same route must be taken as to go to Argos, along the foot of Mount Pontin, till after passing the river Erasinus; but it then turns eastward, leaving Argos and Mycene to the north. Nothing is to be seen of the ancient fortress of Temenion, though that could not have been above a quarter of a league from the Erasinus; but in the same spot is a marsh, which I was informed is used for the evaporation of water to make salt. At a league and a half from the Erasinus is an eminence in the form of a terrace, which the general tradition of the country makes the site of the ancient Nauplium, but the more reasonable opinion seems that it was that of Thyrinthus. This terrace runs about half a league in length from east to west. Between that and the sea is a level of about six hundred toises in breadth, covered with a tender grass on which the sheep feed very eagerly. The breadth of the terrace in no part exceeds a quarter of a league, and its elevation above the sea cannot be more than forty toises. It is ornamented with some of the finest myrtles in the world, perhaps also the most ancient. If we are to believe the inhabitants of Nauplia, who talked to me very eloquently on the subject, they are the remains of a wood consecrated in times of yore to the Graces. If it be really true that this was the spot on which stood the Nauplium founded by the son of Neptune and Amymoma, it would probably pay any researches made there very abundantly, since the soil is as yet unbroken.

At half a quarter of a league from this terrace is a torrent, and a tract of marshy land where rice is cultivated. Half a league further is a village, and at a league and a half from the terrace stands Nauplia, the latter part of the road lying at the foot of a mountain which is in most parts naked and arid. The distance from Nauplia to Fournous, or Bournous, which lies to the south, is computed at five leagues; and port Tolon, in the Isle of the Genii, is seven.

The firing of two pieces of artillery from Palamide, at sun set on the 16th of June, announced the arrival of the capidgi-bachi on board the vessel which was to transport us to Constantinople. He was laid senseless with intoxication in the chamber destined for him; and an order was immediately sent to us to repair to the shore. We took an affectionate leave of Monsieur Roussel and his wife, and now felt that we should quit the Morea with regret. A place was allotted to us upon the deck of the vessel, near the prow, where we were to remain during the whole of the voyage. This made a considerable change in the flattering expectations we had entertained; and when, added to this, a bag of mouldy biscuit, a pot of olives, and a small barrel of water, were brought us as our whole stock of provision, we felt that we were no longer in the hands of Achmet Pasha. The captain of the vessel was a Greek, by name Guini, a native of Spezzia, brother to a man who by a national decree had been honoured with the title of a French citizen: but as he had several Turkish passengers to whom he wished to pay his court, and as our nation was at war with theirs, he hoped to please them by subjecting us to every kind of humiliation. Monsieur Roussel, who perhaps suspected what might be the case, had however given us a jar of wine; and Doctor Siccini had sent me two lambs with some brandy.

At eight o'clock in the evening we weighed anchor; and a light breeze from the north-east soon wafted us to some distance from the shore. For the first time during my captivity I felt disposed to be melancholy, and fixed my eyes upon the town, which seemed to recede from us. Its towers, its walls, its golden minarets, its lofty Palamide were soon lost amid the shades of night. I saluted this ancient land, these celebrated coasts, this fine country, where, under a government which would protect instead of oppressing it, the arts and sciences might once more flourish: I bade adieu to Peloponnesus, the soil of which my footsteps had probably trodden for the last time in my life. The songs of the sailors who were upon guard lulled me to sleep towards midnight; and a calm came on about an hour before daybreak. Soon after sun-rise, a breeze springing up again from the east, we passsed Epidaurus-Limera, we saw Cape St. Angelo fly before us; and at three

in the afternoon anchored in the little port of the isle of Spezzia. Here the passengers in general who were at liberty disembarked, the capidgi-bachi being among the number. He was carried to a house near the shore, of which he took possession very coolly. The only free passenger who remained on board was a servant of Monsieur Roussel, by name Georgi, who was going to Constantinople: he was afraid of showing himself, because at a feast at Castri he had beaten some Spezziotes, and he wisely thought that, if he should chance to meet with them, he might be made to pay dearly for his frolic. We were left at our station upon the deck, exposed to the burning heat of the sun in the month of June, increased by the vessel being moored in a recess, where we could hardly reap the benefit of any breeze that might spring up. Here we passed five days.

The island of Spezzia is not more than two leagues in length from north to south, and in its greatest breadth does not exceed three quarters of a league. It is separated from the main land by a channel only half a league over: its port is to the north, opposite to the point of the Morea; and the entrance is to the north-west. It cannot receive more than fifteen or twenty vessels from a hundred and fifty to two hundred tons burden. The anchorage is upon a sandy bottom. At the further end of the port, upon the southern shore, is a new church built a few years ago by the inhabitants. Near it are a few shops, the beginning of a town, which will soon be built if the Greeks make the progress in navigation that every thing seems to indicate. The present town is upon a flat part of the shore to the north-west; and consists of about six hundred houses, with a prodigious quantity of windmills which have six wings *. I saw several vessels upon the stocks. Half a league to the west is a village standing upon a high and rocky part of the coast; and there are several houses scattered about all over the island.

The population of Spezzia increases every day. There are many proprietors of vessels on the island, having among them not less than sixty, which carry on a considerable trade in corn. At this time the traders had experienced a very great loss: the corsairs of Barbary had taken many of their vessels, as well as those of the Hydriotes their neighbours; the captains having been deceived by the barbarians carrying the flag of Spezzia. Two hundred and fifty Greeks were on this occasion carried into slavery. The wealth of the island consists only in the carrying

* Monsieur Castellan in his very entertaining Travels in the Morea, &c. mentions upon the coasts of the Dardanelles windmills with eight and ten wings. He considers the western countries of Europe as having borrowed the invention of windmills from the East, at the time of the crusades.—Translator.

town, which appears suspended in the air, contains more than fifteen hundred houses. The port is to the north, and strongly resembles that of Pomegues * in Provence. It is capable of containing more than sixty vessels. The inhabitants of Hydra constitute a sort of republic. They have a dialect peculiar to themselves, and are the most courageous, as well as the most industrious, of all the islanders in the Archipelago. Hydriote sailors are to be found on board almost all Turkish vessels; they are to be seen in almost all the ports of the Levant: they are, in short, upon the sea, throughout the Ottoman empire, what the Albanians are among their military bands by land. Their children are full of mischief, and are distinguished by nothing so much as by their throwing stones at any strangers they see walking about their streets without a guard.

After remaining here two hours, we again set sail, and saw the moon rise upon the shore of Attica. It was a delicious evening: a light and warm breeze swelled our sails, and every one upon the deck breathed a most pure and refreshing air. The Greeks began to sing some pleasing songs, which they accompanied with their lyres. A young Turkish sailor followed them, and taking a tambourine drew from it some very delightful tones. At length he increased the pleasure received from them by the addition of his voice, choosing for the theme of his song the praises of Paswan-Oglou. The stanzas, as translated to me, were to the following effect:

"After a hundred thousand bombs being lanced at Widdin, I Paswan-Oglou, the dog of the Sultan, the slave of the Sultan Validé, have raised the standard of defence.

"I Paswan-Oglou, dog of the Grand Signor, bark only at his ministers. I would rest submissive to my master; I would lick the dust upon his feet, I Paswan-Oglou."

I was astonished that a Turk should venture to sing thus of a rebel, when there was a capidgi-bachi on board, with two executioners at his elbow; but one of the passengers observed to me that the cause of Paswan-Oglou was universally popular, as he only fought to get the people released from some taxes which bore very hard upon them, particularly a tax upon wine. When I heard this, having often witnessed the secret recourse had by the Turks to this liquor, and the excessive fondness shown for it by the capidgi-bachi, I was not surprised to find Paswan's cause so extremely popular on board our vessel.

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* A small island in the bay of Marseilles.

By the return of day we had nearly crossed the gulf of Athens, now called by the sailors the gulf of Enghia; and a very obliging calm which came on about eight o'clock, when we were off Cape Sunium, permitted us to contemplate at our leisure the magnificent ruins of the temple of Minerva at Athens. The wind soon springing up again, we proceeded on our way, passing bewteen Macronisi and Zea; the former of which is the ancient isle of Helena, and the latter Ceos. We soon after entered the Bona Silotta, the strait between the islands of Eubœa and Andros; and then came in sight of Tinea, the flourishing condition of which forms a striking contrast to the state of the other islands in the Archipelago. It is the property of one of the sultanas, who farms it out to an oulema, or chief of the law. This wise administrator having relieved the people from many vexations, agriculture flourishes, and a manufacture of silk stockings has been established, which is in a very prosperous state. A considerable number of them are sent to Constantinople, and to almost all parts of the Levant.

In continuing our route we passed near a rock called the *Caloyer of Andros;* this name being given it from its solitary situation in the midst of the sea. Soon after I was shown Samos to the south, which I could with difficulty distinguish from the clouds. Our course was directed towards Chios, where it was the intention of our captain to stop. Some hours before sun-set we were alarmed by the sight of two vessels which seemed to be observing us, and which were believed to be Barbary corsairs. Our mariners began to think of making their defence; the guns were loaded, and the matches prepared: but we came out of the scrape at the expense of a little terror, as the vessels soon sailed off, one towards Salonica, and the other in an opposite direction.

We advanced towards the isle of Chios, and already saw it rising from the bosom of the waves. The signal of our approach was even hoisted upon Cape Mastico, at the moment when the setting sun, turning the sea into a lake of gold, was just dropping below the horizon. Already we discovered two rocks situated to the south of this celebrated island, when the wind changed. It was in vain that the sailors tried to luff so as to make the port; the wind increased, a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain came on, and we were compelled to seek an asylum at Psara. Thus was I prevented seeing the bay of Tchesme, rendered famous by the victory which the flag of Catherine the Second obtained there, when the whole Ottoman fleet became a prey to the flames. Thus was I deprived of seeing Cos, the country of Hippocrates, whose works will be esteemed and admired by the latest posterity.

It was with the utmost regret that I saw our vessel constrained to take a contrary direction.

This night was very fatiguing to us on account of the rain, by which we were half drowned; being obliged, notwithstanding that it fell in torrents, to remain upon deck. The next day at ten in the morning we anchored in the port of Psara. This island had about a year before been terribly ravaged by the plague; but at the moment when our mariners lowered the sails, we were astonished to see the shore covered with the inhabitants, all dancing to the tambourine. A young man of Cephalonia, by name Spirou, a passenger on board our vessel, learning our story, interested himself deeply for us, and went on shore to procure us a supply of provisions. When he returned he brought us a note from a fellow-countryman of ours, who had taken refuge here from Smyrna, and to whom the people had readily granted an asylum.

The port where we were anchored is almost inclosed by mountains. To the right, on entering, is a valley tolerably well cultivated, and covered with shrubs, about which some houses are scattered. To the left the country is rocky, arid, and uncultivated, but there are a number of windmills. Facing the entrance is a little bason surrounded with a sort of pier, where vessels may be repaired. At two cables' length from the shore is a village containing forty houses, almost all occupied by bakers, and dealers in provisions of different kinds. The port is tolerably spacious, and could receive sixty vessels. The principal town of the island is a quarter of a league from the port. Here resides the sub-bachi, a Turkish officer, a sort of deputy to the sultan. The person who had filled the post just before we were here was a man of a severe and inflexible character, and the people got rid of him in a very summary way: they took advantage of a feast they had given him, when he had been making very merry, and had not been sparing in his libations to Bacchus, to throw him into the sea. It was an œconomical manner of freeing themselves from his daily exactions; for when the capudan-pasha came to receive his contributions, he inquired for the sub-bachi, and, learning that he was dead, asked no further questions, but received a slight fine paid as a matter of course at the death of such an officer; and so the matter ended.

In the centre of the isle of Psara is a majestic peak, towering almost to the middle region of the air. The Greeks have built a little chapel upon its summit, which being whitened is seen to a very great distance. The water of the island is clear and pleasant. A few vines are cultivated, but the quantity of wine produced

is small. On the north side of the island is another small port, but not so well sheltered: vessels only stop there when they cannot make the port where we anchored. Opposite to it is the island of Antipsara, where there are some Greek houses. The people of Psara have the reputation of being kind and hospitable. We were so closely watched, that I had no opportunity myself of putting their hospitality to the proof; but I wish to preserve the record of their having such a title to the good-will of travellers, particularly of Frenchmen, as a contrast to what was done by their neighbours, the inhabitants of the island of Sifanto. These people had recently given up to the Turks Monsieur Vallongue, a colonel in the *corps-de-génie*, with some other French who touched at their island. This history was related to us at Psara, with warm expressions of that indignation which all people of generous minds must feel in speaking of an act of deliberate treachery. Monsieur Vallongue, however, had the good fortune to soften the hearts of those to whom he was betrayed, and they set him at liberty.

The wind returning again to the south, we quitted the port of Psara, passing between that island and Antipsara. The waves in concert with the wind seemed to favour the rapidity of our course. We passed the coasts of Lesbos; and at three in the afternoon were in view of Cape Baba, the ancient promontory of Lectum. We saw the island of Lemnos, and Mount Athos, which commands at a great distance the seas and shores of Thrace. At the decline of day we contemplated at a distance the imperfect monuments of Alexandria Troas; and a little after sun-set were off the coast of Tenedos. This island is considered by the Turks as one of the ramparts of the Hellespont; but our capidgi-bachi would probably have thought it a much greater recommendation that it is famous for the excellence of its red wines: it carries on a considerable commerce in them. We left it behind us, our captain pushing all his sails to get into the strait. The moon, which rose soon after, showed us the Chersonesus and the shores of Troy.

Overpowered with the fatigue of a burning hot day, my comrades and I had been asleep about two hours, when we were awakened by the firing of cannon. We presumed that they announced our being arrived at the Dardanelles: we therefore remained quietly extended upon the deck, without giving ourselves any concern; and the captain, who also was lying on the deck, seemed no less composed. Supposing that to carry a capidgi-bachi was equal to carrying Cæsar and his fortune, he thought he might pass on without being examined. The castles, however, which guard the entrance of the strait, without any respect to this sublime personage, had already fired several signal guns; and finding no attention

paid to them, were on the point of firing in a way rather more serious to us. Perceiving the danger, we started up at the moment when a ball was sent from the fort of Asia: it did no other damage, however, than terrifying us extremely. The whole crew were immediately in the utmost confusion and disorder; endeavouring to lower the sails. This was not accomplished before a piece from one of the lower batteries sent a ball towards us; but it happily fell short of the vessel into the water. Upon this, in order to anchor in greater safety, and show signs of more perfect submission, the vessel was run aground. The fort of Asia then fired a signal to the fort of Europe, and in an instant all was calm. A moment after the boat was hoisted out, and the capidgi-bachi went on shore himself, to pay his respects to the commander of the fort of Asia. The rest of the night was employed in towing us off, which was not accomplished without considerable difficulty, so extremely awkward are the Greek mariners; they yield in no respect to the Turks in matters of navigation.

I now breathed, for the first time in my life, the perfumed air of the shores of Asia. At day-break our boat returned from the town;—and thanks to the good offices of the capidgi-bachi, who for once had not drunk too much,—or if he had, fear had dispersed the vapours of the wine; thanks to his good offices,—the Greek captain's peace was made, and he was let off with only paying tolerably dear for the firing of the guns. This however was better than the bastinado, though he would perhaps gladly have compounded for that; as a raïa's attempting to pass in that way was in fact a hanging matter.

The south wind continuing to blow, we proceeded forwards again at sunrise: we saw these formidable castles which guard the Hellespont, and the enormous cannon with which they are mounted. The castle of Asia saluted the capidgi-bachi as we quitted the shore, and the honour done him was returned on his side two-fold. A spectacle entirely new to me was soon presented to us: the sea appeared altogether alive,—an immense shoal of dolphins sporting upon the surface of the water served us as an escort. Inclosed between the shores of Europe and Asia, we saw towns, villages, and hamlets alternately present themselves and vanish: a thousand objects arose at once to excite and to gratify curiosity. My mind was so occupied with these things, that I lost the recollection of the chains which might await us, I seemed to myself in a new world of delights. About noon we arrived at the isles of Marmara, when the dolphins ceased to accompany us.

The wind continued to blow still more freshly, and the short waves of the

Propontis seemed to increase the celerity of our course. We were soon surrounded by an infinite number of little vessels laden with fruit, which were availing themselves of a favourable wind to make the best of their way to Constantinople. At this season of the year the north winds will sometimes preclude the passing up the Hellespont for a long time together. The air was so extremely clear that we could see both shores of the Propontis, or sea of Marmara, though we inclined most towards the shores of Europe. At six o'clock in the evening Constantinople appeared in view. We soon perceived clouds, which descended from Mount Hæmus, spreading themselves over Thrace, and shortly after sun-set began to hear the roll of distant thunder. As it often happens in such a case that the wind changes suddenly to the north, and the tempest becomes very violent, we crowded all the sail possible to reach the coast of Europe, and fortunately soon found ourselves at anchor under the village of St. Stephen.

What a dreadful night succeeded to the fine day I had so much enjoyed! The thunder rolled majestically; one moment our eyes were dazzled by the flame of the lightning reflected in the waves, the next we were involved in the most profound darkness. The waves dashed over the deck of our vessel, and united with the torrents of rain almost to drown us. The rolling of the ship, and the silence of the mariners and passengers who were shut up below deck, added to the horrors of our situation. At length the convulsions of nature began somewhat to abate, the thunder became more faint, the waves were less violent, the north wind purified the air, and the heavens resumed their serenity.

The village of St. Stephen, which we saw the next morning, consists of about thirty handsome houses. They were formerly the habitations of the European ambassadors, but have latterly with justice been deserted for the shores of the Bosphorus. A Persian dervise, one of our passengers, was touched with our situation, for the rain began to fall again abundantly about ten in the morning; and availing himself of the vacancy made by the departure of several passengers who set off by land to Constantinople, he invited us to come down below, offering us bread and garlic, the only things he possessed in the world. It was here again to a Mussulman, to one whom the Turks themselves distinguish by the title of barbarian, that we were indebted for this improvement in our situation. He sighed after his country, was impatient to see Schiraz again, and mingle his ashes with those of the followers of Ali. The next day we quitted St. Stephen: but as the wind was contrary, it was not till the day after,—the eighteenth of June,—that we arrived at Constantinople.

CHAPTER XX.

First view of Constantinople.—The prisoners sent to the castle of the Seven Towers.—They meet with several of their countrymen.—Sketch of the fate of Messrs. Beauvais and Girard, two of the prisoners confined there.

It is impossible to describe the impression made upon the mind on first beholding the celebrated place whither our fate had now conducted us: the enraptured eye cannot forbear to own that it deserves indeed the pompous title of queen of the world. The seven hills crowned with an equal number of imperial mosques, the amphitheatres they form covered with a multitude of houses painted of different colours, the gilded domes, the pyramidal cypresses, combined with the elegant and slender minarets crowned by the shining crescent; the port, that arsenal of Mars, where so many vessels brave the storm, running up between two slopes covered with superb edifices and habitations; the hotels of Pera, the palace of the Sublime Sultan, the Bosphorus, the rich shores of Asia, with Scutari; all these objects at once distract and delight the beholder.

Just before we arrived at the point of the seraglio, some men, who are always upon the shore looking out for vessels, threw us a cord, by means of which they hauled us round the point, and our captain in return threw them some pieces of money. We saw at the pavilion, where the sultan always embarks, his caïque sheltered with a purple awning bordered with gold fringe and tassels: four-and-twenty rowers of athletic forms were seated upon the benches, dressed in silk shirts with the sleeves rolled up above the elbows, holding their gilt oars in their hands: they were expecting the sultan, who was going to take his pleasure upon the water. The cannoniers of Tophana with lighted matches waited his coming out, to salute him with a discharge of artillery. As he had not yet made his appearance, we pursued our course without stopping: we crossed the port and cast anchor at Galata, at the Jews' stairs. The proprietor of our vessel immediately went on shore to wait upon the kaimakan, or lieutenant of the grand vizier, with the letter from Achmet pasha, which announced his having sent us to Constantinople. The capidgi-bachi and his train, taking their baggage and concealing their arms, departed quietly without any ceremony, and went away into the town.

While we were waiting here, a secretary of the Schiek-Islam or Mufti came on board: he desired me to feel his pulse, and then presented us with a bunch of pinks. After him came a clerk belonging to the drogman of the Porte, who took down our names. At length, at five o'clock in the afternoon, we were separated from the soldiers: they were carried to the bagnio,—but we learnt that we were ordered to the castle of the Seven Towers; here in fact we were safely lodged before the close of day.

We congratulated ourselves on our good fortune, when we heard what our fate was to be. The bare idea of this Bastile would at some moments of our lives have been sufficient to fill our minds with terror; but under the present circumstances it was a source of consolation, and we even passed its formidable gates with some sort of satisfaction; though not then aware that they opened to lead us into the society of our own countrymen. We were escorted from the port by some janissaries, whose civility and mild behaviour surprised us most agreeably. They delivered in the firman or order to the commandant of the prison to receive us into his custody; and as they seemed to hold out their hands in expectation of some gratuity, I was about to satisfy them, when the guards belonging to the castle pushed them rudely away and shut the gates upon them. Our surprise was very great, when after having passed the first inclosure we heard our names pronounced, and looking up to the window whence the voices came, saw our late companions Messieurs Beauvais and Girard; they had already been imprisoned here six months. A person must have been in circumstances somewhat similar, he must have experienced misfortunes, he must have been involved in dangers like those we had escaped, to conceive the sensations we experienced in finding ourselves re-united with these friends, though in a prison. They presented us immediately to the French *chargé d'affaires*, the Nestor of the East, Monsieur Ruffin. His misfortunes, the mildness of his countenance, the white hairs that adorned his head, prepossessed us immediately in his favour; and the amenity of his behaviour subsequently, won our hearts completely. With him were the secretary of legation Monsieur Kieffer, and Monsieur Dantan the interpreter. We afterwards paid our respects to General Lasalsette, and Monsieur Richemont, (who had even now scarcely recovered the honourable wounds he received at Prevesa,) to Monsieur Hotte, a chief of brigade, and to Adjutant-general Rose: the latter was at this moment labouring under a disease which at length carried him to the grave.

This ceremony concluded, I was summoned to attend the examination of such

effects as we still possessed. Among these was a trunk filled with books, which had hitherto escaped depredations; but as our enemies had inspired the Turks with suspicions of every thing in the shape of papers, I was now deprived of a Livy, a Tacitus, a Virgil, a Horace, an Ovid, and some other travelling companions spared by my former captors, and with whom I had passed many a delightful hour during my stay at Tripolitza. I had fortunately taken the precaution of tearing my journal, and had stuffed the papers into my pockets as things of no consequence, so that they passed unnoticed. The many long hours of leisure I had in prison gave me afterwards ample time to put them together again; not however in the form of a journal, but in a sort of cypher which I had contrived to myself, and which could never be understood by any other person, if I should afterwards be deprived of them. The next day the kiaya or lieutenant of the castle, called Zadik-aga, acquainted the drogman of the Porte with the prize he had made; and the prisoners Horace, Virgil, &c. were convened to appear before the interpreter of the Sublime Sultan. As his highness, though an excellent interpreter of languages, did not happen to be acquainted with Latin, I trembled for the fate of my books, dreading lest they might be condemned as inflammatory writings improper to be left in the hands of a prisoner. Happily however I only suffered a temporary privation of these beloved companions; the trunk which contained them was now sealed up, but at the end of six months was restored to me.

The first night we passed in the Seven Towers, the beds made up for us consisted only of some boards laid across a couple of tressels, on which was thrown a wretched mattress; but the next day the kiaya, at his return from delivering up the books, having received his orders with regard to our treatment, some of the servants of Monsieur Ruffin were dislodged from the chamber which they occupied, and it was allotted to us. I was happy therefore in having my friend Fornier still as my constant companion, and esteemed myself still more happy that during the whole of our misfortunes we never were separated. Our room was dark and unwholesome, yet it appeared comfortable after what we had experienced in our voyage: we were however not without our apprehensions that we should not long be permitted to enjoy it, as we were told there was an idea of our being sent to the castles on the Black Sea. Our taste for travelling was somewhat cooled by the little pleasure we received in our last removal: the civilities shown us by Monsieur Guini, our captain, were not of a nature to give us much relish for the idea of a renewal of such treatment; and unless our course was

to be directed towards our own country, we thought it more desirable to remain where we were. The accounts we heard of the treatment of some of our fellow-countrymen who had been sent to the Black Sea, certainly did not inspire us with a wish to follow them.

One of our first anxieties in meeting again with our companions, Messieurs Beauvais and Girard, was, very naturally, to learn their adventures from the time of our separation, upon the capture of *La Madonna di Monte-Negro* by the Barbary corsair. The reader will recollect that this separation was occasioned by another vessel appearing in sight, while Messieurs Fornier and Joie, with the guide Matthew and myself, were on board the prize, the rest of our companions being still in the vessel of our captors. The corsair captain, Orouchs, as I have said, bore away, crowding all the sail possible, and for a long time kept very much ahead of the frigate, while our friends all this time rejoiced at seeing that they were likely to escape, relying fully on the promise made them by Orouchs that they should be landed at Corfu. As the night was closing in, the Neapolitan frigate hoisted the colours of its country, and fired a ball at the corsair, but the latter was not the more inclined to surrender the contest: the frigate was then so near that the hats of the sailors were even discernible. When the night however was fairly closed in, Orouchs, taking advantage of its shade, altered his course, and by this means escaped entirely. In the morning, therefore, he found himself on the coast of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Otranto, and so near the shore that the Calabrian fishermen, in alarm lest they should be taken, ran their vessels into the creeks, and took shelter under the batteries by which the coast is protected.

Towards noon the corsair captain perceived two vessels making towards him, which at first he believed to be only fishermen, and consulted with his crew whether they should attack them. They were unanimously of opinion for the attack, and preparation was made for it accordingly: but what was their surprise, when they drew nearer, to find that these supposed fishing vessels were Neapolitan frigates, and one of them the very same from which they had escaped the evening before! The frigates recognised the corsair immediately, and gave it chase: in a short time they gained upon it so much that they began to fire, without however doing their antagonist any injury. It would notwithstanding have been impossible for the corsair to resist such formidable adversaries, had it not been for one of those unforeseen events which no human power can command, and which are scarcely to be hoped for. A dead calm suddenly came on,

so that it became impossible for the frigates to move: this was no sooner perceived by the corsair captain than he ordered his men to the oars; and keeping below the fire of the enemy, he was soon entirely out of their reach, while they remained chained as it were to one spot.

Escaped from this danger, and dreading with reason another rencounter with the frigates, Orouchs thought it prudent to quit the coast of Calabria; and making the best of his way across the Adriatic, the next day, which was the third from the capture of our countrymen, he anchored at Paxos, a little island opposite to Parga, on the coast of Albania; and here he first learned that the Turks had declared war against France. Hitherto the captain had seemed to hesitate with regard to the conduct he should observe towards the French: but he no sooner learned the state of things than his determination was made; he resolved to give up his prisoners to the Turkish admiral, who was then with his fleet besieging Corfu. He, however, remained three days in the port of Paxos before he carried this resolution into effect; but at the end of that time, sailing away in search of the Turkish squadron, he presented himself before its commander, telling him that he had taken the most glorious prize possible; that he had in his power some of the principal officers belonging to the French army of the East.

At nine o'clock in the evening Messieurs Beauvais and Girard were carried on board the Turkish admiral's ship, where they were detained; Kadir-bey the admiral asking them questions till they were quite worn down with fatigue in replying to them. What became of the other prisoners they never could learn with any certainty, they could only form vague conjectures. From these and some other documents I collected, I was led to suspect that they were landed in Albania; and these suspicions were subsequently confirmed, by learning that such was really the fact. On this subject, however, more hereafter. The prisoners left with the Turkish admiral were made a sort of spectacle to the whole fleet, and were at length presented before the Russian admiral Outchakow. With this admiral, however, they could not have any conversation, as he understood no other language but his own. He indeed seemed too much occupied with the duties of his post, to think of asking a parcel of those insignificant questions with which it is but too common to torment prisoners, and increase the irksomeness of their situation. He and the Turkish admiral were at this time somewhat divided in their opinions: the latter thought that when they had taken Corfu, the proper thing would be to go and take Toulon, and then *bombard Paris;* but in this plan the Russian admiral did not concur. It seemed, however, one on which the officer of

the Sublime Porte was fully resolved; and he did not appear to want the assistance of his Muscovite allies for carrying it into execution.

After remaining six days on board the Turkish admiral's ship, Messrs. Girard and Beauvais were transferred to a corvette, which was to land them at Patras, and thence they were to be conducted over land to Constantinople. Orouchs at the same time set sail for Butrinto, where Ali-pasha was encamped, carrying with him Messrs. Poitevin, Charbonnel, Bessiéres, and the rest of his French prisoners. The corvette accosted him, asking news of his prisoners; to which he replied, that they were very well, and extremely happy: *star allegramente.* They alone who have been in the hands of a Barbary corsair can have an adequate idea what such a situation is, and feel the entire force of this *star allegramente.* It is perhaps one of the worst modes of existence that can well be imagined, and only to be preferred to having the head cut off.

The unfavourable season, the contrary winds, and still more the cowardice and want of skill of the Turkish mariners on board the corvette, made the voyage very long and tedious. If the slightest fog came on they lay-to, lest they might run upon some rock; and for the same reason they always came to a stand at night. This last measure was indeed indispensable, as they then shut up in the hold some Maltese slaves who directed their manœuvres. More than twenty days elapsed in this way, in which time they had not proceeded above twenty-five leagues; when, to increase the horrors of such a situation, a dreadful storm came on. The Turks accused the French of being the authors of it, as they had seen them, they said, throw several bits of paper into the water, and they had no doubt that they were inscribed with some magical words to incite the fury of the waves. In consequence of this idea, the prisoners were in the utmost apprehension for their lives during the two remaining days that the voyage lasted: they received, however, much consolation from the really affecting attentions shown them by the Maltese.

They were allowed to make a short stay at Patras, to recover the fatigues of the voyage; and horses being then provided for them, they were conducted under an escort to the castle of the Morea, built upon Cape Rhion. From hence they crossed the gulf in a volik, or small bark, to Antirrhion, on the opposite shore of Albania; where again mounting their horses, they continued their route to Lepanto. Here they were presented to the pasha Achmet, the same to whom we were afterwards under so many obligations as pasha of the Morea. From both him and his kiaya or lieutenant, who was a pasha of two tails, residing at Mezalonghi, the French prisoners received much kindness. While they remained on

board the fleet they were incessantly importuned with questions concerning Egypt; but here the subject was avoided. The pasha permitted them the use of the bath, of which they had been so long deprived, and which began to be essential for the preservation of their health. He gave them, besides, boots and warm cloaks, and insisted upon their being allowed some days to rest themselves. These little attentions were particularly acceptable in the midst of a winter which was so unusually severe, that scarcely any of the inhabitants of the country remembered having experienced an equal degree of cold.

From Lepanto the two prisoners proceeded to Salone under the escort of Ibrahim tchiaoux, lieutenant to the corsair captain Orouchs, and two galiondgis, or Turkish sailors, belonging to his crew. This Ibrahim was one who had grown old in the midst of dangers, and might truly be called the pearl of sea-rovers. Born in the deserts of Africa, he had all the ruggedness of his native country. His comrades in vain strove to put themselves upon an equality with him; he never spoke to them but with a pistol in his hand, saying that this was the only way to command corsairs. Without faith, without law, ignorant of good, and accustomed to evil, he delivered himself up to the latter without remorse, extolling his own profession above all others.

Such was the company in which my unfortunate friends quitted Lepanto to proceed to Salone. Arrived at the latter place, they were presented to the bey by whom the town was then governed. He was a man of considerable intelligence, and endeavoured to render the vassals he commanded comfortable and happy. He was their constant friend and defender in any difficulties that occurred between them and the pasha of Janina, to whose pashalik Salone belongs. Surrounded by a numerous family of children and relations, he displayed none of that avidity so commonly to be seen among the magistrates who, for the curse of the provinces, are commonly appointed by the Ottoman Porte to be their governors. He had with him a Greek physician, a man of great knowledge, his friend, his counsellor, his attendant in sickness, and a drogman. The French were received by them all with great amenity. The latter talked to them much of the route they were to pursue, indicating to them whatever was worthy of attention; retracing to them many recollections connected with ancient times, marking distinctly the distances from place to place, and noting particular points which would serve to fix their ideas with regard both to places and circumstances.

From Salone the prisoners set off for Zeitoun, a town at fourteen leagues distance. In the course of this route they passed one of the most celebrated among

all the celebrated spots of antiquity,—a spot the name of which is associated with all the noblest ideas of valour and patriotism,—the Straits of Thermopylæ. What heart, what imagination is not on fire at this name! The soul is absorbed in the fate of Leonidas and his brave followers; human nature seems elevated in the recollection of such deeds. But such were not the sentiments, the thoughts with which Ibrahim was inspired. He had probably made inquiries at Salone respecting the safety of the route; for, as he approached the strait, the prisoners observing him preparing his pistols as if to be in readiness for use, inquired the reason, when he answered,—" 'Tis because there are in this passage people of my disposition, land corsairs, who have a mighty fancy for plundering travellers."—It is indeed but too true, that Thermopylæ is now the haunt of such banditti, and that it is not very safe to go and meditate there upon the great events of former ages.

Arrived at Zeitoun, the prisoners were again presented to the bey: but as it appeared that Ibrahim and his colleagues only performed this courtesy in the hope of its being returned by the bey with equal courtesy under the form of a baxis, (something to drink) these corsairs did not experience a very polite reception. The magistrate was inclined upon a box which inclosed his worldly treasures, for which he was generally considered as having a particular affection. This occasioned him to live in a state of nervous agitation ten times more dreadful than what was experienced by Harpagon; for he had not only before his eyes the constant fear of robbers and of his servants, he had two still greater objects of terror to contemplate in the sabre of the pasha of Janina, who was his superior officer, and in the Sublime Imperial bowstring. He had in consequence a physiognomy which seemed to bespeak one of the most unhappy of human beings.

The prisoners, however, as well as their escort, were lodged for the night at the bey's house. Here Monsieur Beauvais, overcome with fatigue, was seized with a fever, the symptoms of which were of such a nature that it seemed scarcely possible he should be able to proceed on his journey the next day. This occasioned a consultation to be held between Ibrahim and his comrades; when it was agreed that, if the prisoner should be too ill the next morning to mount his horse, his head should be cut off. Happily one of them rather more compassionate than the rest, Ali-tchiaoux, promoted a perspiration by covering him with his cloak; and as the sick man had overheard the consultation and decision, he took care the next morning, when it was time to depart, not to be asked twice to mount his horse.

The next day's journey carried the travellers over another very remarkable spot, the plain of Pharsalia. When they came to it, the people of whom the horses

were hired, and who accompanied them, told them that a long time ago a great battle was fought there. They stopped for the night at the modern town of Pharsalus, and were lodged at the bey's house; where the master of it appearing perfectly indifferent about them, they passed their time very tranquilly. This indifference did not suit Ibrahim, who again, in consequence of it, looked in vain for his baxis.

The following day carried the party on to Larissa. At the moment of their arrival, the pasha was occupied with a military levy of the Mussulmans to serve in the war recently declared by the Porte. This levy is commonly at the rate of one out of ten, but one out of six was now required: some of these were going off to Widdin, and the prisoners were present at the review of them previous to their departure. Paswan Oglou had just raised his standard anew: he had summoned the Macedonians to join him,—a people who always thirst for combats and dangers,—and a dyke must be opposed capable of resisting the torrent. But what sort of a body was that now about to be sent on a service so important? A parcel of old men and children, of miserable wretches who could feel no interest in the cause they were to support, and who might very probably, when arrived at their destination, be more disposed to join the pasha of Widdin than to fight against him. Such was the army which my friends saw quit Larissa to save the empire and crush rebellion under foot. At their head was a general without experience, who a few years before was a domestic in the aga's household, his office being to serve the coffee. He however received the French, who were presented to him by their guide Ibrahim, with much courtesy, and ordered that they should be lodged in the khan. This is the place where travellers usually stop,—so that they were not now treated as slaves; he besides sent them provisions from his own table, and ordered them some additional clothing. A Greek also who had been educated in civilised Europe came to make them a visit; he spoke French, and endeavoured to console them. They were charmed at meeting with a being endowed with sensibility, with whom they could converse freely: he evinced the utmost kindness for them, and had done them some good offices with the pasha: he would have given them even greater proofs of his good will; but the corsairs beginning to regard him with suspicion, and afraid that he would learn more concerning them than they wished, drove him away, using the most abusive language towards him. Here again the prisoners had permission to go to the bath, and they had a most comfortable lodging, for the khan in no way resembled the places in general which bear this name in Turkey: they had an apartment to

themselves, well furnished. Ibrahim was not so well pleased as his prisoners; he was indeed very impatient to leave a situation where he found no opportunities for plunder, and had nobody to vex and tease, and where he had not met with a very courteous reception from the magistrates.

The next day's journey terminated at the village of Platamana. As it was dark before the travellers arrived there, the inhabitants, who probably supposed them banditti, unanimously refused them admittance to their houses. The corsairs, little disposed to pass a night in the month of January in the open air, resolved to force some door, and that which they selected by chance proved to be the codja-bachi's. These new guests began, after their usual fashion, to apply to their own use whatever they found convenient to them: but the poor host, not quite so well pleased as they were, hastened to get rid of them, and conducted them to a neighbouring house, the door of which was immediately opened on his requiring it. But to what a place did the party find themselves transferred! They were obliged to mount up to a garret, where was nothing but a little straw,—and neither by promises nor threats was a better lodging to be obtained. One of the tchiaoux, who was not disposed to go supperless to bed, then went out, armed as if for a marauding party, swearing that he would find something to eat, or that they would not see him again. In effect, he soon returned with some fowls, bread, butter, olives, and wine, and set about preparing supper. He was very full of jokes upon the rest of the company, at the resignation with which they were going to lie down with empty stomachs, in a country inhabited by Greeks, whose business it was to respect Mussulmans. The supper was found excellent by the corsairs; and though good Mussulmans, they plied well a vessel of wine which was handed from one to the other. Afterwards they began to smoke, for no meal can be enjoyed in the East that is not succeeded by the pipe.

It was in this way that my unfortunate companions passed two and-twenty days, for to that time was their journey from Patras to Constantinople protracted; suffering cruelly all the time from cold, fatigue, and vexation. When arrived at the Turkish capital they were presented to the drogman of the Porte, who asked them a multitude of questions; and they were the same day lodged in the castle of the Seven Towers, where I found them.

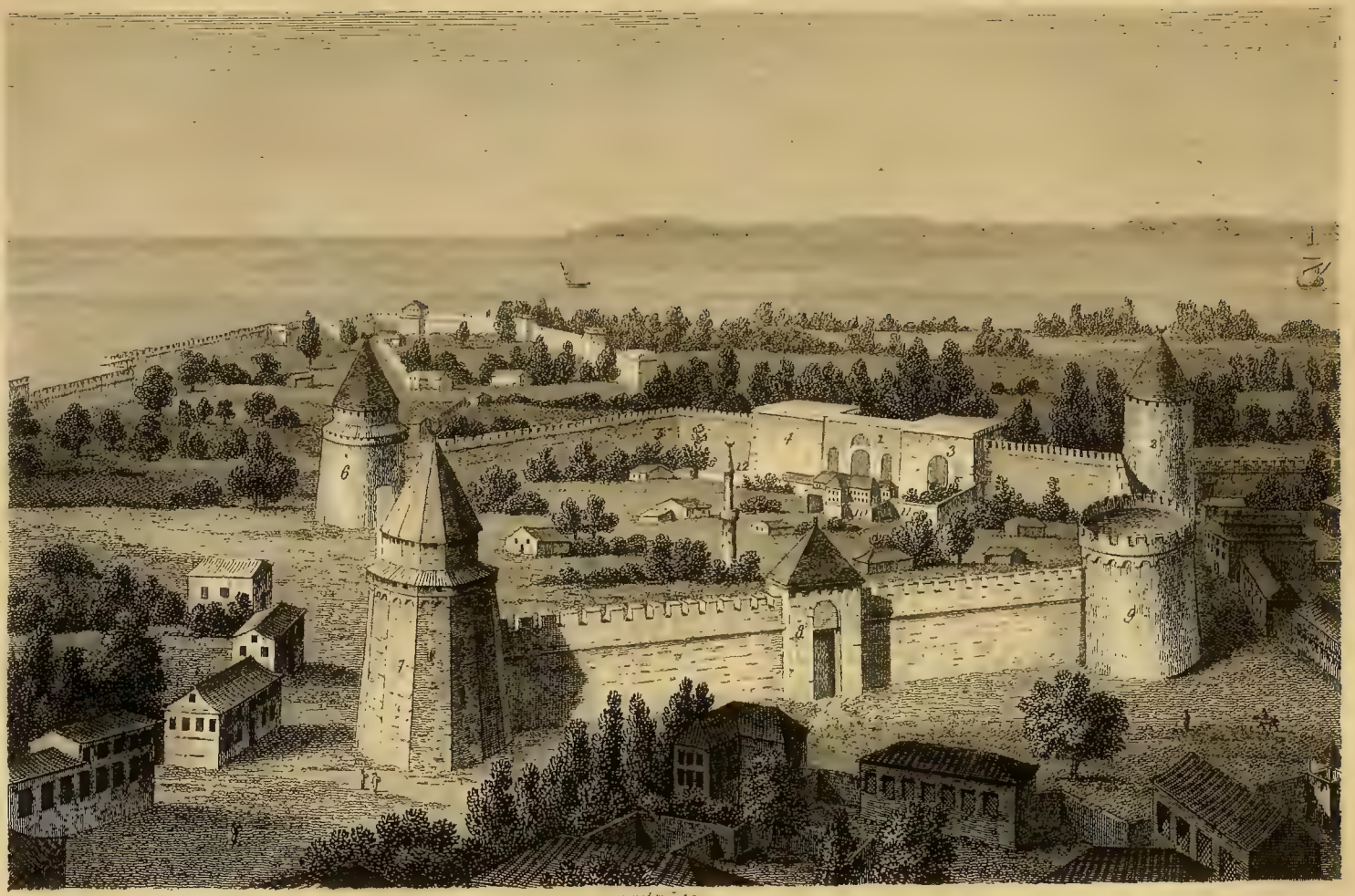
CHAPTER XXI.

Account of the Imperial castle of the Seven Towers.—Its history.—Interior administration of it.—Its topography.—Second circumvallation, or outward inclosure of the Seven Towers.

Having now related the principal circumstances which led to the imprisonment of myself and so many others of my countrymen, at the same time, in the castle of the Seven Towers, it remains to give some account of the place of our confinement. This castle, which is called by the Turks Hiedicouler, and by the Greeks Eftacoulades, is cited, in the History of the Lower Empire from the sixth century of the Christian æra, as a point which served for the defence of Constantinople. The embrasures of some of its towers, as well as of the towers that flank the ramparts of the town from the southern angle of this castle to the sea, blackened as is supposed by the Greek-fire, announce that it was the principal bulwark of the city on the side of the Propontis, in the latter times of the empire.

In 1453, Mahomet the Second, after an obstinate siege, gained possession of Constantinople and the castle of the Seven Towers, fear opening to him one of the false gates of the latter. The Turks relate that the principal efforts of his artillery were directed against this point, and that he lost twelve thousand men in carrying it: the marks of the ravages made by the artillery are still visible. It appears that the conqueror, who considered the Greek empire as annihilated for ever, did not concern himself much about this fortress, for he scarcely repaired the breaches made. Since that time the place has been rendered celebrated by many remarkable events, one of the principal of which was the tragical death of Osman the Second,—perhaps the most virtuous among all the descendants of the caliphs.

Unfortunate prince! how many times have my footsteps passed over the very spot where thou perishedst by the hands of assassins loaded with thy kindness! This prince commanded his army in person: six times, in a battle against the Poles, he ordered the janissaries to charge, and as many times did they refuse to obey the order: from that time he could regard with nothing but contempt a body who showed themselves terrible only in seditions. Overwhelmed with sorrow at



Engraved by Tatorei

1. The triumphal Arch of Constantine
2. The first tower of the Pentagon.
3. The first marble tower
4. The second marble tower
5. The angle of the Pentagon with the fallen tower
6. The double tower
7. The dodecagonal tower.
8. Square tower of entrance to the prison.
9. Round tower falling to decay.
10. House of the Aga &c.
11. Garden to the Aga's house
12. Cemetary of the Martyrs.

Castle of the Seven-Towers.

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this reverse, he gave himself up to superstition, and a comet which appeared in 1618 carried trouble into his mind and over all the empire. His preceptor, Codja-Omer-Effendi, advised him to appease the anger of heaven by making a pilgrimage to Mecca: but the ministers, the oulemas, the spahis, and the janissaries, all raised their voices against it; so that the resolution of the sultan was shaken, when a dream decided his wavering mind. He fancied that as he was seated on his throne, covered with his cuirass and occupied in reading the Koran, Mahomet appeared to him, and with an angry air snatched the book from his hands, threw him upon the ground, and struck him so severely, that unable to raise himself up he could not embrace the knees of the prophet. Inspired with new terrors, those who wished his overthrow advised him to set out upon the pilgrimage without delay: he accordingly ordered preparations to be made for his departure, and was deaf to all remonstrances against it.

The alarm was soon spread, and insurrection began to raise its head on every side. Mustapha, who had been deposed on the plea of imbecility, was brought forth from his prison, and a thousand voices called for his being replaced on the throne,—a thousand voices demanded the death of Osman. Not dismayed by the tumult, he quitted the seraglio, and hastened to the barracks of the janissaries, exclaiming,—"*Let us go to this place where they make kings.*" Here he was loaded with insults; in vain he endeavoured to be heard: "*Only ask,*" he exclaimed, "*of him whom you prefer to me, what is his name; he cannot even answer such a question.*" The janissaries seized upon him and dragged him away to the Seven Towers, one of them by the way striking him with his stick*. Arrived under the gateway of the castle, the fatal string was thrown round his neck; but he thrust his hand within the noose, and struck down the first who attempted to strangle him: the grand vizier then seized him, the unfortunate sultan was overpowered, and the fatal purpose executed.

Since the death of Osman, the Seven Towers has been the scene of many bloody executions; almost every step taken within its walls recalls some dreadful association. There stands the tomb of a vizier, whose services in the reduction of the isle of Candia were recompensed with a tragic death: gloomy sentiments, the names of Turks, of Greek princes, inscribed upon the walls, speak the sad fate of those by whose hands they were traced. Towers filled with irons, with chains, with

* It is a custom among the Mussulmans, that every week, at the barracks of the janissaries, the name of him who dared to strike his master is solemnly cursed.

ancient arms, tombs, ruins, horrible dungeons, cold and silent vaults, a pit bearing the name of *The well of blood*, the funereal cry of owls and of vultures, mingled with the roar of the waves,—such are the objects, such the sounds, with which the eye and ear are familiarised in these dreary abodes.

But the Seven Towers is more particularly known in European countries as the prison where the Turks confine the ministers and ambassadors of the powers with whom they are at war. The prisoners detained here are distinguished from all other prisoners of war by an allowance for the table which is assigned them by the sultan, and by the appellation of *mouzafirs*, or hostages. It may indeed be considered as a great favour to be regarded in this light, comparing their situation with that of all others whom the fortune of war has led into captivity among the Turks. This castle is dignified in public documents and firmans with the appellation of an *imperial fortress;* and, conformably with that distinction, it is governed by an aga who has under his orders a guard and a band of music: he has a salary of six thousand piastres, for the payment of which two *timars*, or fiefs, in the neighbourhood of Rodosto are responsible. This place is considered as a peaceable and an honourable one. The person who filled it when I was there was a venerable old man of Tartar origin, by name Abdul-Hamed. He had served many years in the seraglio in quality of *muezzin* and of sacristan; but at sixty years of age, having no longer sufficient power of voice remaining to sing upon a minaret, or at the door of a mosque, he had been created commandant of the Seven Towers. For the rest, he was a very worthy man, endowed with many virtues, and free from the fanaticism of those who assume only an exterior of religion. If fear of persons by whom he knew his conduct was watched made him sometimes appear severe towards us, the vexations we experienced were never to be ascribed to him. Yet a true Turk in his love of money, I have seen him sometimes, without any ceremony, drinking coffee with our cook, who was a Greek papas of Cerigo. It is to be observed, however, that the difference of ranks is not much considered in Turkey, where a porter may in four-and-twenty hours become a vizier or a general.

The aga has under his orders a kiaya or lieutenant; his garrison is composed of fifty-four disdarlis, divided into ten sections, each commanded by a bélouk-bachi or corporal. The lieutenant at this time was an inventor of patterns for printing linens; and among the corporals were the imam or curate of the prison, a boatman, a dealer in tobacco-pipes, and other personages of equal importance. The dis-

darlis, or soldiers, are poor creatures who serve for only six aspres* a day, and who are notwithstanding the objects of envy to many others. The aga is named directly by the Porte; he chooses his lieutenant among the belouk-bachis, and his choice commonly falls on the oldest among them. He also names the belouk-bachis, who are obliged on entering into office to pay into his hands a caution of a hundred piastres; this is returned to them in case of dismission or voluntary resignation. The Turks who compose the garrison of the Seven Towers have, in the first place, the advantage of being esteemed persons of a certain distinction in their quarter; and secondly, they are exempted from going out to war, to which every other Mussulman is liable. The belouk-bachis have twelve aspres a day, and the aga gives them two dinners during the Rhamazan. They form a sort of council under him, where a division is made of the booty taken from the prisoners under their care; they deliberate besides upon the discipline of the prison. In this capacity they often quarrel, and enter into mutual accusations of each other, till the commandant adjusts matters by ordering them the bastinado, or by expelling them, preceding the sentence of expulsion by a sort of juridical process that gives it additional sanction.

This castle stands at the eastern extremity of the Propontis, or Sea of Marmara; it is a tolerably regular pentagon, four out of the five angles of which are flanked by towers; the fifth angle had also a tower formerly, but it exists no longer. Its principal front is towards the west, and has, besides the tower at one of the angles, two others, which stand on each side the ancient triumphal arch of Constantine. The gate of entrance to the Seven Towers on the side of the town is to the east, in a small square. The ground-plot of the whole inclosure is about five thousand five hundred square toises. The longest side of the pentagon is that in which Constantine's arch is included: while towers existed at all the angles, this side presented a front of four towers; but the tower at one of the angles having fallen into decay, it has now only three. The first of these towers forms one side of the principal gate to Constantinople; it is round, and covered with lead. The wall that joins it with the first marble tower of Constantine's arch is sixty feet high, and has a parapet mounted with six iron guns, which command the country on the side of Barouth-Hané, upon the road to St. Stephen. The first marble tower is an enormous mass, between eighty and ninety feet high, with a platform at the top. On the side of the country, where it projects forty feet from the wall, it is

* About threepence English money.

built entirely of polished marble, but within, the marble is rough. This tower, although rent by the shocks of an earthquake, is still in a tolerably good state; the frize is well preserved, and at the north and south angles are two Roman eagles carved, but in a very indifferent style. The wall which runs from its eastern angle to Constantine's arch is equal in height to the tower, and the frize of the tower is carried along the top of it. The eastern side, which is within the enclosure of the prison, has a very large door.

The triumphal arch of Constantine, which occupies the centre between the two marble towers, conducts to the golden gate in the exterior enclosure of the castle. This arch was more than ninety feet in height: it has been so much injured by artillery that we cannot now form any judgement of the ornaments; but on the side within the inclosure there is a vast escutcheon surrounded by a wreath of laurel, having below it the emblem of thunder, and inclosing the chrysimon. By the sides of this arch, which resembles the gate of St. Martin at Paris, there were two lateral gates; but they are now built up. The arch itself is also obstructed by two stages of cells which the Turks have made, and have turned arches here to support them. The lateral gate to the left has been converted into a powder magazine; but as it is lower than the ground, the water which stands there renders it the usual abode of frogs and salamanders*. From thence to the second marble tower the frize is continued along the rampart, but is interrupted in one part where a large breach had been made, and is filled up with brick work. This tower is not like the first; within it are cold and horrible dungeons, which have resounded with the sighs of hundreds of victims devoted to death. The principal of them has the name of *The cave of blood:* the first door by which it is entered is of wood; this opens into a corridor twelve feet long by four wide, having at the end two steps that ascend to an iron door, and this leads into a semicircular gallery: at its furthest extremity is a second iron door, which completes the gallery, and ten feet further an immense massive door inclosing the dungeon. It is impossible to enter it without shuddering: never did the light of heaven penetrate into this abode of tears and groans; never did it echo with the voice of a friend come to console the victim whom despotism had condemned to death. The melancholy glare of a torch scarcely casts a dying light, so entirely is the air inclosed in this abyss deprived of its vivifying particles: assisted by its re-

* Probably the *lacerta aquatica* or the *lacerta palustris*, the former of which is called in French *la salamandre à queue ronde*, and the latter *la salamandre à queue plate*.—Translator.

flection, however, one may read some inscriptions engraved on the marble: but it is impossible for the eye to reach the summit of the vault; it is lost in a gloom perfectly impenetrable. In the midst of this sarcophagus is a well, the mouth of which is level with the ground, and half closed by two flag stones: to this is given the name of *The well of blood*, because the heads of those who are executed in the dungeon are thrown into it.

In the same tower with this dungeon is a staircase leading up to a number of cells: from some of these, which are higher than the ramparts, the eye may be gratified with a view over Constantinople, through loop-holes pierced in the walls. Here the Turks formerly used to confine those whom they called mouzafirs or hostages; but the latter have now the choice allowed them of hiring apartments in a more eligible situation. The same staircase leads up to the platform at the top of the ramparts and the triumphal arch; but the entrance to it is shut by a grated iron door, and it is encumbered with plants and rubbish to a degree which shows that it has not been frequented for a long course of years, though it commands one of the finest views in the world. From the last-mentioned marble tower to the southern angle of the castle, there is nothing in the rampart worthy of remark; it is not planted with cannon. At this angle stood the tower which is now in ruins: its foundations form within the inclosure a sort of cistern, or rather sewer, in which some shrubs have sprung up. The whole line of rampart to the south is without cannon. There is a very high platform, which could only be used for arrows and other ancient weapons of defence.

The third, or southern, angle of the pentagon is flanked by a round tower in two divisions. The first division is seventy feet high, and pierced with embrasures which form a gallery serving as the base of a second tower. The latter seems to rise out of the former, and makes the whole of this whimsical construction a hundred and twenty feet high. The rampart which runs from it to the eastern angle, is lower than the fronts to the south and west, and is planted with four pieces of cannon directed towards the town and the sea-shore. The tower of the eastern angle differs from the others I have described, being in form a sort of dodecagon. There is a cell within closed only by two wooden doors, and admitting both the light and the air freely. Near to this is the principal entrance to the castle, through a small square tower covered with lead: here prisoners are sometimes put in irons *pro tempore*. There is nothing remarkable in it, except that whereas the doors were formerly of wood, they are now of iron, since a prisoner made his escape by setting fire to them. From this to the last

tower of which it remains to speak, the rampart is planted with ten pieces of cannon directed towards the town. This last tower, the roof of which has been destroyed by time, is now falling into ruins, and in a few years will exist no longer; for the Turks, who cannot trouble themselves to repair any thing, see large masses of wall fall perpetually with perfect unconcern, nor care how they encumber the enclosure within.

The door which leads into the interior of the castle is painted red, and well fortified with plates of iron. Before it is a portcullis, which is let down occasionally in cases of imminent danger. It was directly after having passed this that Sultan Osman was strangled. To the right is an armory filled with old bucklers, with ancient arms, with iron fetters and chains; and to the left is a small apartment where lives the kiaya. A paved causeway, on each side of which are heaps of marble balls, leads to the second interior inclosure; to the left of the causeway is a small mosque. The rest of this court is occupied by a number of houses, to the amount perhaps of forty, with gardens, heaps of stones, and clumps of shrubs which have grown spontaneously among the rubbish. Formerly there were in this inclosure some very good houses; but they were destroyed by a fire which happened about twenty years ago, and have never been rebuilt. The second inclosure contains the house of the aga, and that where the mouzafirs, or prisoners considered as hostages, now lodge. It is surrounded by a wall eighteen feet in height. To the left of the entrance is the guard-room, a sort of closet, large enough to hold about ten men, having for furniture one miserable sofa. It contains neither arms nor any other military insignia. Opposite to this guard-room there is a range of building which is continued quite to Constantine's arch: in it is the aga's house. By the firmans of commitment the mouzafirs are ordered into cells; but the aga has the choice of letting them apartments in this building. The division which we inhabited consisted of a ground floor and a first and second story. Next to us lodged the commandant and his wives; behind his house was a little garden which ran up to the first marble tower.

In the latter part of our captivity Monsieur Ruffin having obtained permission to hire the aga's house, where he lived with his wife, I had by this means an opportunity of visiting the tower, and exploring the interior of it. Notwithstanding the gloom that reigns there, I could discern a wooden coffin, on the lid of which was carved an Egyptian figure with ears standing out exceedingly from the head. Curiosity leading me to open it, I found within a mummy broken into three pieces. I put the head in my pocket, and had the good fortune to bring it away with me.

I afterwards learnt, in consulting the Annals of Turkey, a passage in which was translated to me by Monsieur Ruffin, that this was intended as a present from the king of France to Charles the Twelfth king of Sweden, ninety-four years before, when he had retired to Bender. The mummy came directly from Egypt, and it was about to be forwarded to its destination when it was stopped by the janissaries upon guard at the gate of Adrianople. Being sealed with the signet of the kaimakan, it was supposed to be the relic of some saint, and was deposited at the Seven Towers. I never heard it said, as Lady Mary Wortley Montague affirms, that the Turks attached to it the idea of a palladium on which hung the preservation of the empire. This is one of the pleasing fictions of her work. According to her hypothesis, I should have broken the charm, and hastened the downfall of a state once so formidable to almost all Christendom: but my conscience acquits me entirely of having been guilty of a like transgression.

A little paved street, which leads from the gate of the second interior inclosure to Constantine's arch, separates the aga's house from a garden surrounded with palisades on the opposite side. This garden is divided into two: one part, which runs parallel with the second marble tower, being ten toises four feet long by three toises wide; the other being a square of six toises each way. In the first division is the cemetery of the Martyrs, as it is called, occupying a square of two toises. Here are deposited the bodies of the Turkish chiefs who fell in the assault of the Seven Towers at the taking of Constantinople. The form of graves is still preserved; but they are of a colossal size, to inspire the descendants of these mighty men with a high idea of their warlike ancestors *. This inclosure is surrounded with a little wall two feet high, and is illuminated every night by a lighthouse, which is under the care of the muezzin.

The whole garden was very much ornamented by the Muscovites when they were detained here. They built two kiosques or pavilions, which were prettily painted with landscapes; but, as every thing falls into decay in the hands of the Mussulmans, we found nothing but some miserable remains of these embellishments. We were destitute of means for undertaking any thing of a similar kind,

* It is a common practice in the East to give colossal proportions to the tombs. Alexander the Great, it is said, had many suits of gigantic armour made, which he left scattered about in his progress, to impress the people with the idea that he commanded an army of demi-gods.

and were obliged to content ourselves with forming seats of turf. One of our party engraved upon a slab of marble in the second tower:

TO THE MEMORY OF THE FRENCH
WHO HAVE DIED IN THE CHAINS OF THE OTTOMANS.

M DCCC I.

The stranger who may hereafter be doomed to visit this dreary abode will, I hope, not read without some degree of interest this tribute to men worthy of a better fate; especially if he should be acquainted with the sufferings endured by those of our fellow-countrymen who were thrown into the bagnio.

These are all the particulars which appear worthy of remark in the interior of the Seven Towers. I know not on what authority the authors of the Encyclopædia say that there is in one of the courts a mortar destined to pound the oulemas, while the Turks in general affirm this to be in the Seraglio. Most reasonable people, however, doubt entirely the existence of such a thing, and are inclined to think that it is only an ideal object of terror, which, if it ever did exist, has ceased to do so for many centuries. There are in these courts many heaps of enormous marble balls, but which would require guns of a very different calibre from those now mounted on the ramparts to fire them. In this, as in various other more important things relative to the East, many pages must be torn if we wish only to have truth preserved. I know not by what fatality the greater part of the travellers into these parts have been so extremely desirous of embellishing their narratives with the marvellous.

The first inclosure of the Seven Towers is inhabited chiefly by poor Turks, who have houses, and live there with their families. They belong to the guard of the castle; and commonly exercise besides, some profession to assist in gaining themselves a livelihood. The imam of the mosque has a house here; and his jurisdiction extends over the precinct, to perform the ceremonies of interment and others belonging to his function. From these he draws some emolument. The person who filled this office while I was a prisoner had bought his place of one of the soldiers for a hundred and fifty piastres, the soldier preferring the situation of a journeyman-mason to that of imam, thought his latter office had been hereditary in his family from the time when Constantinople was taken. The imam who made the purchase was, besides, belouk-bachi, or corporal of one of the sections that composed the garrison, and took his turn of mounting guard in the prison. He

read his own language tolerably; and his muezzin, or sacristan, could repeat the whole koran by heart, though he did not understand a word of the Arabian tongue. On this account the name of Hafiz had been given to him, as one common to all who have in like manner the words of this sacred book stored up in their memories. At the same time this man had not two ideas in his head.

Having thus given a general sketch of the interior of the Seven Towers, such as it was in 1801, it remains now to speak of the external inclosure. This will afford, I hope, some details more interesting, and plead my excuse for entering with a tone so didactic into a description of angles, projections, ruins, and rubbish. Some apology, I am aware, is necessary, since the ruins now treated of are not stamped with the same value as others on which my pen has been previously employed; those precious remains of ancient Greece, where every object that meets the traveller's eye presents to his mind some cherished association.

In quitting the inclosure by the triumphal arch of Constantine, the golden gate was formerly passed; but it is now blocked up. This point of egress from the castle leads at present only into the second circumvallation, or exterior inclosure of the fortifications, comprised between the first and second rampart. This space is occupied in great part by a garden not above half cultivated. About thirty paces from the triumphal arch are four cypresses, and some sycamores, dispersed about, which form groupes before the marble towers, and give the whole a picturesque appearance when they are seen in approaching the town from the village of St. Stephen. The Turks have built up the golden gate with solid stone-work, to make a cistern of it; and the commandant has had two pavilions built on the foundations of some ruins. Within the garden, before these pavilions, is a square bason, with a *jet d'eau*. Here the aga comes to smoke his pipe, having for his prospect the marble towers; whereas in the very same spot, if his pavilions had been differently constructed, he might have enjoyed a most noble view. On the door of the triumphal arch are some Greek inscriptions, written with a kind of red mixture, which are intended to express the name of God and his greatness. They, as well as the crosses cut upon the marble, seem to have been the work of some pious soldiers on guard here.

From the northern angle of the first marble tower a wall branches off, which terminates the inclosure on this side, uniting it to the second rampart. Near this tower is a gate called the Gate of Victory, which is highly honoured by the Turks. Above it is a sort of lantern, which is lighted every night. They believe that it was by this gate their ancestors first entered when they took Constantinople,

and consider the ground all about as formed of the dust of those martyrs: for that reason it is held in high veneration. This gate is now never used: it is to the north, and stands upon the fossé, where within a few years a market for oxen has been established. A little staircase conducts to another part of the fossé, which extends from the north side of the first marble tower to the first gate of Constantinople. This is closed in by a transverse wall, in which are eight embrasures: the fossé is filled with rubbish, with clumps of pomegranate-trees and sycamores, and is inhabited by an immense number of tortoises.

Opposite the first marble tower, upon a half-moon of the rampart to the exterior inclosure, a kiosque or belvedere has been constructed, where we were permitted, by paying a sum of money, to go every week and breathe the fresh air. The kiosque is divided into two apartments, the first of which has three windows to the west, and an equal number eastward looking upon the garden: the second, where we were permitted to go, has nine windows, and was furnished with sophas: the cielings of both were painted with simplicity and elegance. The view from this pavilion extends over an infinite number of gardens and cemeteries, and towards the fertile fields of Thrace: to the left it looks to the quarter where are the butchers' shops, the manufactories of candles, and of catgut strings. Beyond these the eye wanders delightfully over the sea which washes the smiling shores of Asia, extending quite to the islands of the sea of Marmara. It is in the wall of this second rampart that are to be found the relics of the golden gate. Two marble columns appear, from the pedestals of which, made of a single piece of marble, the columns may be supposed to have been thirty or thirty-five feet high. What remains of them is in good preservation. In the same wall are about a dozen other columns, and remains of bas-reliefs were to be seen, but no inscriptions.

Near the second marble tower, that in which are the dungeons, is a palisade with a little barrier, which opens upon an inclosure terminated equally by a transversal wall going from the southern extremity of the base to the second rampart. In this place is a great deal of rubbish, some fragments of marbles, and a multitude of trees and shrubs which afford an agreeable shade. By dint of prayers and entreaties, and at length of bribes, we obtained permission to extend our walk to this fossé,—an image of chaos. We cleared away the bottom, we made a walk, a place for sports, and a little study: we could at the same time, from the top of a mound formed by the ruins, enjoy a very extensive view over the sea, and contemplate the vessels bringing the products of the industry of Europe into the

port of Constantinople, or quitting it laden with the precious merchandise of the East.

In this same spot we were presented with a mournful subject for meditation: here was the tomb of the grand vizier who conquered the island of Candia, with those of his wife and son. Covered with glory, ennobled by the services he had rendered to his monarch; envy precipitated him from the heights to which he had risen, and overwhelmed him with disgrace: he was thrown into the dungeon of blood, and there strangled. His wife and son obtained leave to mingle their dust with that of an object so cherished and beloved. Their tombs are preserved with great care: round them is a gilt palisade, about which are entwined jessamines, roses, and other odoriferous shrubs. A flaming sword and a simple inscription perpetuate the remembrance of the vizier's services and the father's affection,—of the virtues and tenderness of the wife, and of the premature death of a son whose youth afforded the brightest hopes. The despotism which crushed a faithful servant, the envy which overthrew a heart so full of virtues, could not impede truth from inscribing upon the marble the feats of a warrior exempt from guilt. On the cause of his death a perfect silence is observed, but the knife has preserved the memorial of his services and his exploits.

In the transverse wall of this inclosure is a little door which opens upon the space included between the first and second rampart, extending quite to the sea shore. We had long suspected that this must be a pleasant place for walking; and at length chance, time, and money the best of all keys, gained us access here, as it had done elsewhere. To the right, on entering, we found a little path which wound among a profusion of lilacs, of laurels, of pomegranate-, almond-, and quince-trees: on our right hand was the wall crowned with battlements and flanked with bastions, and to the left the rampart of the town, sixty feet high. Along this rampart are at intervals towers with flat tops, to the number of seven, built at almost equal distances, and evidently of a construction anterior to the use of cannon. The rampart however, notwithstanding its great height, is capable of being mounted with artillery, and without doubt was so in the latter days of the empire. The embrasures of the towers are blackened; and the Greeks with whom I conversed upon the subject assured me that it was the effect of the Greek-fire which was thrown upon the barbarians in the times when they were perpetually insulting, even in their capital, the feeble power of the emperors.

The first, the second, and the third of these towers are octagons, and in good preservation: they offer nothing particularly worthy of observation, excepting

the nests of the *akababas* or *vultur percnopterus:* these birds of passage establish themselves every year in great numbers upon their aërial summits. In the interval between the first and second tower is a small well almost choked up with stones, and the wall is entirely covered with ivy. In the curtain from the second to the third tower, a small column of white marble indicates the tomb of a *tchorbadgi,* or colonel of janissaries, who fell at the siege of Constantinople: the Turks revere this tomb as if it were that of a saint: chance has placed round it a tall laurel, a walnut-tree, a pomegranate-, and a fig-tree, which form a sort of arch over it. It seems by the freshness of the turf, and the flowers that grow around, as if nature wished to show some distinction to the spot where repose the remains of a warrior. Opposite to this tomb is an enormous service-tree, and several trees of Judea, which form a very pleasing groupe. The fourth tower, which is square, has suffered exceedingly from earthquakes. Upon this tower is the following inscription:

ΠΑCΙ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΙC ΜΕΓΑΛΕΠΟΗCΕ
Ο ΡΩΜΑΝΟC ΝΕΟΝ Ο ΠΑ ΜΜΕΓΙCΤΟC
ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΥΡΓΟΝ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ.

Which signifies:—*The great, the very great Romanus has built from the foundations a temple and a tower for all the Greeks.*

I give it such as it exists, although I am aware that it is cited by Procopius in a manner which would admit of a very different sense being given to it. I know that it differs also from that published by Spon and by Tournefort, though the sense is pretty much the same: but neither of these travellers had the same opportunity for studying it that my captivity unfortunately gave me.

The fifth tower has a rent in it from the top to the very bottom. I availed myself of this to penetrate into the tower, and I found at its base a hole which communicated with a neighbouring garden. It would have afforded an excellent means of escape, if we had not been shut up during the night in the interior of the prison, or could have known of any place where there was a hope of finding an asylum: but this was not a time when a Frenchman could expect to meet with a protector within the walls of Byzantium. The sixth tower, which is half mouldered away, furnished us the means of mounting upon the rampart and examining whatever was to be found there worthy of our curiosity. Here we had a complete view of Constantinople, which was not to be seen from our prison; but we found no antiquities except some Greek crosses in several different parts. From this place we had one day a good deal of conversation with some Armenians.

The base of the seventh tower is enclosed in the wall, and when the wind blows from the south the waves dash majestically against it. The interior is an absolute void, but upon the top is the following inscription:

ΠΥΡΓΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΝΩΝ.
TOWER OF KINGS AND OF THE CONSTANTINOPOLITANS.

To judge by the pompous nature of both inscriptions, one would suppose that the monuments to which they belong must have something in them well worthy the attention of posterity; but they are two poor insignificant towers, which have nothing remarkable except the absurd bombast of the dedications. In the time of the Lower Empire, the arts being forgotten, and the real splendour of the country being all dwindled away, the loss was supplied by the use of bombast language, and application of high-sounding epithets to persons who had no other possible means of obtaining distinction. A crenated wall completes this inclosure on the side towards the sea; in it are some pedestals of columns and fragments of marble. This whole space is covered with an enormous quantity of trees and flowers of various kinds; walnuts, plums, apricots, service-trees, jujubes, sycamores, pomegranates, trees of Judea, laurels, lilacs, rose-trees, jessamines, irises, tulips, anemones, violets, carnations: it is a chaos of ruins, stones, heaps of rubbish, tombs, shrubs, flowers, and trees; while it equally resounds with the song of the nightingale, the screams of the sea-mew, and the screeching of the owl. Yet in the situation to which we were reduced, such a place was to us a garden of delights: we could here seat ourselves by the sea-shore, we could meditate to the sound of the waves murmuring below; every vessel we saw became an object of interest to us. What wishes were excited in our bosoms at these moments! what invocations did we offer up to Heaven! what conjectures did we form as to our future fate! Yet day after day rolled on and brought no change: if we awoke in the morning with Hope as the cherished guest of our hearts, it was but to lie down in the evening with Disappointment at our side.

To terminate my topography of this celebrated prison, I have only to add that the outward rampart is flanked by a ditch, through which run the waters of a little river called the Sperchius. This river rises in the neighbourhood of Baloucli*, and winding through the fossés of the town passes under a small

* Baloucli is a Greek cemetery situated to the north-west of Constantinople. This place is held in particular veneration, because of a fountain in which the papas show the faithful some fish half fried:

bridge which is before the first gate, whence it proceeds on to join the sea a little way below. In this fossé a great deal of mint is cultivated, which is gathered with great care by the Turks to dry for the winter. A quantity of artichokes grow every where in the uncultivated ground; tortoises also abound, as well as snakes: of the latter there seemed to be no other species than those which are familiar to us.

The air of the Seven Towers is in general unwholesome, and very likely to produce scrophula: in the summer the walls, heated by the sun, transform the place into a furnace, which is absolutely overpowering. The north wind is the only one which can render this place, or indeed any part of the town, completely wholesome: when the south wind blows it produces fogs, and brings into the town the smell of the shambles and manufactories in the neighbourhood, to a degree which must be pernicious if it continues for any length of time. To these inconveniencies may be added that of the insects peculiar to warm climates: we were often visited by scorpions of a yellowish hue; they would even conceal themselves in our beds. The apartments we occupied, particularly those on the first floor, were at all times extremely damp, and had besides the agreeable quality of being very cold in winter.

Providence, however, kindly supported us through our trials; and however painful our situation, seldom did the least cloud intervene to disturb our gaiety. We applied ourselves assiduously to study, we created ourselves a variety of occupations, our time was portioned out among them, every hour had its allotted employment, and, monotonous as we found our lives, we were scarcely ever wholly forsaken by that best friend to the unfortunate,—Hope.

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they have been in the same place and in the same state ever since the taking of Constantinople. On that fatal day, according to tradition, the news that the Turks were masters of the town was announced to a maid servant as she was frying fish. She however declared she would just as soon believe that the fish, which were then half dressed, would jump out of the frying-pan into a pond close by; whereupon the fish jumped into the pond immediately, and have remained there in the same state ever since. The Greeks all assert that they have frequently seen them.

CHAPTER XXII.

The bagnio at Constantinople, and the treatment of the French prisoners and others confined there.—Melancholy fate of a young Greek.—More particulars respecting the prisoners in the Seven Towers.—Dogmas of the Turks.—Death of Adjutant-general Rose.—Visit of the Istambol Effendi.

It must be observed, that if in the abstract our situation in the castle of the Seven Towers was by no means a pleasant one, we had ample reason to bless our lot when compared with that of our fellow-countrymen incarcerated in the bagnio; a place beyond all comparison more horrible. It was here that the brave garrison of Zante, with whose journey through the Morea the reader is acquainted, were immured. After a forced march of fifty-two days, those who had survived the fatigue of the route entered Constantinople in a moment the most heart-rending that the imagination could well conceive: the pasha of Albania had just sent thither the heads of the unfortunate French who had fallen upon the field of battle at Prevesa*, and they were exposed at the gate of the seraglio as a monument of Turkish prowess. Shouts of joy, occasioned by this event, were resounding on all sides when the captives of Zante came to augment the transports of the barbarians. The latter made their prisoners defile close by the remains of their friends: but this unfortunate party were already in some sort familiarized with spectacles of horror; even at that moment they were themselves bearers of the ensanguined relics of such of their friends as had fallen victims to fatigue in the march. I have already observed that, when any one of them was from sickness unable to proceed, his head was struck off, and his sad remains left on the spot uninterred: whenever such an instance occurred, the comrades of the victim were compelled to scalp the head and carry away the hair with them; and if they hesitated to do a thing so dreadfully repugnant to their feelings, their own heads were made to answer it. Bearing about them these horrible spoils, their hearts oppressed with sorrow, and the anguish of their souls imprinted but too forcibly on their countenances, worn down with fatigue,

* An account of this affair at Prevesa will be found in a subsequent chapter.

scarcely half clothed,—some even deprived of the use of a limb by the cold which then reigned in the mountains of Macedonia, and others mutilated by the swords of the enemy,—such was the state wherein they were compelled to pass the tragic spectacle the seraglio then exhibited to the soul of a Frenchman.

Arrived at the bagnio, the officers were deprived of their swords, which they had hitherto been suffered to retain; the prisoners were numbered, and the gates of the prison closed upon them. The soldiers were chained together two and two, and iron rings were put round the legs of the officers. As an aggravation of their sorrows, they found, as fellow-prisoners, a number of their countrymen, who, residing at Constantinople when the war broke out, had been arrested and sent thither; and to complete the catalogue of horrors, the place could then scarcely be supposed free from miasma of the contagion, as the bodies of a number of Maltese slaves who had died there of the plague had been but very recently removed. The only hope of safety from such a scourge was in the severity of the season; for it was with the setting in of the cold weather that the ravages it had been making for a considerable time had in any degree subsided.

The bagnio is a part of the *Tersana*, or arsenal, and the place where malefactors condemned to the galleys are confined. Hither also are sent such Turks as are intended to be secretly executed, and Greeks of distinction whom the despotism of their oppressors has doomed to destruction, unless their lives are purchased by their families. But besides these purposes, this place has another destination unknown in civilised countries: it is used as a place of confinement for prisoners of war, and slaves taken on board Maltese vessels, the Porte being always at war with Malta.

The capudan-pasha, or high admiral, has the chief command of the arsenal. There are besides an intendant and an effendi: the latter, born a judge of the police, can at his pleasure order the prisoners to be chained or unchained, or to be scourged; but he cannot condemn to death. He has under his orders tchiaoux or huissiers, and executioners to strangle those who are condemned by the capudan pasha or the bostandgi-bachi. These executioners, who are commonly Greeks or Maltese, think they do a meritorious act when they execute a Turk; they are in general men of such athletic forms, and such vast strength, that each might be taken for an actual Hercules. They are chosen among those of the slaves who will voluntarily undertake the office; and to compensate the infamy of their employment they have certain privileges and perquisites allowed them, particularly that of going on commissions for the prisoners. They are commonly

married, and have houses in the town, whither they go and pass the night with their families.

The police of the bagnio is exercised by the guardian bachis, who are Greeks; they never appear but armed with sticks, striking with them whomsoever they please. Their hairy breasts, their thick mustachios, from beneath which issues a rough and hoarse voice, render them truly formidable in their appearance, and worthy of the posts they fill. They go the rounds at night, preside at executions, awaken the prisoners to send them to their work, and superintend them while at it; the slaves are numbered by them morning and night, as they are accountable for any one who escapes. They exercise under the effendi the right of chaining or unchaining the prisoners, and the money paid for favour shown in this way is one of the great profits of their places to both.

The bagnio stands upon the eastern shore of the port or gulf of Ceras. Although surrounded by high walls, the mounds of earth and rubbish laid against them on the outside, permit of people seeing into the inclosure very readily. Its form is nearly a parallelogram, and the wall by the sea-side follows the windings of the shore. The building in which the slaves are lodged is a sort of vast hall, with one story over it: it is filled with camp-beds, on which the prisoners sleep without being permitted to have their chains taken off. The officers have dark niches allotted to them, and are, as well as the sick, exempted from labour. Near this building is another inclosure, called the little bagnio, separated from the principal one by a high wall. Before the building is a large court, in which the prisoners are allowed to walk. The Russians who were confined here during their last war with the Turks had built a pretty little pavilion, some remains of which are still in existence. There is a chapel in which a Greek papas celebrates mass every Sunday. At the solemn festivals there are processions with the cross and banners, at which the Christians assist. Round the court there are some shops kept by the guardian bachis; they sell provisions of various kinds, wine, brandy, and many other objects. During the night they are transformed into gambling-houses, where the Maltese play for considerable sums, the products of their services in the summer campaigns made under the capudan-pasha.

The *tout ensemble* of this place offers a picture truly revolting to the imagination. He who is transported hither on a sudden from the middle of a camp, or from the bosom of society, must experience sensations of which those only who are acquainted with it can form an idea. The eternal clank of chains, the horrible countenances alike of the governors and of the greater part of the governed, the

latter of whom (I speak here of the criminals, not of the prisoners of war) carry in all their features such a sad impression of moral degradation, strike his soul with feelings of melancholy and anguish. The criminals, smarting incessantly under the chastisements to which they are condemned, afford an affecting type of what may perhaps but too probably be their eternal doom; and the painter who wished to delineate the features of Ixion, of Tantalus, or of Sisyphus, would here find excellent models for his pencil. Nor would the inflexible guardians, monsters as they are of tyranny, of avarice, and licentiousness, afford studies less appropriate for the image of the triple Gorgon, or the Furies brandishing their snaky scourges.

It must however be acknowledged with regard to our troops, that if they had cause to complain of being confined in such a place, considering where they were, their treatment was lenient. Though chained, they were kept apart from the convicts; and if compelled to work, they were not expected to labour beyond their strength. The strongest assisted in the dock-yard at building and repairing the vessels, the rest in spinning hemp and making ropes. They began work between six and seven in the morning, at noon they left off to dine, and at four in the afternoon left work for the day. The captains of the Turkish vessels, far from treating them ill, often gave them little rewards. At six the guardians counted them over, and they were sent to their barn, or place of repose, for the night. A rough voice then addressed them:—"*Christiani, bevete e mangiate allegramente, non fate baruffa con altri; e domane, se Dio vuol', sarete in liberta.*"—That is to say, "*Christians, drink and eat merrily, do not quarrel with any body; and tomorrow, if it please God, you will be at liberty.*"

The night is commonly the time for executions, and these were frequent during the first year of the war. It was not more than three months after it broke out that the capudan-pasha sent to the galleys here a Greek called Yanaki, nephew to Cangierli, prince of Wallachia. This young man, the favourite drogman of Hussein-pasha, after having followed him to Widdin, was suddenly, when at the height of his honours, plunged into the lowest depths of misfortune. An excellent education, and a fund of knowledge not usual in an Oriental, united with his innocence and amiable disposition, rendered him altogether an object of particular interest and commiseration. Resigned to death, he expected that the night when he was cast into prison was to be his last; but the fatal hour being past, he began to entertain hope. He sought the society of the French, hoping among them to meet with some one who would fortify and console him; and in Monsieur

Richemont he found a firm mind susceptible of every thing great and noble, who sincerely sympathized in his sorrows. Yanaki unfolded to him a frightful series of intrigues by which his downfal had been effected, and the anger of the capudan-pasha drawn upon him: he detailed the plots in consequence of which his uncle Cangierli had lost his head some months before at the requisition of Paswan-Oglou; with other political secrets which I am not here at liberty to reveal, but which afforded a clue to some very dark transactions relative to our nation.

During the time of this young man's detention, his relations made all possible efforts to obtain his pardon from the capudan-pasha, and, full of hopes, found means to impart to him news so calculated to tranquillize his mind. The guardian bachis, though naturally savage, showed him many attentions, considering him only as a favourite under a transient cloud. Solicitations in his favour found their way after about a month to the ears of Hussein-pasha's wife, a lady of the blood of Selim the Third, the reigning sultan, who listened to them with favour, and Yanaki's pardon was then looked upon as certain. Hussein, her husband, in effect answered her, that the young man should go out of prison that very night; but, in so saying, he made use of a mental reservation worthy only of a base and dishonourable tyrant: he had in fact sent a secret order for the execution of the victim, who, according to the proper meaning of his words, according to the sense in which he himself intended they should be taken, ought to have been set at liberty. The unfortunate Yanaki, however, began to suspect the fate in reserve for him by the defection of the guardian bachis, and the Greek prisoners who had hitherto paid him so much court; and all hope was finally removed when, instead of being carried back to the bagnio after he had been before the capudan-pasha, he was conducted to a coffee-house within the inclosure, where the condemned commonly pass the last hours previous to their execution. In his way he saw Monsieur Richemont: he saluted him: but his guards hurried him along so that he had no time to say a word of adieu. In effect, that very night put a period to his life, and his body was thrown into the port. Such was the end of one who was sacrificed by Hussein, to prevent his divulging secrets which his interest demanded should remain for ever concealed.

Such also was the prison where, during four years, a number of French of all classes dragged on a miserable existence. In November 1799 they amounted to twelve hundred; but a great part of these in a short time perished by disease. They were attacked with the fevers which commonly succeed the plague, and scarcely any wholly escaped them: those who had been previously exhausted by

long marches, almost to a man died. This fever began with an ataxia, so that it was scarcely to be discerned at its first coming on, nor till it had arrived at a crisis when but little hope of recovery remained. Among those who recovered, a singular aberration of mind and stuttering came on between twenty and thirty days after they were attacked, which did not wholly leave them again for a very long time; some of them totally lost their recollection, and seemed to have no idea of the past events of their lives. It was not till the return of spring that they could be considered as entirely free from malady. During all this time the prisoners showed a spirit of order and friendship towards each other highly to their honour. When they were sent into the bagnio the effendi had taken down their names rather negligently, and he never informed himself when any one died. This obliged them to keep a sort of necrology among themselves; nay, they went further, and afterwards obtained permission of the Turks to inflict correction among themselves for faults committed between those who were comrades. They finished at last by keeping a journal of all prisoners who were removed upon suspicion.

I will not, however, enter into a further detail of what passed at the bagnio, lest I may be thought tedious: I will only add, that from the moment of General Bonaparte's advancement to the consulate the prisoners found their situation extremely ameliorated by the regular payment of their allowance. The remittances for this purpose had been first sent through the intervention of Monsieur Bouligni, minister to the king of Spain; but he being displaced from his post, Baron Hubschs, minister from the Danish court, kindly supplied his place. The Turks had, till this time, furnished nothing but bread and water to the prisoners; but they had now plenty of good food, and pay as if they had been in service. Although in this the Baron acted only in conformity with his instructions, every Frenchman ought to render him their grateful homage for the conduct he observed at so difficult a period; and I have reason myself to know how much pleasure he always experienced when he could obtain the enlargement of any one. I will conclude what I have to say upon the bagnio with observing, that this place does not appear as if it belonged even to Constantinople. It forms in effect another Barbary, in the midst of a people themselves little advanced in civilization. Yet what seems extraordinary is, that in the midst of chains and licentiousness the most solemn rites of the Christian religion are performed without any interruption or molestation. The *lingua-franca*, or Barbaric, which is generally spoken there, establishes, finally, a line of demar-

cation even more distinct than the walls that separate Tersana from the town and its inhabitants.

To return now to ourselves. Though our better stars had conducted us into a less irksome place of captivity, yet the life of a prisoner almost unavoidably leads to a sort of moral marasmus. His ideas are in a regular state of contraction, and a thousand petty passions are awakened in his mind. Unhappy in himself, he quarrels with a fine day: he repines at the return of spring; and whatever disposes the soul to the most pleasing emotions becomes painful to him, because he cannot partake of the enjoyments which nature offers to mankind. Study, however, affords him a powerful source of consolation; and if he can avail himself of it, he may even be said to triumph over the sorrows of his situation.

We were happy in this respect, since we were able to procure from Pera, through the intervention of Monsieur Suzzo, the drogman of the Porte, many works that contributed greatly to charm away the tedium of our lives. But a still more important object was, that notwithstanding the laws of interdiction under which we laboured, we found the means of procuring the newspapers, and of keeping up a correspondence with some of our fellow-countrymen confined in the bagnio. This was a great source of consolation amid our common calamities. We supported, we encouraged each other: we formed sweet illusions, which at least dissipated in an innocent way the chagrin of the moment, of future days embellished by being united altogether in a strict friendship in our own country, rendered so much the more firm by the recollection of having been long fellow-sufferers in the same cause. We contrived several means of keeping up our secret correspondence undiscovered: sometimes we made use of the drogman to the Porte, who sent our letters to their address without suspecting the real meaning of what they contained, though he read every word; but as this might be detected, industry suggested to us others less dangerous. To procure the newspapers, we had a trunk which took entirely to pieces; each plank having a secret place impossible to be discovered but by those who were initiated into the secret. By degrees we extended our correspondence; we even succeeded in getting letters conveyed to the heart of Asia Minor, whither some of the French prisoners had been sent. Scarcely a week passed, in short, in a country where there is no regular post for the conveyance of letters, when we did not receive in the Seven Towers news from Brousa, from Nicomedia, from Castambol, from Carahissa, from Cæsarea of Cappadocia, and from Varna in Europe. By what magic, small as was our stock of money, we could succeed in these things, is a question which

I must excuse myself from answering. We had numerous friends, the remembrance of whom will always be too dear to us for their names ever to be revealed.

After going through our usual portion of work for the day, we generally assembled in the evening at the apartments of Monsieur Ruffin; and here also the aga of the prison would often pass an hour or two. We were much amused with his conversation; and as he was a very pious man, it commonly turned upon some subject relating to his religion. Not that he was anxious to convert us; he held Christians so very cheap, that he did not wish to see them embrace Islamism: he only wanted to display the excellence of his own faith. He spoke of Jesus Christ, *Issa Resoul*, with veneration; and believed, with all Mussulmans, that the ass on which the Messiah rode, when he entered Jerusalem, would have a place in their paradise. He asserted that Jesus did not die, that another was crucified in his place; and that he would come with the prophets Elias and Enoch to pronounce the great judgement at the end of time. Sometimes he would explain to us the belief of the Mahometans; the leading features of which my readers will perhaps not be sorry to find inserted as the foundation of a religion which has so long been the prevailing one among the nations that composed the ancient world.

1. There is but one God.

2. Mahomet is his prophet, the envoy of God.

3. The Old and New Testament were revealed by God; the Jews and the Christians have corrupted them.

4. The Koran is substituted to these two codes: it was revealed by God.

5. The same obedience is due to the Koran as to the word of God.

6. There are prophets. Jesus Christ is a prophet, and not the son of God.

7. Our souls are a part of the divine essence.

8. Jesus Christ did not die upon the cross; another was substituted for him.

9. Universal judgement.

10. An eternal paradise, and a hell which will have an end.

11. After the judgement, all the Mussulmans who are damned will be received into paradise.

12. In this abode of delights there will be beautiful women. The blessed will eat and drink and amuse themselves there.

13. Mahomet was predicted by the Scriptures.

14. It is not permitted to dispute in public about the Mahometan religion.

15. It is forbidden to revere images and statues: they can only be objects of idolatry.

16. Circumcision is enjoined; it is not, however, strictly obligatory.

17. Games of chance are prohibited; as are wine and fermented liquors, swine's flesh, strangled animals, and blood.

18. Polygamy and the use of slaves are permitted.

19. The fast of the Rhamazan.

20. Pilgrimage to Mecca.

21. Ablutions.

22. The resurrection.

23. Payment of tenths.

24. Prohibition of usury.

25. The name of God must not be taken in vain.

26. The faithful must suffer for God.

27. Patience is essential, and to do good to our neighbours and the poor.

28. Not to curse any creature.

These principles, though there are some not to be found in our revelation, are sufficient to unite a wandering people under one standard. With what pleasure must poor nomades have received the idea of a paradise where are meadows, watered with delightful rivers and torrents, maintaining an eternal verdure, and in which lovely houris are everywhere to be seen! To people condemned as they are to so many privations in a country burnt by the parching rays of the sun, this idea must have been so transporting, that we cannot wonder at the rapid progress of Islamism. But fanaticism soon led the Mussulmans astray from the original simplicity of their faith. Commentators upon the Koran sprang up, controversies were commenced, and the professors of the new faith were divided into orthodox and heretics. From that time these people, tolerant towards all other modes of worship, persecuted each other with an inveteracy almost unexampled.

If our mornings were passed in occupations not devoid of interest, and our evenings in pleasant conversation mingled with instruction, yet we were not exempt from experiencing some moments of deep affliction. Of this kind none affected us more deeply than the death of one of our companions, adjutant-general Rose. He has been already mentioned as lingering under an incurable disease when I first came into the prison, and to this he fell a victim in November 1799. Monsieur Ruffin in vain addressed a petition to the Porte, requesting permission to inter this officer with the honours due to his rank; he could obtain no answer, and the body remained three months uninterred. The Christian churches, worse than the Turks, not only refused to perform the obsequies, but would not even

lend a bier for carrying the corpse to the grave, saying that they would sooner die than concern themselves with the funeral of a Frenchman. At length, after having almost despaired of obtaining even a piece of ground for the interment of our companion, an order was transmitted from the kaimakan to the aga of the castle, authorizing him to inter the body of a *Caffre* who had died in the Seven Towers. A clerk to the drogman of the Porte came at the same time with four Armenian porters, who carried away the body, and deposited it in a neighbouring field upon the road to St. Stephen; nor was there to be found, among the ministers of that religion which teaches nothing but charity and good-will towards each other, one who would pay the last duties to a brother. What opinion could the Turks have of such Christians?—what opinion ought they to have?

Not long after this event the istambol effendi, or lieutenant-general of the police of Constantinople, came to visit the aga of the Seven Towers. This was considered as a particular honour from so great a man to one very much his inferior; and accordingly the aga was anxious to receive him with all possible distinction. He placed himself at the head of his guards, who were all under arms, that is with sticks in their hands, and conducted him to the kiosque, where he was served with pipes and coffee. This ceremony gone through, and the customary compliments being exchanged, which consisted in a reciprocal salutation of peace, the istambol distributed twelve piastres among the soldiers of the garrison, and took his leave. All Turks are avaricious, and the istambol was a Turk. As he was going out, he inspected the weights of a poor grocer within the precinct; and finding them defective, ordered the man to be nailed by one ear to his shop-door, and condemned him to a fine of fifty piastres, which was paid upon the spot. Thus was the worthy magistrate fully indemnified for the largess he had distributed among the soldiers.

This visit of the istambol was followed very soon by another visit of a rather more serious nature to the aga. A Colchian had been sent to the Seven Towers by the bostandgi-bachi, charged with a murder; a trifling peccadillo in the eyes of the people of Constantinople, but for which he was sentenced by the bostandgi to be strangled. Some of his companions, who were on board two vessels from the Black Sea, that were now at anchor under the Seven Towers, hearing of the fate to which he was destined, resolved to rescue him. They accordingly landed, and presented themselves at the door of the castle, demanding admittance. The aga in vain entered into a parley with them, and talked of his artillery and his guards; the assailants forced the door, beat down the guards, and entered the

imperial castle. A cry was immediately raised that they would find there Frenchmen, infidels; but they could not be prevailed upon to concern themselves about us, they thought only of their comrade; and taking him by the hand, led him off triumphantly, announcing their victory, as soon as they had repassed the castle gates, by a general discharge of their fire-arms. They immediately returned on board their vessels, and set sail for Syria amid shouts of joy and triumph. The aga, fearing that this affair might involve him in some trouble, immediately presented himself before the kaimakan, to make his peace if possible. The latter, however, only laughed, and said that he thought the Colchians had done very well. 'Tis thus that in Turkey success legitimatizes things the most contrary to peace and order: nay, even in affairs of a more important nature, the Porte itself has not unfrequently been known to finish by taking the side of a rebel against whom it had fought for a long time.

On another occasion our aga came off more to his own satisfaction. The haïdouts, or banditti of Romelia, had become about this time very formidable. Descended from the mountains of Thrace and Macedonia, their army increased every day, till at length it amounted to a force of more than sixty thousand. Several parties who had been sent against them joined their standard; because, in the first place, they could not contend against a body so much their superior, and, in the second, they found it more profitable to become a haïdout than to remain a soldier of the sultan. The Porte, therefore, beginning to be seriously alarmed, resolved to dispatch an effective force against them; and according to the Turkish custom of sending troops from Europe against Asiatic rebels, and troops from Asia against European ones, the legions from Georgia were summoned upon this occasion. They were commanded by Betal-pasha, and great expectations were formed of the exploits to be performed by them. They passed the Bosphorus at Hissar, the narrowest part of the strait, and the spot where of old Xenophon passed in his memorable retreat out of Asia, as well as that where Mahomet the Second crossed to attack the capital of the eastern empire.

The pasha of Nicomedia was to join the Georgian troops with a very considerable body, and having landed to the east of Constantinople, he desired that he might be lodged in the Seven Towers. Against this the aga remonstrated, saying that he had mouzafirs under his charge, for whom he was responsible, and it would be running a great hazard on their account. The affair began to wear a serious aspect, when the Porte interfered, and endeavoured to persuade the pasha to remain without the walls of the town, according to the usual custom. The pasha on this sub-

mitted; but there is no doubt that if he had persisted he might have carried his point, as it is the strongest who commands all over the Turkish dominions, even in the town where the sultan himself reigns.

This poor pasha, having taken the field without having been joined by the Georgians, was completely beaten by the rebels, losing all his artillery and baggage His troops in consequence forsook his standard, and went over to the adversaries. Attributing his defeat, however, to irresistible fate, he did not hesitate to appear at Constantinople, and the reception he met with from the vizier was extremely consolatory: he was presented with a pelisse, and invited to prostrate himself before the sultan. The pasha, transported with joy, hastened to accompany the kaimakan to the Porte; but they had no sooner crossed the first court than the executioners, who were in waiting at the gate of the second, threw the fatal string round his neck, and he was dispatched in an instant. His head was cut off, and figured in a moment after upon the gate which he had just passed full of hope and joy. The kaimakan, prostrate before the feet of his master, was loaded with the most flattering compliments, for having thus dexterously drawn into the snare a pasha of whom they wished to be disencumbered. 'Tis thus that a feeble government has always recourse to the most degrading stratagems for punishing those whom it fears, and dares not attack in an open and manly manner.

CHAPTER XXIII.

State of the seasons at Constantinople.—Beauty of its situation.—Sketch of the interior of the town.—The bezestein.—The market for female slaves.—Account of the family of Selim the Third.—The titles placed at the head of his firmans.—Some account of Isaac-bey.

Whoever considers attentively the situation of Constantinople must be convinced that it is, or ought to be, particularly healthy. Washed by the sea on two sides of the triangle on which it stands, it is bounded on the third with immense plains covered with corn or fragrant bushes. The atmosphere, though not equally pure with that of Attica and Greece, is fine and clear. The average of the cli-

mate in ordinary years may be estimated at sixty-six days of rain, four of snow, six of fog, twenty cloudy, forty variable, fifteen thunder, which leaves two hundred and fifty-four almost uniformly serene. Two principal winds prevail: that of the north holds the empire for nearly nine months in the year, qualifying the heat of summer, and rendering the air fresh and wholesome. The south wind usually blows in winter: the east intervenes occasionally, and it is this which brings snow. In the spring, also, the wind varies sometimes to the east, as it does in autumn to the south. When the east wind blows in the spring it brings cold showers, which often check vegetation exceedingly.

By the month of April the beautiful shores of the Bosphorus are adorned with a fine verdure, and the forest of Belgrade begins to form lovely bowers. An image of the ancient woods consecrated by religious worship, the Turks do not suffer the axe ever to enter here, but carefully preserve the venerable trees of which it is composed. At this time the vines and shrubs which adorn Asia begin to shoot out and flower, rarely experiencing a check from the contrariety of the weather. Summer may be reckoned to begin with the month of June: the heats then set in, and by August the fields wear a very parched appearance: it is only in the forests that any shade and verdure is now to be found. Yet the north wind, which blows almost daily from three in the afternoon till sunset, brings delicious evenings to compensate for the overpowering heat of the mornings. It is very rarely that the wind of Aleppo, mentioned by Monsieur de Tott in his memoirs, is felt; it may indeed be called a phænomenon.

The thunder storms, though not frequent, when they do take place are tremendous. They come on usually from the east, and pass over towards the north; they are accompanied with rains, which commonly last eight-and-forty hours. This is the time when the plague makes its great ravages. With the autumn, which begins about October, nature assumes a new vigour: this may indeed be considered as the most agreeable season at Constantinople: the verdure reappears every where; and even for a long time after the birds of passage have quitted the shores, the air remains deliciously mild and benignant: winter only begins in the latter days of December. The mountains of Asia are then covered with snow, while its plains are still green; the waves of the Black Sea begin to rise like mountains; nature seems in a general agitation, and dark clouds pour down rain in abundance. The earthquakes, by which this fine country is but too often shaken, and of the ravages of which there are so many mournful monuments in actual existence, almost invariably come on at this epoch. The winters are however for the

most part mild, and the history of modern times makes no mention of those severe frosts by which the currents of the Bosphorus were entirely arrested. Very probably the temperature of Constantinople, as well as that of all Europe, may be improved by the general progress made in agriculture and civilization, though in Turkey itself both have rather experienced a retrograde than a progressive movement.

From these premises a just conclusion may be drawn that the climate of Constantinople is very fine; that it is not subject to such a degree of heat as to be really deleterious, or to any thing like severity of cold. Seldom are the heavens obscured by clouds for any continuance, and fogs are very rare. A poetical dawn commonly precedes the rising of the sun, but the moment of its setting is less brilliant; there is often a haziness in the air, which continues till night is entirely closed in and the heavens are spangled with stars. Every thing unwholesome about this city, and the epidemics by which it is often afflicted, might soon be corrected by a little care and an enlightened administration. It remains for time to produce this happy change, but when that time shall arrive an uncertain future can alone disclose.

Beautiful as is the *coup-d'œil* presented by Constantinople in approaching it, much as the traveller is struck by the charms of its situation, by the splendour of its gilded domes, and the magnificence of its port, other sentiments must arise in his mind when he penetrates into the interior of the town. Fatigued with the inequalities of the ground, with the amphitheatres which are so fine in the perspective, he finds nothing but narrow streets without any pavement, and choked either with dust or mud; doors every where close shut, and a mournful silence, never interrupted by the cries of industry or the bustle of an active populace. Nothing like activity is to be seen in any part, excepting in the places consecrated to trade, and there he is half suffocated with the throng: still, however, there is no noise, the people push and jostle each other, but without any of the verbal jostling so frequent in the markets of our own and other European countries. If the traveller enters the bezesteins, he is astonished at the riches of the different sorts of merchandise with which they abound; but he is equally astonished to see how they are all jumbled together, without any order or taste. Here however appears some departure from the general apathy of the national character, and precautions are taken against fire. High walls, iron doors, solid vaults, have transformed the public warehouses into little towns, in the bosom of Constantinople itself, and removed from them all apprehension of fire, and of

being the first sacrifices to an insurrection. These advantages, however, are somewhat counterbalanced by their being a terrible focus of contagion in case of the plague. It is by no means unfrequent for the pelisses and furs of persons who have died of the epidemic to be here exposed to sale, without any precautions having been previously taken to purify them from the miasmata which they are very likely to have imbibed. It is well known that there is nothing to which these miasmata adhere with greater tenacity than furs.

The Turk who displays his precious shawls from the Indies, his diamonds, his trinkets, his arms, does not seem at all eager about selling them; if a lower price than he asks be offered for any article, he puts it away without saying a word; he will not stand disputing and bartering, he seems to consider himself rather as conferring a favour than receiving one. He very frequently quits his shop without leaving any body to take care of it. In this bezestein, where every thing excites curiosity, it is not uncommon to see by the side of the phlegmatic Turk, the industrious and active Greek, the honest and reflecting Armenian, and the avaricious Jew, all exercising their talents and industry. What contrarieties, what nice shadings of character do these people afford to the observer! The Turk sells with the air of conferring a favour; the Greek is eloquent in defence of the price he asks for his commodities, and shows the natural cunning of his disposition in the very appeals he makes to heaven as the witness of his probity and disinterestedness. The Armenian, occupied with weighing his precious stones, his gold, or his silver, establishes his speculations with coolness and reflection, and, having his eye always to the future, never departs from what he has once determined on; while the Jew buys, sells, offers his mediation in business, and is all activity, all attention; nor can the uniform contempt and aversion evinced for him ever repel his assiduities. He never answers to the rudeness, the vexation, the injustice with which he is treated, but by words of submission and compliance: add to this sketch of the merchants the displays of every kind, the variety of the shops and streets, and the smell of perfumes with which the whole place is filled, and the reader will have a tolerable idea of the bezestein.

If from these places we visit another market, where man does not blush to expose to sale the most lovely and interesting part of the creation, what a spectacle is here afforded for meditation! The bazar of the women is a vast square building surrounded by a portico, or rather a covered shed, with a court in the centre. The doors of the apartments where the women lodge open into the portico, and along the wall of it is a bench: in this place they are exposed to sale when it

rains, or when the sun is very scorching: when the weather is fine, and not over hot, they are exhibited in the court within. It was in the latter that the exhibition took place when I was there: the poor creatures were seated upon mats with their legs crossed, in groupes of fifteen each; they were dressed only in garments of common white woollen. Far however from appearing affected with their sad situation, they laughed and gabbled at such a rate that it was not without difficulty any body else could be heard. Those above all who were under the portico,—and as the sun was growing very powerful some were already carried thither,—these above all seemed gay and joyous, and were singing with the utmost glee. I did not think them in general handsome: though there were between three and four hundred, not one appeared to me to merit the high reputation for beauty generally allowed to the Georgians and Circassians. They were for the most part fat, with skins of a dead white; some had blue eyes and flaxen hair. The Turks who came as purchasers went about from one to the other, examining them as a trader in cattle would examine an ox, looking at their hands and making them open their mouths to show their teeth. I prepared to follow them; I was already in the middle of the court, when one of the guardians with a poniard in his hand drove me back, swearing at me and abusing me for an infidel. I learnt afterwards that foreigners cannot be admitted here without a special firman from the Porte.

I found no difficulty in obtaining a sight of Santa Sophia; in fact, any body may see this celebrated mosque by only paying the imam sufficiently*. I did this, and examined the structure extremely at my ease. The Greeks speak of it in terms of hyperbole which would lead those that hear them to conceive it superior to any of the seven wonders of the world; and they have interwoven into a popular song a detail of all the treasures which it formerly possessed. The poet, who probably was some good pious papas of the days of Mahomet the Second, informs us that Santa-Sophia had eighteen bells and fifteen *cresselles* to summon the faithful to prayers. That there were fifty-two archpriests and three hundred and two priests to perform the services, besides twenty-four deacons, fifty choristers, and forty-two confessors. He afterwards enters into a long detail of the gilt candelabras, of the gold and silver crosses, and vessels of different kinds.

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* What the author states with regard to the facility of seeing Santa Sophia is confirmed by Dr. Clarke: he says—"By giving eight piastres to the person whose business it is to show the building, it may be seen at any time." In a note, however, he adds, that a firman is necessary to see the other mosques.—TRANSLATOR.

Not a word is said concerning the beauty of the architecture or the elegance of the ornaments; there are still, however, remains of these worthy of admiration; the marbles are the most valuable of them. The poet might have added to his catalogue an enumeration of the rents which belonged to this church; they arose from the revenues of twelve hundred shops attached to it by Constantine and Anastasius, and from which the salaries of the imams are now derived.

The mosques of Sultan Achmet and of Suleymania will bear very well to be seen even after Santa-Sophia, but I will not here enter into a particular description of them. Often as the principal features that strike the eye in walking about Constantinople have been described, and numerous as are the delineations which have been given of them by the pencil as well as the pen, to dwell on these things would be but to tell the reader what he probably knows already. The plan I have chalked out to myself is to aim at giving as complete a sketch as my opportunities for observation would afford, of the moral rather than of the physical state of the country. As a prelude to this, it seems not irrelevant to begin with a succinct account of the reigning sultan and his family.

Selim the Third ascended the throne of Turkey in the year 1789. In the exterior of this prince there is something very pleasing; he has a mildness and placidity of expression in his countenance not usual among the Turks; they are more commonly characterized by a sort of fierceness in the eye. Large features, a thick blackbeard, and a well-proportioned bust, distinguish him above all his courtiers, even those who are considered as having the strongest claim to personal beauty; but, like all the descendants of the imperial family, the proportions of his legs are not equally to be admired: for this reason he does not appear to advantage on horseback. According to the law of the empire, which requires every man to be acquainted with some trade, he was instructed in that of printing muslins. Educated in the court from his earliest infancy, he was only shut up during the feeble reign of his predecessor Abdul-Hamet*, and great hopes were entertained of a prince who had seen something beyond the walls of his prison. Hitherto however these hopes have not been justified: full of humanity, desirous of acting right, he has always before his eyes the idea that a disastrous fate awaits him†. Ever since he came to the throne, he has frequently been known to shed tears at

* Abdul-Hamet ascended the throne in 1775, and died in 1788. His reign was an æra of corruption and decline; he lost a part of Bosnia, the Crimea, Sebatz, and Cotzin, and gave a fatal blow to the wealth of the country in the alterations he made in the money.

† How truly his fears were substantiated is well known to the world.—Translator.

the situation of the empire which he governs: the greater his own personal merit is, the more sensibly does he feel how much his subjects are inferior to Europeans in general, how much the moral weakness and decay of the country are proved by the frequent encroachments made upon it on all sides. The haïdouts or banditti of Romelia have of late allowed him little repose; the last war plunged him in continual alarms, and he is often fluctuating and vacillating in a state of irresolution extremely disastrous to a sovereign.

He has three sisters living, all by different mothers, and who have all been married. The eldest, called *Schah Sultana* or princess royal, married Nichandgi-Mustapha, formerly pasha of Salonica. As this prince is entirely free from ambition, and of a character incapable of giving umbrage at court, he is suffered to live peaceably with his wife in the suburb of Eyoub*. This is contrary to the general custom, which does not permit a pasha, either in or out of office, to live in the capital. The second sister, known under the title of *Beyham Sultana*, is the widow of Selictar Mustapha pasha, formerly kaimakan or lieutenant to the supreme vizier, who died pasha of Bosnia. The third sister, called *Hadidgé Sultana*, is the widow of Saïd Achmet pasha, who died at Van on the frontiers of Persia. The two cousins of the sultan, sons of Abdul-Hamet, the eldest of whom is twenty-three years old, the youngest eighteen, are, according to custom, sequestered from society, and live in the obscurity of a prison, whence they only come forth once in the year, at the feast of Baïram, to kiss the hands of the sultan. One of them, if he lives, will be called hereafter to mount the throne, which he will do without having acquired any of the knowledge requisite for a sovereign: he is taught nothing but the Koran, and is inspired with no other sentiment than hatred to the name of a Christian. Such is the man who is one day to be girt with the sabre of the emperor,—such the head who is one day to direct a numerous people! who is to be a sovereign! a governor! What a change in his ideas! How can he have any conception of what that Europe is where chance has placed him! His illustrious ancestors were not educated in such a school; they were formed in camps, or they had never been seated on a throne now so unworthily filled by their descendants. But the Ottoman empire is a vast Colossus which the hand of Time must overthrow at last, though casual circumstances may awhile retard its fall. The principal power of the grand signor at present consists only in the empty pomp of high-sounding titles, in the recapi-

* One of the suburbs of Constantinople, inhabited principally by persons in easy circumstances.

tulation of provinces invaded, and towns submitted to his yoke. While the substance is gradually dwindling away, the shadow of those pompous phrases used in the ancient firmans is still retained; the same pomp as of old is observed in the reception of ambassadors. The body bowed down by the weight of years, feeble in every part, fast sinking into total decrepitude, is still clothed in the same gaudy robes by which it was decorated in the bloom of youth and the height of vigour.

To this short notice with respect to the family of the grand signor, I will add some particulars relative to a well-known character connected with it,—I mean Isaac-bey. They will perhaps not be irrelevant to my purpose, as they will show the vicissitudes to which the life of a Turk in such a situation is liable; and though the adventures may appear rather those of a hero of romance than of a person in common life, I can assure the reader that there is nothing fabulous in the narrative,—that I have no apprehension of being controverted in any thing I relate. Most of the French who shared in the expedition to Egypt knew Isaac-bey personally, or, if not, they knew him perfectly well by character. Those who saw him when he came as a negotiator to Alexandria, speak highly of his amenity, his talents, his readiness in transacting business, and, above all, of the facility with which he spoke our language, always selecting expressions the most proper to explain his ideas. He was then the intimate friend, the interpreter, the right hand, as he might truly be called, of Kutchuk Hussein, the capudan-pasha who commanded the Turkish fleet.

Isaac was educated as an icholan or page in the seraglio, under the reign of Mustapha, father to Selim the Third. The education received in such a situation, and the life led there, are not calculated to inspire the talents and ideas which are likely to raise a man from obscurity; and the icholan might have become hoary within the same walls where his youth was passed, but for one of those fortunate circumstances to which, rather than to their talents, so many men, Christians as well as Turks, have owed their elevation: Selim, then a child, conceived a great affection for him, perhaps interested first by the charms of his countenance. When the Turks in 1770 were obliged to have recourse to arms against Russia, Isaac quitted the seraglio for the camp, and served a campaign under Moldavangi-pasha, the *vizier Azem*. Discouraged by the ill success of the Turkish arms in this commencement of the contest, the page returned to Constantinople, and there entered into the marine service. Cassan-bey, whom Monsieur de Tott has distinguished by the appellation of the last of the Romans,

was then just raised to the rank of capudan-pasha, and under him Isaac served for two years: but it was not a happy moment to engage in the service, since the whole Ottoman fleet was destroyed by the victorious Russians at Tchesmé. In 1773 Isaac entered into the mathematical school of the marine, which was under the direction of Monsieur de Tott: by him the new pupil was soon much distinguished. The following year he became acquainted with Major Zorik, a Russian officer just released from the Seven Towers, where he had been confined as a prisoner of war, and lent him money to return to Russia.

Isaac having afterwards fallen under the displeasure of Cassan-bey, the capudan-pasha, because of the connection he had formed with several Europeans, conceived the project, in the year 1776, of going to Russia to reclaim the money he had lent to Major Zorik, that officer being then high in favour with the Czarina. This project he imparted to Monsieur de Tott; but the latter discouraged it, recommending to him rather to go into France. The baron in consequence had an interview with Monsieur de Saint-Priest, then ambassador from the French court at Constantinople, who, favouring the plan, engaged a passage for the young adventurer on board a French vessel from Marseilles, giving him a letter of recommendation to Monsieur de Vergennes. Isaac waited at Marseilles for Monsieur de Tott, who was coming from Smyrna; and when the latter arrived, he carried Isaac with him to Lyons, where his family resided, and left him with them for some time. He afterwards sent for him to Paris, and confided him to the care of Monsieur Ruffin, then professor of the college of France: here Isaac remained for a year, and commenced his studies in the French language.

In 1777 he accompanied an envoy from Tunis, who was returning home, as far as Toulon, and then returning to Marseilles embarked for Algiers. After passing some months there, during which an offer was made him of being taken into the Algerine service, which he declined, he went to Tunis, where he was extremely well received. But always desirous of returning to Constantinople, in the hope of being restored to favour with the capudan-pasha, he determined to make the experiment. Arrived however at the entrance of the Hellespont, his fears preponderating, he went to Enos, and thence to Adrianople, there to sound his way before he ventured to proceed. Little satisfied with the information he obtained, he went himself in disguise to Constantinople, where he had an interview with his brother, an officer in the interior of the seraglio. From him he received some money; but not satisfied that he could remain in the country with safety, he secretly embarked on board a vessel bound for Genoa. From

thence he visited Tuscany and Naples, and then directing his course northwards, passed through the Tyrol to Vienna, whence he proceeded to Petersburg. Here he found that Zorik had been disgraced, and was gone into retirement at an estate he had in the neighbourhood of Smolensko. Thither then he went, and was extremely well received by the degraded favourite: this officer, not unmindful of the former services he had received from Isaac, retained him, and here the Turk passed the next four years in the most agreeable manner possible. He did not however get the money which he came to solicit; but he obtained a supply from the empress which enabled him to embark for London. At that capital he made only a short stay, and then went for the second time to Paris: he was again very politely received by Monsieur de Vergennes.

His desire however of being restored to his own country not having suffered any abatement from the ill success of his former experiment, he quitted Paris in 1784, and accompanied Monsieur de Choiseul Gouffier to Constantinople, where his pardon was obtained from the capudan-pasha. He had afterwards an office conferred upon him under Kalil-Hamet pasha, then grand vizier, which he retained till this unfortunate prince was deposed, shut up in Gallipoli, and at length strangled. Isaac at this trying moment did not suffer any apprehensions with regard to himself to deter him from giving a proof of his attachment to the disgraced vizier by visiting him in his prison. When he returned from this visit, he found Cassan-bey raised to the dignity of kaimakan. Not satisfied with the dispositions of this formidable bey towards him, Isaac thought it more prudent once more to withdraw; and he hastily embarked again for France, carrying with him letters from Monsieur de Choiseul Gouffier to Monsieur de Vergennes. Isaac arrived at Versailles in 1786, and was more kindly received than ever by the minister; nor did he quit the court again till after the memorable days of the fifth and sixth of October 1789. He had then been for some time much pressed to return to Constantinople. Sultan Abdul-Hamet was dead, and his former master, his early protector, Selim the Third, was seated on the throne.

Thus encouraged, he resolved once more to try his fate. But his reception was not such as he had been led to expect; some ill offices had been done him by the courtiers about the new sultan, and the latter on his arrival refused to see him. He was soon after arrested and carried on board a vessel, under the guard of a tchiaoux from the arsenal, who had orders to carry him to the island of Lemnos, and there strike off his head. The fate of Isaac seemed now decided, his restless and wandering life seemed at a close: but the vessel stopping in the Dardanelles,

at the fort of Asia, he had the good fortune to meet with two Jews, drogmans to the French consul who resided there. To them he found means to impart his situation; when they, through the intervention of some Algerine officers commanding the auxiliary fleet stationed in the Dardanelles, rescued him, and carried him on board one of their vessels. He accompanied his deliverers through the whole of this campaign; and then claiming the protection of Monsieur Amoureux, the French consul resident at Smyrna, remained with him till the year 1792. Kutchuk Hussein pasha, who had been page with Isaac in the seraglio, being then advanced to the rank of capudan-pasha, after having gone through other gradations, wrote to his former friend, assuring him that if he would now return he would be in perfect safety. Isaac obeyed the summons, obtained his pardon, and was received into favour. From that time he has never quitted the capudan-pasha, but has found in him a constant and steady friend*.

To this history many others might be added of a similar kind; but one instance is sufficient to show the dangers to which persons of talent and distinction are exposed, under a despotism such as that which reigns in Turkey. The sultan, from whose hands all favours flow, can with a breath destroy the man whom he had just before loaded with kindness; at a word from him the ministers are changed, and every thing about his court assumes a new aspect; at a nod countries once happy are transformed into deserts. Why can he not equally command happiness,—prosperity? Alas! it is the essence of despotism to wither and destroy; soon to wear out Nature herself! Its empire tends only to destruction, and the anarchy which accompanies or succeeds the terror by which it is supported, spreads around nothing but mourning and desolation.

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* Some further particulars respecting Isaac-bey may be found in a note in the interesting Travels of Monsieur Castellan in the Morea, &c.—TRANSLATOR.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Costume of the different inhabitants of Constantinople.—Sumptuary laws.—Trades carried on by different nations.—Recreations of the Turks.—The Yamakis.—Privileged drunkards.—Fires.— Cookery.— Coffee-houses.— Theriakis.— Suleyman Yeyen, a man who could take corrosive sublimate.

A CURIOUS subject of contemplation in drawing a picture of Constantinople, said Monsieur R—— to me one day with much good humour and drollery, yet one which I do not recollect ever to have seen brought forward, would be the *heads*. Not only are they adorned externally with turbans and *coiffures* of various kinds, according to the profession, the trade, or the religion of the wearer, forming a *coup d'œil* altogether extraordinary, and affording inexhaustible subjects for the pencil of the artist; but the hardness of these heads is a thing no less remarkable. A man is perhaps pursued by the guards, and stopped by their lancing a stick adroitly between his legs, which throws him down. The janissaries then falling upon him, never fail to hit him over the head with the sticks they carry, by which he is completely stunned; and then thrusting the stick through his belt, which girds his loins very tight, they carry him thus suspended to the prison where he is to be shut up. There without any care, without any remedy, he is well in three or four days. This remark, trifling in appearance, confirms the observations which have several times been made upon the rapidity with which wounds in the head are healed in southern climates.

In the latter part of my stay at Constantinople these scenes were more frequent than usual, since there was a perpetual publication of new sumptuary laws; and those who did not conform to them were always in danger of being stopped in this kind of way. It was necessary to turn the attention of mankind away from public affairs which were not in a very prosperous state, and trifles of any kind were therefore erected into matters of great importance. The defaulters against the regulations were heavily fined, or sometimes even punished capitally. Among other things it was ordered, that every one should adhere rigidly to wearing the *coiffure* proper to his sect or profession: the Greeks were in consequence obliged to resume the felt cap, and it was said that all the ancient costumes were to be

revived. However, in a great many cases, after a week or ten days from the publication of a new ordinance it was neglected and forgotten, having first cost a few transgressors against it the bastinado or a heavy fine, if they had escaped with life.

It was a matter of great curiosity to see the different people who inhabit Constantinople now arrayed in the proper costume of their respective countries or professions, as this was for a time rigidly adhered to. The different trades are here appropriated to different nations, who in many cases form corporations of considerable wealth and importance. As they never vary or encroach upon the trade appropriated to another, it will be perhaps not without its utility, as well as entertainment, to give a sketch of the arts and trades carried on, with the nations by whom they are exercised.

The coffee-house keepers, where they are coffee-houses only, are all Turks: among these, where the trade of a barber is united with it, some are kept by Greeks.

- The Glaziers, Tanners, Rope-dancers, Smiths, Coachmen, Coopers, Engravers, Firemen, Sadlers, Boxmakers, Ropemakers, Quiltmakers, Dentists, House-painters — are all Turks.
- Shoemakers, Pioneers, Marble-cutters for the tombs, Turners, Locksmiths — Turks and Albanians.
- Coppersmiths and Tinkers, Water-porters, Gunsmiths, Joiners and Cabinet-makers, Millers. These are a very rich body — Turks and Albanians.
- Scherbet-venders, Silk-spinners — Turks, Armenians, and Jews.
- Druggists, Surgeons, Tobacco-merchants — Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews.
- Fishermen — Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews.
- Physicians* — Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and Franks.
- Apothecaries — Turks, Greeks, Jews, and Franks.

* There is a Turkish *achim-bachi*, or *archiatre*, made a physician by order of the grand signor, who gives him the investiture of this charge, the appointment being made by chance, without any reference to what his vocation may have been previously; in the same way as a distributor of pipes has been known to be made a general in the army. This *achim-bachi*, however, is in no way intrusted with superintending the health of his master; that office is confided to persons conversant in the art, who have studied in Europe.

Bakers—Turks, Armenians, and Albanians.
Confectioners—Turks and Jews.
Perfumers—Armenian Jews.
Conjurers—Jews.
Lute-players—Turks and Greeks.
Goldsmiths—Armenians, and some Greeks.
Furriers—Greeks. These are a very rich body.

Architects* } Armenians and
Dyers } Greeks.

Publicans
Distillers } Greeks.
Snuff-dealers

Ribbon-makers—Armenians and Colchians.

Masons
Butchers } Albanian Christians
Liver merchants†

Waiters at the baths
Carpenters } Albanian Mahometans.
Grocers

Clothiers
Hosiers
Mastic-dealers
Dealers in oranges, lemons, and figs } The people of Chios.

Merchants
Soap-boilers } Candians.

Caulkers
Porters } Colchians.

Shepherds
Carters
Labourers } Bulgarians.

Mariners—People of Barbary, Candia, and Colchis.

Grooms
Divers
Pastry-cooks } Arabs & Egyptians.
Dealers in dates and chesnuts

Dealers in thread
Dealers in woollen coverlids } People of Barbary.

Woollen-drapers
Dealers in pistachio nuts } Syrians.

Dealers in India stuffs } People of Aleppo.

Dealers in dried fruits } People of Smyrna.

Boatmen—Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Colchians.

Dealers in female slaves } Georgians and Circassians.

The people employed to value goods entered at the custom-house, as well as the *sansols*, or commercial agents, are all Jews. The above lists will give some idea of the infinite variety of costume which Constantinople must exhibit, considering that to every separate trade, and to the persons of the different nations concerned in it, some distinction of costume is allotted. The Jews, as much as possible, deal only with Jews, keeping by every means in their power all profit among themselves.

An European who has never seen Constantinople will have some difficulty in

* The imperial mosques at Constantinople were all built by Armenians.

† Every day a distribution is made at the expense of government of the intestines of animals, to feed the vagrant dogs and cats that run about the streets; and it is curious to see how these animals flock round the *tergi*, or liver-merchant, as he is called, at a certain noise that he makes.

forming to himself the idea of a large city, where the people, always grave and serious, have no public amusements; no walks, theatrical exhibitions, or balls; none of those social assemblies which, by affording a pleasing variety, enliven and embellish existence. If the feasts of the Baïram be excepted, when the Mussulmans suspend their labours and give themselves the pleasure of squatting upon some eminence to smoke and enjoy the delights of a fine view, they are constantly occupied. I say that they have no theatrical representations; for I can hardly allow myself to give that appellation to some wretched exhibitions of puppets, the scenes in which are so far from delicate that it is astonishing how men, jealous as the Turks are, can permit their wives to be present at them.

These, however, are not public exhibitions; they are performed only at private houses before the family. The hero of the piece is a certain *caragueuse* as he is called, who has with him a simpleton called Cogia-Haïvat, answering very much to the English *Jack Pudding*. He receives buffets destined for his master, and by his stupidity gives occasion for a display of his master's wit. I have seen many of these farces, in which I did not find the rules of Aristotle much better observed than his manners. The representation of a Jewish burial is often given as an interlude, and the procession concludes with a pie-merchant crying his wares in Portuguese. This arises from the Jews who inhabit Constantinople and the East commonly using the Portuguese language. The bazars are generally thronged with jugglers who make serpents dance to the sound of the drum, with conjurers, and dancing bears: there are besides bands of Bohemians or Egyptians, who execute dances not very proper for public exhibition.

In the taverns, of which there are an infinite number in the capital of the *true believers*, there are commonly a sort of dancers called *yamakis*. They are Greeks from the islands of the Archipelago, elegantly dressed, with bracelets and necklaces of precious stones, and with very rich shawls. They have long flowing hair, are perfumed with essences, and highly rouged. The indolent Turks are extremely fond of these dancers; they encourage them by large presents of money: and each fixing upon a favourite, they will often finish even by fighting to maintain the superiority of such or such a yamaki. The guard then interposes, and separates the combatants by rolling the empty barrels in among them; for the barrels and the drinkers are pell-mell together in the same place. After this the tavern is shut up, and the master cannot obtain permission to open it again without paying some piastres. The supreme visier, in order to fill his coffers, will also at the feasts of the Baïram, and in great calamities, order the taverns to be shut up: he

in consequence soon receives a *douceur* from the Greeks who keep them, and permission is then given to resume the trade.

The news of a tavern, which has once been closed, being opened again, is a great event among the drinkers; and these form a pretty numerous class. Not that they indulge in such excesses wholly with impunity, or that public decorum puts no restraint upon drunkards; they receive sometimes due correction. A Turk who falls down in the street overtaken with wine, and is arrested by the guard, is sentenced to the bastinado: this punishment is repeated as far as the third offence, after which he is reputed incorrigible, and receives the title of *imperial drunkard*, or *privileged drunkard*. If after that he is taken up, and in danger of the bastinado, he has only to name himself, to mention what part of the town he inhabits, and to say that he is a *privileged drunkard;* he is then released, and sent to sleep upon the hot ashes of the baths *.

This singular manner of stigmatizing a drunkard, where public opinion is made subservient to the support of good morals, is not the only instance in which it is so used. If a man has from some cause or other made himself disliked by all his neighbours, ten or twelve of them go before the cadi, and represent that such an one is disagreeable to them, without giving any reason why. If the cadi insists upon their entering into particulars, they say that he is a very worthy man, but they cannot like him for a neighbour. The man against whom the complaint is made is then cited to appear, but he can obtain no further explanation; and the judge is obliged, in compliance with the established custom, to pronounce that the individual stigmatized by a denunciation shall change his residence: nor is this all, for he carries with him a note signifying the stigma cast upon him. If complaints are renewed in the place whither he is removed, he is sentenced to a second migration; and if he be denounced a third time, the government interferes, and he is inevitably sentenced to banishment. This mode of censuring troublesome neighbours renders the inhabitants of Constantinople extremely circumspect in their behaviour towards each other. They have a sort of interest in acting with such forbearance, that the neighbours may rather come forward in their favour in case they are involved in disagreeable circumstances, than assist in promoting their disgrace. A like mode of procedure would, however, not be recommendable

* This place is in winter the refuge of those unfortunate wretches who have no home. They take advantage of a heap of hot ashes, or of the neighbourhood of the stoves for heating the baths, to pass the night. As they are in general rogues, drunkards, or beggars, the name of *culhané* or *ashman* is one of the most degrading epithets that one Turk can use towards another.

in more civilized states, where there is a better police established, as it is liable to much inconvenience; but here it is only a means of getting rid of a turbulent and troublesome neighbour, or one whose conduct is a subject of public scandal.

When justice is administered in all its forms for the punishment of those who are condemned, it presents always a character of ferocity conformable with the manners of a barbarous nation. It is never more terrible than when the sentence of the vizier is executed in the middle of the night. I recollect a circumstance of the kind, the idea of which always fills me with horror. It was after the autumnal equinox; I came out during the night to breathe the air in the garden within the inclosure of the Seven Towers. The moon shed a brilliant lustre around; the oscillations of the Bosphorus were interrupted; silence reigned in the distant scene. I gave a free scope to the pleasing reveries of melancholy; I was perhaps happy. A secret charm seemed to recall me to the bosom of my family, when the report of the cannon of Hissar, resounding from the bottom of the canal, and repeated by the echoes, struck my ears, and recalled me from the pleasing illusion. I thought immediately of shipwrecks and signals of distress, when a second report, followed by the silence which soon resumed its empire over the shores of Europe and Asia, led me to inquire of the guards who were watching about the prison into the cause of what I heard. They told me that this formidable voice, issuing as from the field of battle, announced to the grand-vizier slumbering in his harem the execution of his orders. Some janissaries who were condemned had at that moment undergone the sentence inflicted; and their bodies, thrown into the sea, were already carried away by the rapid currents of the Bosphorus. The number of reports from the cannon announced the number of persons executed *.

* Mr. Thornton, in his *Present State of Turkey*, in treating of the punishment of the janissaries, takes occasion to advert to the circumstance here mentioned by Dr. Pouqueville, on which he indulges himself with much pleasantry at the Doctor's expense. His satire is, in the first place, directed against the Doctor's reveries of being in his own country in the bosom of his family; to which he (Mr. Thornton) adds that *he was thinking of the gaieties of Paris*. Now of this latter clause the Doctor himself does not tell us a single syllable; that is entirely a *reverie of Mr. Thornton's imagination*. Dr. Pouqueville's words are, *Un charme secret me rappelait au sein de ma famille*, and this does not seem a very *unnatural* feeling for a man in captivity. Mr. Thornton next says, that in such a night as the Doctor describes "no mortal but himself could have thought that the gun which he heard was a signal of distress from a vessel suffering shipwreck." Now the Doctor does not say that he thought it was so: he only says, *Je pensais aux naufrages, aux signaux de détresse*; and so he might do without supposing that this proceeded from such a cause: or if, in the first moment of surprise at a sound so unexpected, the idea that it was a signal of distress did present itself to his mind, there really does not seem any thing in it very absurd, since it

If this signal of death be terrible, the rolling of the drum, which announces a fire, is not less so. It is often from the ramparts of the Seven Towers that the alarm is thus given to the neighbourhood. It is not, however, done till the janissary aga comes forth. A thousand cries then rend the air; and the event is announced by the voice of the night watchman, who strikes the earth with his stick shod with iron, crying in a lamentable tone *Yangun war!* "Fire, fire!" The janissaries then hasten in crowds to the spot to stop the ravages of the flames, and more commonly to plunder. Victims as the inhabitants of Constantinople are to this scourge, they never strive to save any of their furniture. It is the custom in every family to keep the most precious effects in a little box, which is set upon the table every evening, that in case of an alarm it may be caught up hastily, and carried off without any trouble of searching for it; and if upon any occasion the whole family goes out, this is carried with them. Nobody would insure a house even for four-and-twenty hours. Speculators will, however, offer to purchase one when the fire is coming near it; nor is it very uncommon to see an obstinate man lose his property by the fire, rather than sell it at a price that he thinks too low. The progress of the flames is sometimes so rapid, that a person has difficulty to escape even by jumping out of the window: for this reason nobody thinks of going to bed without some kind of outer garment; and the women commonly sleep with all their rings, bracelets, and trinkets of value about them. Numbers of these unfortunate creatures perish on such occasions, either victims to the flames, or

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does not appear that this idea remained with him for half a minute. Mr. Thornton proceeds, however, to deny the possibility of the whole story, by saying—"I myself was at Constantinople at the period which Dr. Pouqueville has fixed upon as the date of this event, and *I know that no guns were fired in the night;* for so unusual a circumstance would have excited universal alarm, and would have furnished conversation to the whole town." This seems a very rash assertion; for though Dr. Pouqueville has fixed the *time of year* when the event took place, he does not mention the year in which it happened; and as he was confined twenty-five months in the Seven Towers, unless Mr. Thornton knows to which of the two years of his captivity the Doctor means to allude, (which the Doctor himself does not state,) or can say that he was at Constantinople both years of the Doctor's captivity at the time of the autumnal equinox, he must certainly be allowed hasty in asserting so positively that he was there at the time. The same thing may be observed with regard to Mr. Thornton's remark, that Dr. Pouqueville himself "must certainly have known that the vizier, instead of slumbering in his *harem*, was in all probability kept waking with anxiety in the camp at Jaffa, and brooding over the inefficiency of his army." Unless Mr. Thornton knows exactly which of the two years of his captivity the Doctor means to designate, it must be allowed possible, at least, that he may not refer to that in which the grand-vizier was thus employed. Mr. Thornton also represents the Doctor as talking of the *maddening currents of the Bosphorus*, whereas he really says the *rapid* currents. These observations might be extended further, if it were not drawing out the note to a very unreasonable length.—TRANSLATOR.

crushed by the roof of the house falling in upon them. It may easily be conceived how dear house-rent must be in a city the face of which, by the frequency of fires, is commonly entirely changed about every fifteen years.

The sultan never fails to attend in person in these cases of general danger. He distributes money to encourage those who assist in extinguishing the fire, and punishes theft by ordering those detected in it to be thrown into the flames. But no one understands well what should be done: the assistance given is ill-directed; they do not know how to attack the fire. The firemen direct their engines in a manner rather to water the people about, than to stop the progress of the flames. The house most likely to be preserved is that which the Grand Signor occupies for the time; and every one, therefore, is eager to offer his for the purpose.

In the house of a Turk in easy circumstances there are commonly three tables kept: the master's table, for he always eats by himself; that of the wife, who lives secluded in her own apartments; and that of the children, since it would be want of the respect due to a parent for the children to eat at their father's table. In harems, where there are several wives, each has a separate table. A Turk commonly makes two regular meals in the day; to which those in power, who live luxurious lives, add a supernumerary bait in the morning. As it is the custom for all people in this country to rise with the dawn, the great man, after the *namaz*, or first prayer, claps with his hands, which is a signal for the slave to bring pipes. Reclined on his sofa, he then inhales this nectar in large draughts, and rests without speaking in a state of the most profound nullity. From this he is roused by a light infusion of boiling coffee being presented to him, which he sips gently at the side of the cup, sitting with his legs crossed. Legs appear indeed to be useless limbs to him: he must have the assistance of two slaves to raise him up, if he wants to move.

Thus passes the rich man's man's morning; varied perhaps sometimes by playing mechanically with his *tchespi* *. Towards the middle of the day dinner is served. The greatest simplicity reigns in this meal: there is neither table-cloth, knife, fork, nor plate upon the table; a salt-cellar, with spoons of wood, tortoise-shell, or copper, and a large napkin which passes round from one to the other, comprises the whole apparatus for setting it out. The bread is cut into mouthfuls; and the dinner consists first of five or six dishes of salad, compounded of olives, gherkins, celery, and pickled vegetables; then come the ragouts, and lastly the

* A sort of chaplet used by the Mussulmans merely for their amusement.

pilau. On no occasion is a dessert served; the fruits of the different seasons are set upon the table with the dinner. The whole meal seldom lasts more than a quarter of an hour: eating seems a fatigue instead of a pleasure to these indolent people, and one to which they only yield from absolute necessity. When they have finished eating, water or sherbet is handed round in a glass, which is passed from one to the other. Wine, proscribed by their religion, is only drunk at taverns. Not but that the Turkish history mentions several sultans who have set the example of this violation of the precepts contained in the koran; but since the severe edicts issued against it by Amurath the Fourth, his successors have at least maintained a greater appearance of decorum. It is to the dervises or monks, the soldiers, the mariners, and the lowest among the people, that the scandal of being publicly seen drunk is now confined.

The rich Turk commonly passes the afternoon in his kiosque. Those who inhabit the shores of the Bosphorus contemplate with particular pleasure the coasts of Asia, where repose the bodies of their fathers*. They regard that country as destined to be one day the asylum of the Mussulmans, *when a nation of fair men shall have driven them from Europe*. That this will one day be the case is a popular idea, which the Turks regard as a prophecy. Here they intoxicate themselves with odours, and with the vapours of the pipe, and take refreshing draughts of sherbet perfumed with musk; then retiring to the harem without relaxing the least particle of their gravity, summon their wives to dance in their presence. Supper is served about sunset: it is a more studied meal than the dinner, but passes with equal celerity. The day is concluded with the pipe again. This monotonous circle is scarcely ever varied: none of those accessaries are admitted which from their novelty form the great charm of life.

The lower ranks do not by any means pursue the same round; their food is of a gross nature, and for the greater part very unwholesome. In summer they almost entirely forgo the use of bread, to live chiefly on gourds, melons, and other fruits of a cold and watery nature. This is the time therefore when epidemic diseases commonly break out; it is a fact that a year when fruit is plentiful, and bread dear, is commonly a fatal one, especially if it happens besides to be a hot and moist season. This was the case in 1786, when Constantinople was ravaged by a most dreadful pestilence. Coffee and pipes are no less common among the lower than the higher ranks. It is remarkable that the custom of smoking, which

* The rich Turks of Constantinople are generally buried on the Asiatic shore.

may now really be called a rage among the Turks, and that even from infancy, dates no further back than about the year 1605. Even the women are much addicted to it: those who do not smoke almost all chew the mastic of Chios, which gives a pleasant smell like violets to the breath; it creates however so great a secretion of saliva as to injure the digestive powers materially.

The table of an European residing at Constantinople is served very differently from that of a Turk: he has the red wines of Tenedos, and those of Asia, and can vary his dishes with all the delicacies which the different seasons afford. For fruits there are the cherries of Pontus, immense peaches, excellent apricots, plums, and apples from Sinope, pears and figs from the Bosphorus, oranges, lemons, and citrons from Chio, dates from Asia and Egypt. For game there are partridges, hares, pheasants, which come chiefly from the forests of Belgrade, Guinea-fowls, rabbits, quails, beccaficos, and in a larger way wild boars. All sorts of poultry abound in the markets, but they are never fatted: the Turks fill out the crop with air to make them look plump, and impose upon the purchaser. The beef of Thrace begins to come into pretty general use: the sheep of Caramania, with triangular tails, furnish very tasteless meat; but the meat of the flocks that feed upon the hills of Macedonia, beyond Thessaly, is very delicate and finely-flavoured. There are great varieties of fish, excellent turbot, mackerel, soles, rougets, smelts, loups, palamides, sword-fish. The Turks however prefer to any of these the salted carps of the Don, which are brought hither by the Russians. They have besides many sorts of shell-fish; oysters from Couroutchesmè, homards, a very large kind of lobster, muscles, craw-fish, poupards, and great variety of echini, which are delicious; but the Greeks and Franks are the only people that eat the shell-fish; the Turks will not touch them.

The gardens furnish most things to be found in our own, with the exception of peas, sorrel, and asparagus. They have besides gombos, which are mixed with the ragouts; tomatos, which have a very pleasant acid; pimentos, which are much sought after by all ranks; and a great variety of melongena. Many of these things are brought from Asia and the islands of the Archipelago. Large fleets of caïques come into Constantinople, laden with fruits and vegetables. Smyrna, Chios, and Brousa in Bithynia, supply a very nice oval grape without stones; the muscat grape is brought from Nicomedia, Chalcedon, and Scutari, and by a very simple process the Greeks will keep them fresh for several months. Nothing in short is wanting to please the palate in this great city, if the people did but know how to use their treasures to the best advantage. It would be no diffi-

cult matter, with a very little care, to naturalise such vegetables as are now wanted: potatoes might easily be planted; gooseberry-trees, which at present only appear as a sort of rarity in the gardens of some among the great people, might be rendered abundant: the peasants might be taught to make butter, though the delicious oil which abounds in all parts almost supersedes the want of butter; and good cheese might be made, instead of the wretched stuff now produced. It were endless however to enumerate what might be done with the means that lie within the reach of the Constantinopolitans; they might truly make their city an abode for Sybarites.

Some dervises, indolent men who abhor labour, seem to measure their appetites only by what they possess, and will rather content themselves with that than work to get more; they will live for a whole day upon a dish of coffee and their pipes. The coffee-houses are the great places of rendezvous for such people; there they smoke, talk politics, and tell stories, while the vagrant monks or calenders sing their pious canticles. Some of the coffee-houses are also barbers' shops, where people may have their heads shaved, or their beards dressed. But though, as possessing all these advantages, they are places of delight to the natives, foreigners find them only receptacles of ennui.

There is another set of people, however, who live in a still cheaper way than the dervises: strangers to the pleasures of the table, an opium pill supports, intoxicates them, throws them into ecstasies, the delights of which they extol very highly. These men, known under the name of theriakis, are mentioned by Monsieur de Tott and others, as being looked upon even in a more despicable light than the drunkards, though I know not that the practice betrays more dissoluteness of morals. They begin with taking only half a grain at a dose, but increase it as soon as they perceive the effect to be less powerful than at first. They are careful not to drink water, which would bring on violent colics. He who begins taking opium habitually at twenty, must scarcely expect to live longer than to the age of thirty, or from that age to thirty-six; the latter is the utmost age that, for the most part, they attain. After some years they get to take doses of a drachm each; then comes on a frightful pallidness of countenance, and the victim wastes away in a kind of marasmus that can be compared to nothing but itself: alopecia and a total loss of memory, with rickets, are the never-failing consequences of this deplorable habit. But no consideration,—neither the certainty of premature death, or of the infirmities by which it must be preceded, can correct a theriaki; he answers coldly to any one who would warn him of his danger, that his happiness is inconceivable when he has taken his opium pill. If he be asked

to define this supernatural happiness, he answers, that it is impossible to account for it; that pleasure cannot be defined.

Always beside themselves, the theriakis are incapable of work, they seem no more to belong to society. Towards the end of their career they however experience violent pains, and are devoured by constant hunger; nor can their paregoric in any way relieve their sufferings: become hideous to behold, deprived of their teeth, their eyes sunk in their heads, in a constant tremor, they cease to live, long before they cease to exist. It would be a matter of no small curiosity to examine, after death, the viscera of one who has gone out of the world in this way: discoveries of importance might very probably be made. But it is much to be feared that curiosity must on this point rest unsatisfied, for the ideas of the Mussulmans are widely different from our own. Woe to any one who should be detected violating a tomb! the whole town would probably rise against him: great as the force of custom is among this people, a catastrophe of such a kind would be more terrible to them than the loss of a province. While I was at Constantinople I heard of a theriaki, a phænomenon of longevity, who formed a very extraordinary exception to the general rule with regard to the time these people may be expected to live. I should indeed be very cautious of mentioning the circumstance, if the truth of it had not been attested by persons worthy of credit, who are still alive, and some of whom are now actually at Paris. This man was well known all over Constantinople in the year 1800, by the name of *Suleyman Yeyen*, or *Suleyman the taker of corrosive sublimate*. At the epoch when I was there, he was supposed to be nearly a hundred years old, having lived under the sultans Achmet the Third, who ascended the throne in 1703, Osman, Mahmoud, Mustapha the Third, Abdul-Hamet, and Selim the Third. He had early in life habituated himself to taking opium; but notwithstanding that he constantly increased the dose, he ceased to feel from it the desired effect, and then tried sublimate, the effects of which he had heard highly spoken of. For thirty years this old man had never ceased to take it daily, and the quantity he could now take at a dose exceeded a drachm. It is said that at this epoch he came into the shop of a Jewish apothecary and asked for a drachm of sublimate, which he swallowed immediately, having first mixed it in a glass of water. The apothecary terrified, and fearing that he should be accused of having poisoned a Turk, immediately shut up his shop, reproaching himself bitterly with what he had done; but his surprise was very great when the next day the Turk came again and asked for a like dose of sublimate. It was my intention to have sought out

this man when I was set at liberty; but circumstances which involved me in business of more importance prevented my verifying the fact. I cannot however disbelieve what every body concurred in asserting, and when I have been assured of it a hundred times by Messieurs Ruffin and Dantan*.

Such is an imperfect outline of some of the principal characteristics presented by a people who belong in no respect to Europe, except by the place in it which they still occupy; who are so far removed from civilization, that the families are only distinguished by a sort of equivocal indefinite surnames; whose very ages are unknown to themselves, since there are no public documents to ascertain the time of their birth. Such are some of the most striking features in this celebrated capital; in which, notwithstanding the rank it holds among cities, the streets are without names, and where there is no regular post for the conveyance of letters

* Mr. Thornton has made some remarks upon the above anecdote as related by Doctor Pouqueville, which seem thrown together no less hastily than in the instance already cited, and with an equal want of attention to what the Doctor really has said. No one will deny that the story is very extraordinary, and requires to be established upon respectable authority before it can be entitled to belief. It is however not a more extraordinary instance of what the human frame may be brought to bear, than many others which might be adduced, and which the most determined sceptic could not now doubt; that of Mr. Powell the fire-eater for instance. If he could bring himself to bear live coals upon his tongue, so as to broil a beef-steak, why might not the man in question bring his stomach to bear corrosive sublimate? A throat unused to brandy can at first but ill bear a tea-spoonful of it, yet it may by degrees be brought to swallow half a pint at a time, as if it were only water. The most incredible part of the story is the length of time the man lived in the daily habit of taking a mineral of this deleterious quality. But again, what a length of time will some stomachs resist the daily habit of drinking fermented and spirituous liquors, in such quantities as to contain altogether as much corrosive matter as might be contained in the drachm of sublimate! Without, however, contending very strenuously for the credibility of the story, it must be observed that Mr. Thornton has fallen into a very great mistake, when he represents Doctor Pouqueville as stating that "the first essay of this *taker of corrosive sublimate* was made in the shop of a Jewish apothecary" at Constantinople. Now the Doctor says, that when he was at Constantinople, and he went there in 1799, the man had been thirty years in the habit of taking the sublimate, and that it was in 1797 that he went into the Jewish apothecary's shop and took off a drachm of it. Instead, therefore, of this being his *first essay*, he had at that time been in the practice of taking it considerably more than twenty years. One of Mr. Thornton's great objections to the Doctor's statement is therefore obviated, since he does not pretend to say that the man in his *first essay* took off so large a quantity. Another mistake into which Mr. Thornton has fallen, is the calling Messieurs Ruffin and Dantan, whose testimony Doctor Pouqueville advances in support of this story, *drogmans attached to the service of the French legation*. Monsieur Ruffin was the French *chargé d'affaires* at the Ottoman Court, and had been so under the old Government. I forbear to remark upon Mr. Thornton's objections to Doctor Pouqueville's explanation of the appellation of *Suleyman Yeyen*, since they are much better refuted by Lord Byron in the notes to his interesting poem, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.—TRANSLATOR.

over the country of which it is the head; where assassination is both punished and applauded; where reign at once oppression and licentiousness, despotism and equality; the dominion of the laws, and the dominion of terror. A strange assemblage of virtues and vices, of principles and barbarism: nothing seems in its right place at Constantinople, and the whole political system is only supported by the respect commonly yielded to antiquity, and the prevailing propensity of mankind to adhere to ancient customs. The observer who comes there to meditate will, notwithstanding the many volumes that have already been written upon the subject, constantly find new aliment to satisfy his curiosity—important observations to consign to his memory,—will still find something new to say upon a society whom a modern writer has justly defined to be *a people of antitheses.*

CHAPTER XXV.

Arrival of a Russian fleet at Constantinople, and subsequent events.—The author's release from the Seven Towers.—Festival of the birth of Mahomet.—Suburb of Pera.—The field of the dead.—Dolma Bakché.—Boïouk-deyré.—Forest of Belgrade.—Armenian wedding.—Turkish wedding.

The principal events that occurred at Constantinople during the last year of my captivity, though not numerous, were worthy of remark, as preparatory to the designs carrying on by Russia. The politicians of the country who did not perceive them, or feigned not to see into them, seemed only occupied with the reception of some plenipotentiaries newly arrived, who were saluted by the cannon of the seraglio—a thing very unusual. They were also deeply engaged in arranging the reception of Lord Elgin, who with his lady were soon after their arrival presented to the Grand Signor, and both were presented with pelisses.

It was about this time that Paul the First, after having lost his best troops in Italy, in Switzerland, and in Holland, began to grow tired of the war in which he had engaged, and ordered his squadron to return into the ports of the Black Sea. Eighteen Russian ships were therefore anchored before Constantinople in the month of November, 1800. The Turks, astonished at the sight of this naval

armament, trembled and murmured to themselves: Russian officers on horseback were every where to be seen in the streets; we even conversed with several from the top of our ramparts. At length the fleet being revictualled, set sail for its destination; but two vessels having unfortunately run aground in going out of the Bosphorus were obliged to return into the port of Constantinople to refit. The captains who commanded them, desirous of passing their hours of leisure in the town, attempted to land, but were received with a discharge of musquetry by the galiondgis: both were killed; and the sailors who were with them would have experienced the same fate, had not some Sclavonians hastened to their assistance. The minds of people in general were extremely struck with this event, and the sultan was not without very serious alarms for the consequences. He gave orders to the capudan-pasha to seek out the perpetrators of a crime which might interrupt the good intelligence established between Russia and Turkey; while Monsieur Tamara, the Russian ambassador, interred his unfortunate fellow-countrymen with funeral honours, and dispatched an account of the event to his court.

Kutchuk Hussein, who was then capudan-pasha, to satisfy his master, ordered two galiondgis, condemned to the galleys for other crimes, but perfectly innocent of the offence in question, to be hanged. Their comrades, witnesses of the execution, indignant at seeing Mussulmans executed for the murder of Christians, took them down from the gallows, and, contrary to the usual custom, interred them with great ceremony: a high aggravation of the original insult to Russia. This power might have called the Porte severely to account for what had passed; but the moment for so doing was, according to appearance, not arrived, and it contented itself with seizing upon Georgia, leaving the divan to think as they chose upon the subject: they however did not venture to manifest any dissatisfaction.

But the Porte seemed destined to be guilty of involuntary wrongs towards its allies, and to justify by its conduct the subsequent proceedings of the Muscovites. Scarcely were the first impressions made by such an event as the above, somewhat subsided, when an affront no less foreign to the intentions of the court was experienced by the Russian ambassador himself and his wife. They, with the envoys of Naples and of Sweden, had obtained a firman to see the mosques, and had visited several; when on presenting themselves at that of Sulcymania they were grossly insulted by the students there. Perhaps the visitors were somewhat in the wrong in refusing to comply with some established customs; but in vain did they exhibit their firman,—the heads once heated were not easily to be

satisfied; the students hooted them, and even began to strike some of the party who were within reach of their hands. Several ladies were very much hurt, the fermentation increased, and for some minutes wore every appearance of becoming an absolute insurrection, while the Turkish women kept urging it on by crying to the people from their windows to assassinate those dogs of Christians. No lives however were lost, and each one regained the suburb of Pera as he could, carrying with him an ample topic of conversation for some time to come.

The sultan, exceedingly distressed at this affair, (for in such a situation as his every thing gives occasion for alarm,) made a terrible display of vengeance against those who had contemned his orders and insulted his allies. He sent for the drogmans of the offended ambassadors, and had four of the ringleaders strangled in their presence, while about thirty more, after being severely bastinadoed, were sent into exile. This prince, in short, the friend of peace and justice, did every thing possible to appease the anger of those by whom the affront had been received.

An event which happened a very short time after was sufficient to justify him, as it showed very plainly that he was not certain of being more respected himself, or of being seconded by the guard charged with inspecting the police of the town, when he had occasion for their support. A barber condemned to death for a murder of which he had been guilty, was very near escaping the punishment. Intrenching himself in his shop, he fired upon the janissaries who came to take him; and having killed several, the rest were afraid of venturing to approach his fortress. To bring cannon against a barber's shop would have been too ridiculous, and they had recourse to mining. A hole was made, into which a barrel of gunpowder was rolled, and fire being applied to it the house was blown into the air. But what was the surprise of the besiegers when they found that their principal object was not yet accomplished! The barber, suspecting the danger, had wrapped himself in an immense quantity of wet linen, and after the explosion would perhaps have escaped, but that he was perceived by some bostandgis, who fell upon him and struck off his head. This event, however, though it divided the public attention, did not prevent the insulted ambassadors informing their respective courts of what had passed; and Russia would perhaps have thought of revenging herself, but that on a sudden every thing in that country put on a new aspect, by the unexpected death of Paul the First. The past was then forgotten: with the accession of Alexander every thing assumed a new aspect; the arsenals, the ports, where preparations for war were carrying on, ceased their activity, and every thing wore a pacific appearance.

Our hopes of liberty were however exceedingly damped: indeed they vanished almost entirely, when we learnt that a very good understanding seemed to be established between Lord Elgin and the Russian minister. Not that the former had ever personally taken any part against us, but we were fearful of some alliance being formed which might protract our captivity. Things however took a more fortunate turn; firmans were soon dispatched to recall the prisoners who had been sent to the castles on the Black Sea; we were less watched, and after an imprisonment of twenty-five months liberty once more smiled upon us; I saw the gates of the Seven Towers open to give me egress. It is true that the firman which authorised my release from this prison only transferred me to the house of detention for the French at Pera, but I knew that this was the prelude to a final release. My emancipation from this gloomy abode was not, however, a feeling of unmingled satisfaction, leaving behind me, as I did, Messrs. Ruffin, Keiffer, and Dantan. A long habit of living together, combined with being subjected to one common misfortune, had united us in a very strict friendship, and I could not without tears leave them still in so painful a situation.

Before I quitted the prison I was obliged, according to an established etiquette, to pay a sort of ransom to my guardians; and this money, though extremely ill employed, must be laid down upon the spot. After this came a torrent of benedictions, of good wishes for my prosperity and a speedy return into France, not above half of which were heard by me, so much was I tired of my guardians. I accompanied Monsieur Paul, the drogman of Denmark, who had been the bearer of my firman of emancipation, and my companion Fornier, who had been released some days before, to St. Matthias's stairs, or *Psamathia*, as they are called by the Turks who inhabit the quarter, to embark there for Pera. These stairs are in a very dirty place, almost poisoned by the odour exhaled from numerous manufactories of starch. As we coasted along the town, Monsieur Paul proposed landing and going to see the procession which was to take place that day through the Hippodrome.

It happened to be the festival of the birth of Mahomet, when instead of the disgusting dervises, the seïds, and the santons of a fanatical populace, which on this occasion parade the streets of Cairo, we were here gratified with a spectacle truly noble in its way. All the public functionaries were in their state costume: the janissaries bektadgis appeared with their enormous sleeves; then came the bostandgis, the oulemas, and at length the sultan, surrounded with a multitude of tchorbadgis, whose magnificent casques with the plumes formed a forest, in the midst of which he appeared as if borne along upon a waving throne, the horse he

rode being entirely concealed. This prince, one of the best and most unfortunate of sovereigns, was much rather to be distinguished by the sweetness of his physiognomy, by the mildness which reigned in all his features, than by the splendour of his dress. After having offered up his prayers in the mosque of Sultan Achmet, he remounted his horse and returned to the seraglio with the same ceremony as before.

The occupations of the town were not suspended on account of this festivity, and I was astonished when I landed at Tophana to see the activity every where going forward. We were soon assailed by a troop of the vagrant dogs, and were obliged to hold ourselves on the defensive. I observed that their principal spite was aimed against the Franks, which made me apprehend that they had been teased and ill-treated by them. It is usual to hire horses to ascend from Tophana to Pera, and there are generally a number standing for this purpose by a large Chinese fountain near the shore. As we were not fatigued we mounted on foot, and, after paying our respect to Baron Hubschs, the Danish minister, proceeded to the French house of detention. Here we found several merchants and consuls assembled, who received us with much courtesy, and we might have passed several months together before we had heard all the adventures each had to relate to the rest. I however preferred taking advantage of the liberty given me to walk out, and rather chose to examine the suburb of Pera than to listen to their narratives.

My first object was to seek out my friend Monsieur Flury, consul-general of Wallachia, to whom I owed my liberty; he had been indeed on this occasion the friend, the support, the protector of all the French prisoners in the Levant. He owed the power of being so to the general esteem in which he was held by the foreign ministers in Constantinople; an esteem acquired by the practice, during a very long abode in the East, of numberless amiable qualities which cannot fail of conciliating the friendship of all to whom they are known. After paying my respects and acknowledgements to him I proceeded towards *the promenade*, as it may be called for distinction, known among the Franks by the appellation of the *field of the dead*, but by the Greek inhabitants of Pera called *Mnimata*, or the tombs.

It is not easy to conceive how much this place is thronged in the evening; even the most frequented streets in Paris scarcely present an equal concourse. The same throng is not to be seen all day; but at the moment when labour ceases among the industrious classes of society, the Franks all going out to the prome-

The Field of the Dead.

nade absolutely elbow and jostle each other. Notwithstanding this, as there are no carriages, the noise is not so great but that conversation may be carried on; every one can make himself heard without difficulty. In going thither, a stranger is always shown a Turkish fountain inclosed in a pavilion of an octagon form, which is at the southern extremity of the street of Pera; and indeed it is an object to be remarked. The water is supplied by the aqueducts of Belgrade, and is thrown up by eight pipes, the noise of which, repeated by the echo of the vaulted roof, is so great that it quite overpowers the sound of the voice. A little further on is the French hospital for patients ill of the plague. It was at this time under the direction of *Dom Germano*, an Armenian priest, a venerable old man with a countenance which spoke at once dignity and mildness. He had lived here fifty years surrounded by the contagion, profoundly devoted to his calling, totally disregarding all hazard to his own life, but always escaped the danger, and was now fourscore years old.

The hospital occupies a space of ground in the form of a parallelogram, surrounded with high walls. There is a garden which was in a very good state of cultivation, and a well of tolerable water, with a cistern. In one part is a house of religious seclusion, and in another what is called the infirmary. This building consists of about a dozen chambers, having a general corridor which leads to them all; they are separated by little barriers, and these are always kept closed to prevent communication among the sick in the time of the plague. The air here is pure and circulates freely, and the building is kept extremely neat. At the time of my visit it was inhabited by the wives of some soldiers of the sixth demi-brigade who had been sent to Constantinople.

About two hundred toises further is the *field of the dead*, so called because it is surrounded by cemeteries. There each sect reposes separated from the rest, and high trees shade the tombs. To the west is the vast cemetery of the Turks; to the east that of the Armenians; and in a space between, that of the Franks, divided by the form of the tombs into the Catholic and the Protestant cemetery. Upon the tombs of the Franks are some inscriptions, but not such as present many recollections to the mind: the mortuary stones of the Armenians, besides inscriptions, have emblematic figures engraved upon them, indicating the situation or profession of the deceased. On the greater part are to be seen either the rule and compasses, or the gold weights; which proves what I have said before, that this nation furnishes most of the masons, architects, and changers of gold and silver.

'Tis in the space comprised between the Turkish and Armenian cemeteries,

to the east of that of the Franks, that custom has established a public walk: there at the decline of day one of the finest prospects in the world may be enjoyed. The eye embraces the windings of the Bosphorus, between the magnificent shores of which are sailing vessels from various nations, and multitudes of light and elegant barks. At the same time are to be seen the valleys of Asia, Scutari, the Archipelago of the Princes, the sea of Marmara, and the immense circuit of Constantinople. The ladies seated on little stools form *conversaziones*, where the news of the town and the affairs of their neighbours are discussed. At the southern extremity is a sort of shed in form of a rotunda, dignified with the title of a coffee-house, where some miserable musicians play upon the drum or the Turkish mandoline. Coffee is sold there, and some very bad refreshments: Sunday is the day when the throng of people is the greatest. Sultanas have sometimes been seen walking here with a small suite, as well as some of the first Turkish ladies in Constantinople; and though on such occasions they are veiled, they take care that the veils shall be made of very thin muslin. Notwithstanding the beauty of the situation there is a monotony in the place, as the same set of faces are always to be seen, which soon grows fatiguing to an European. Prudence dictates returning home before the night is closed in, as the streets of Pera are not the safest places imaginable after dark.

Those in the neighbourhood of the house of arrest for the French were not an exception to this general rule; this quarter was called Keratochori, or the village of horns. It abounds with taverns, with khans, and with houses frequented by galiondgis, who are by nature the enemies of public order. The apprehensions entertained of these malefactors, as well as of the Sclavonians who sleep under the shops or in the streets, appear not to be unjustly founded. The Turks in general return home at the close of day; and at Pera nobody goes out in the evening excepting to make a visit, and then preceded by a servant who carrries a light. Such are the pleasures of this suburb. It presents a strange assemblage of liveries and costumes; and whenever one goes into company there, one finds a true Babel or confusion of tongues. The natives of Pera, who understand Turkish, Greek, Italian, and French, do not speak any of them with tolerable purity.

I know not why people do not sometimes, for the sake of variety, leave the promenade of the tombs, to sit under the fine trees of Dolma Bakché, where the sultan has his summer palace. One cannot always admire the shores of the Bosphorus, however delightful they may be; and here we breathe a very delicious air. The way to this place from Pera is through venerable woods which shade

several cemeteries: to the left is *Sampson Kané*, or the Sultan's Kennel, where are a number of very large dogs extremely fat and extremely fierce. Half a mile from Pera is a rapid descent, with a torrent at the bottom and a stone bridge over it, which leads into the valley of Dolma Bakché. This valley may be in length about a thousand paces, running from east to west: its breadth can scarcely be more than two hundred, and the sultan's palace is upon one of the slopes by which it is inclosed. The sea-shore to the west is low, and ornamented with weeping-willows, while tall planes and other fine trees form a screen to the north: among these are some coffee-houses kept by bostandgis, who serve strangers with much civility; here is also a pavilion which has been much disfigured by strokes of the djerid. Further towards the east are gardens, and the road leading to the field of the dead; here also, at the extremity of the palace walls, is a basin with a coffee-house by it, where there are Turks who sell coffee: though the soil is arid, it is surrounded by beautiful jessamines with double flowers: the smell of these in the evening is fragrant beyond measure. The slope on which stands the sultan's palace is to the south, and the garden walls run the whole way along this side of the valley. At the extremity near the sea is a kiosque or pavilion, where the grand signor comes sometimes to see the exercise of the djerid performed by his pages, and the holes made in the pavilion attest the force with which they throw this weapon. It happens not unfrequently that the greater part of those who have been engaged in the sport retire with terrible contusions; some instances have even occurred of such serious injury being received in the head as to render the trepan necessary.

The sultan's palace is called Bechiktasch; it stands upon the sea-shore, and is separated from the sea only by a very narrow quay. The whole outside is painted to represent a landscape. The gardens are uncultivated, the soil is bad; and I have been assured by Monsieur Melling, who was employed at work in the interior of the palace, that every thing within is very paltry and insignificant. In the year before the war with France broke out, the grand signor was desirous of having theatrical representations here. Some Italians residing at Pera were applied to on this occasion, and a piece was prepared. The sweetness, the charm of the Italian music seemed to have no effect whatever upon Selim; nor were the European ballets more to his taste: when he saw the rope-dancers, however, he admired the address of the Christians beyond measure, and was absolutely in ecstasies at a man walking upon his hands. He was afterwards treated with the

Banditti of the Black Forest made into a pantomime, with which he was so well pleased that he had it performed in his harem.

In one of my walks to Dolma Bakché I became acquainted with an Englishman, who is known to all the Europeans that have resided at Constantinople, under the name of Selim aga. Employed as an officer of engineers at Jamaica and in the Indies, whether from motives of discontent or from some other unknown cause he embraced Islamism, though he has nothing of it except the turban. His knowledge soon acquired him access to the great men of the empire, and in 1801 he attached himself to the service of the kaimakan as his secretary. He had been in England since he changed his religion, and intended at the return of peace to visit France. When I saw him he was occupied with translating some valuable works of science. His beard, his complexion, his whole cast of countenance were such that at the first glance he might be distinguished from the Mussulmans. He frequented the houses of the foreign ministers very much, as well as those of the French; but the latter entertained considerable prejudices, perhaps ill-founded, against him.

Two other objects of curiosity to all who come to Constantinople are Boïoukdeyré and the forest of Belgrade: I had an additional incitement to visit the former of these places, since I wished to make my grateful acknowledgements to Monsieur Fonton, counsellor to the Russian embassy, who had taken a very kind part in procuring my enlargement. I was not less charmed with his amiable manners, and the interesting graces of his lovely wife, than with the beauty of Boïoukdeyré. I met with the kindest reception possible at his house, and, being invited to spend some days there, had an opportunity of satisfying my curiosity with regard to this spot and the neighbourhood very completely. At my first visit I went only to the palaces of Russia and Denmark, not being able to reach that of France, which stands on the heights of Tarapia, at the western point of the bay. The palace of Russia I found fitted up in a style combining together the European and Oriental tastes. There was something very pleasant in the gardens, which run along the uneven declivity of the mountain, and form a fringe to the curtain of houses hanging down the slope of Boïoukdeyré. A number of avenues and sinuosities terminate at points of view more or less picturesque over the sea and the coasts of Asia: the summit of the hill is crowned with pleasant woods.

From Russia I proceeded on to Denmark; and as I was conducted by Madame Fonton and her charming sisters, I did not find my passage over the frontiers dis-

The Meadow of Boïoukdéré

puted. An old gardener in the service of baron Hubschs opened the barrier to us. We rested upon many little eminences, and reposed under hedges of hornbeam very symmetrically arranged. We saw several jets-d'eau; and upon the door of a palace belonging to baron Grosbach found a Latin inscription importing *that the house was built on the place where it stood.* The baron's son, who came to join us, having invited us in, I observed in the interior of the palace, on each side of every door, a grenadier of the size of life painted in fresco upon the wall. This was the guard in ordinary of his excellency. In the evening we took a walk along the quay, and through the village of Boïoukdeyré, which extend together to nearly half a league, and terminate in a walk called *The Meadow.* At this moment, to increase the beauty of the scene, a division of the Russian fleet, returning to Cherson, cast anchor in the bay of Boïoukdeyré. The village consists of only one street; in it are several good houses occupied by merchants, chiefly French. About the middle is the *Albergo civile*, an inn open to foreigners. I did not go into it, but I understood it to be a most deplorable place. It is kept by some Italians, whose whole art of cookery consists in dressing ducks with different sauces: their table is not, therefore, in very high repute.

When we arrived at *The Meadow*, I was anxious, above all things, to see the groupe of plane-trees which Monsieur Delille has celebrated in his poem of *The Gardens;* and I hastened to pay my homage to them as to objects consecrated to immortality. I counted eleven immense stems, united together at the base, and forming a circle, the interior of which cannot be less than twenty-five feet in diameter. Parties are often made to come and sit under their shade; and the inhabitants of Boïoukdeyré, no less than the French who reside there, have learned to repeat the name of Delille. The head of one of these majestic trees had recently been injured by lightning. Monsieur de Tott, who preferred a crane for masting vessels to the finest groupe of trees that could be seen, had a like clump of planes which adorned the eastern side of the meadow cut down in order to construct some kind of scaffolding which he wanted for his works. There is nothing else remarkable in *The Meadow*, excepting the extreme regularity of its surface. The view from it is terminated by the aqueducts of Belgrade.

To this place we agreed to make an excursion, and set out upon it the very next morning at sunrise. After having again taken a survey of *The Meadow*, we went along a road bordered by hedges. We saw first the aqueduct of Bourgas, then that of Justinian; and after wandering about the forest, enjoying the view of some most picturesque spots on the borders of the lakes which are formed by the *bindes*,

or marble causeways, we arrived at last at the house of the Dutch ambassador. Although the ambassador himself, Monsieur Vandeden, was absent, we were not the less hospitably received; and found a dinner prepared for us in the garden, at a place called the *Round Table.* This house stands isolated in the midst of the forest; and near a lake where the frogs croak in such an enchanting manner that the minister might fancy himself among his own marshes in Holland.

In the forest of Belgrade, besides its own natural beauties, are several very pretty villages which deserve to be drawn forth from their present obscurity. It would be an object of great interest to examine the plants with which the forest abounds, and the trees of which it is composed. Among its productions are, sarsaparilla, agaric, and kermés; with a number of things that would probably be found very useful in medicine. Indeed it would be a desirable thing to explore geologically the country from hence quite to the Black Sea, since the soil appears evidently to be a volcanic earth.

Among the most amusing things presented to our observation by a residence in Pera, are the processions occasionally to be seen passing through. Some are of a nature so singular that they cannot fail to attract the attention. I was particularly struck with one that took place not many days after my arrival, which I found upon inquiry to be an Armenian wedding. I should certainly never have suspected what it was if I had not been informed, so sad and solemn did the company appear. The procession began by some people playing upon the flute and the violin, who made the most frightful charivari imaginable. They were accompanied by dancers, who sung and performed their steps at the same time. Next followed a groupe of relations; then men carrying torches of yellow wax, who had much more the appearance of being part of a funereal than of a hymeneal procession. After them came the bride, supported by two of her nearest relations. She was enveloped from head to foot in a sack; but in order that her respiration might not be entirely suppressed from being thus inclosed, a plate was fixed into the mouth of the sack, so that the folds were thrown somewhat off from pressing upon the face. Then followed a party of the guests; and after them came the bridegroom, walking by himself. His arms were crossed over his breast; and his head, round which was twisted a large silk shawl, hung upon his left shoulder. His long mustachios, and his melancholy attitude, gave him rather the air of one going to perform some penance than to be made happy in the bonds of Hymen. He was followed by two Armenians carrying rusty sabres, which they flourished from time to time as if menacing Heaven. The rest of the relations closed the procession,

moving with slow and measured steps. As the families to whom the new married couple belonged lived in our neighbourhood, I had an opportunity of perceiving that there was nothing sad and solemn in the remainder of the ceremony: in fact, the festivity degenerated in the evening into scandalous orgies, and these were continued for three days and three nights.

The parade of a Turkish wedding, which I saw not long after, amused me much more by its variety, and by the events with which it was accompanied. The *cortége* crossed from Asia to Europe in elegant caïques, which scarcely seemed to touch the water. The young bride, covered with veils, and surrounded by women, occupied a boat with four pair of oars; other boats were filled with persons playing on different kinds of instruments; and in one of the boats that took the lead were two buffoons standing on the frail rudder: they blew a sort of trumpet, at the same time cutting capers, and making grimaces, accompanied with leaps, which occasioned falls easy to be foreseen. The boat was at length overset, and in an instant the mimes and their companions were ten feet under water, without the rest of the company seeming to be at all surprised or affected by it. The divers soon re-appeared, and began throwing up the water they had swallowed, like whales, making the drollest appearance imaginable. They caught hold of the boat, and pushed it before them to the shore, where they arrived quite confused and dispirited. The boatmen having succeeded in restoring their boat to its equilibrium, cursing the delis, the wedding, and their bad fortune, followed, nevertheless, in order to get paid.

The prisons of the Black Sea being opened at the same time with those of the Seven Towers, we soon saw the French who had been imprisoned at Kerason, at Sinope, and at Amassera, arrive at Constantinople. They were received with transport by their fellow-countrymen, and it seemed as if all their misfortunes were forgotten in the idea that they were soon to return to their own country. As every appearance seemed, therefore, to indicate that our return was to be considered as a thing not very remote, I was more than ever desirous not to lose any time, but to use the utmost activity in satisfying my curiosity by seeing whatever was worthy of notice.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Court at Constantinople.—Offices of the ministers.—Ideas of the Turks respecting Plato.—The Turkish navy.—The academy for drawing and engraving.—Illness of Monsieur Beauchamp, an astronomer imprisoned at Fanaraki.—Some account of this gentleman.—Description of Fanaraki.—The island of Cyanea.—Islands of the Princes.—Tchinguenets, or Bohemians.

The sultan's court at Constantinople forms a world by itself, which has its peculiar customs, language, and modes. Among the great people of the country is to be found much urbanity, with a strong disposition to oblige, but etiquette is carried to a much higher point among them than could be expected. Many of them have, however, been raised from the lowest ranks of the people. The vizier Jezouf was a rice-merchant, and the capudan-pasha was a poor Georgian slave; nor can the other principal personages about the court boast a more illustrious origin. The lowest among the boatmen that ply in the port may to-morrow be created a pasha; and, what seems very extraordinary, he no sooner takes possession of his new office, than he assumes a dignity of manner which astonishes exceedingly, so that the metamorphosis he has undergone could scarcely be believed. Is it that the dress makes the man? Does it throw a mask of grandeur over him? I know not, and leave the point to be decided by others. Yet these men seem perfectly well versed in all the chicane of politics, its tricks and its delays. Their favourite maxim that *the hare must be hunted in a cart*, often foils the calculations of European diplomacy. They have no knowledge, but they have genius; which is of more use than erudition in acquiring the art of governing. It is said of them, that they unhappily listen too much to national prejudices; but they should be known before they are judged: and perhaps they act more wisely in being altogether Turks, than in assuming a sort of half civilization. Unless they were thoroughly enlightened, they had better remain as they are.

I observed above that the language of the seraglio differs from the general language of the country; in effect, people speak here more correctly and with greater purity. Certain letters, the harsh sound of which would hurt ears accustomed to the pleasing murmur of a soft language such as the Turkish, are scarcely pro-

nounced. A great stress also is laid upon adhering to the proper dress; and this changes according to the season. There are different pelisses for spring, summer, autumn, and winter; and each in rotation is assumed at court at a regular fixed period.

The public offices, few in number, are filled with young men, who expedite the orders of the vizier, of the reis-effendi, or of the chiefs of the departments; but that mass of writings, that multitude of letters and papers of various kinds, which fill the offices of European ministers, are here unknown. A small square of paper suffices for the laconic decision of a vizier when he sanctions or rejects an act. The clerks, seated upon sofas with their legs crossed, write and smoke at the same time, doing the one no less mechanically than the other. A square board serves as a table, and a little box as a secretary to contain their paper, their ink, and the reed which they use as a pen. However, there are here, as every where, some more active minds, who quit this career and rise to the highest posts in the empire: happy those who are studious and desirous of instruction! there is a sort of justice which raises them above the crowd.

The Turk is an enlightened observer where his interest is concerned, but he is little desirous of instruction. The catalogue of Turkish books has, however, of late been increased by some of our best works of science. Selim aga has translated Bezout* into the Turkish language, and he told me that he intended translating Monsieur Chaptal's chemistry. The books from which, in general, the Turks now draw their instruction are histories and traditions; but they are compilations so mingled with extravagance, that a few scattered facts are with difficulty to be collected from them. It may be said that the Orientals have arranged a Genesis, a book of Chronicles, and a general history, entirely to suit themselves. They talk of nothing in their traditions but victories, enemies subdued, and towns destroyed; and transform what ought to be genuine narratives into absolute tales. To give an idea of the manner in which they mutilate ancient history, I will only cite an article from a Persian and Turkish dictionary, treating of Plato.

According to this, Plato, whom they call Flato, was a person of distinguished learning, who was charged with the education of the son of a king of Irak, but where this country is we are not informed. The king made Flato his grand vizier, and there were no favours that he did not lavish upon him, but above all things he recommended to him the education of his son. Flato in consequence gave all

* The work which he translated was *Bonnycastle's* Geometry; and two manuscript copies of it are in this country. One in the possession of Mr. Bonnycastle himself, and the other in the possession of Mr. F. Baily.—TRANSLATOR.

his cares to this object, but without effect; his pupil did not in the least profit by his instruction. This he told the king, but the latter would not believe it possible, never having been crossed in any thing. It was a custom that every year the young men of the country, mounted upon a tribune, should be examined by the most illustrious among their fellow-countrymen, where rewards were given them according to the progress they had made in their learning. The king, contrary to the advice of Flato, insisted upon his son's appearing at these examinations; but, alas! the will of a monarch cannot confer science,—the young prince could not articulate a word. The king was in a rage, and told Flato that this was his fault; that he had not been properly attentive to his son's education. Flato, prostrating himself before the king, answered that he should be convinced to the contrary. "You see," added he, "this young slave," pointing to a child, "he has only heard at a distance the lessons I have given your son; order him to mount the tribune, and you will then have an idea of the things in which the prince has been instructed." The king consented, and the young slave, who was Aristotle, or, according to them, *Aristotelis*, astonished the assembly. He afterwards rose to a pitch of glory that will remain to eternity. Thus are historical facts seasoned after the genius of these people, who are always disposed to the marvellous.

The Oriental poetry compensates in some measure for the want of merit in their historians. Though it cannot boast of much taste, there are some pleasing images and delicate thoughts; I do not, however, pretend to be much of a judge on this matter. I have heard *gazels*, or odes, which appeared to be animated and well turned. The mythology of the Orientals does not admit much variety of imagery; the nightingale wedded to the rose, showers of essences, of flowers, and of diamonds; melancholy, which comes like night mounted upon a brown camel, when the sun retires behind the mountains of Caf; to such kind of images is the field of allegories confined, but imagination supplies the place of the usual poetical ornaments.

The Turkish navy, in 1801, consisted of twelve ships of the line and fifteen fine frigates. There were besides upon the stocks two ships of the line, one of a hundred and twenty guns, and the other of eighty; two others, in the ports of Sinope and Rhodes, were nearly finished. A Swedish engineer, by name Rhodez, with a company of workmen of his own nation, had built a basin of construction; this I was carried to see by Monsieur Benoit, who succeeded Monsieur Lebrun as engineer constructor. The two latter, fellow-countrymen of mine, who had quitted France in consequence of the misfortunes attending the revolution, had

assisted in putting the Turkish navy upon a tolerably respectable footing*. I saw the model-room, which is arranged in the most favourable manner for working from the models it contains. The dock-yards were exceedingly well furnished with stores, as were also the magazines for the navy. It is extraordinary how the Porte, without any regular plans of finance, with revenues rendered very uncertain by the frequent revolts of the pashas, can meet its expenses without borrowing money. I went to pay the tribute of admiration offered by every stranger to a charming spot, well known and frequently described under the name of the *fresh waters*. The Turks suffer this sweet place to fall into ruin. The sultan comes here occasionally to breathe the fresh air and enjoy himself, far from the tumult of the town and the fatiguing ceremonies of the court; he has a small palace built after the model of that at Fontainebleau.

Some days after I visited the school for drawing and engraving, which is upon the eastern shore of the port, near the barracks of the comparadgis, or bombardiers. At the head of it was a Frenchman, by name Ricard. The friendship he had evinced for me attracted me irresistibly to visit his academy. His pupils, all Turks, were very polite and obliging. Some were occupied in drawing maps, and others in engraving them, while another party were correcting the proofs. Their collection, although in its infancy, contained some valuable materials relative to Asia-Minor and the countries bordering the Black Sea. In the same building I found a printing-office, under the direction of Armenians. The superintendant showed us a Greek grammar, and some sheets of a Turkish, Arabian, and Persian dictionary, which they were printing in folio, and proposed to sell for thirty piastres. I have since heard that this is completed and is now on sale. I counted six presses, and saw a vast quantity of types of the Roman letter, as well as the Turkish and Greek character. The Roman types had been chiefly pillaged from the French ambassador's palace, at the time when war was declared. There were also in this building rooms for different departments of drawing; and I was surprised in going over them to find, in one upon the first story, a mortar for bombs, cast at Douay, ornamented with the *fleur-de-lys*, and mounted upon its carriage. There is no doubt, if the Turks retain Monsieur Ricard at the head of this academy, that they will soon have geographers who may furnish them with

* In the Travels of Monsieur Castellan are some interesting particulars relative to several models for the use of the marine, which were sent to Constantinople from France at the desire of Sultan Selim. Among these was a model of the celebrated basin at Toulon, for careening vessels.—TRANSLATOR.

excellent maps of their provinces; but I would be cautious, if my voice is likely to have any influence, of saying too much in commendation of this institution; it would be sufficient to excite suspicion, and put an end to it entirely.

I was but just returned to Constantinople from my visit to Monsieur Fonton, at Boïoukdeyré, when Monsieur Ruffin desired me to go without delay to Fanaraki, on the Black Sea, and give my attendance professionally to Monsieur Beauchamp, whose health was in a very dangerous state. I had known this gentleman in Egypt: he was a member of the same commission to which I had the honour to belong, and friendship, no less than duty, urged me to pay immediate attention to Monsieur Ruffin's application. An order was remitted me for the pasha of the castles on the Black Sea, to give me admittance at Fanaraki, and I was also charged with a firman, granting liberty to the prisoner. Furnished with these documents, and accompanied by two janissaries, I lost no time, but set off by land, lest, if I had attempted going by water, contrary winds might have occasioned some delay.

Our route lay through Boïoukdeyré, and a little further on we passed one of the seven castles under the jurisdiction of the pasha to whom my order was addressed. It stands at the bottom of a creek, and I observed that it was mounted with thirty-six pieces of artillery. We then ascended a rugged mountain, covered with scoriæ; I saw many of the oaks that bear the kermés; and I observed that as we approached the Black Sea the country became constantly more naked and sterile. At sunset we arrived at a village very near the sea, situated on the southern shore of a bay encompassed with rocks, and which faces the island of Cyanea. It is inhabited by Albanian Turks, the greater part of whom were now smoking their pipes in a kiosque. Some of them began to insult me; but when I addressed them in their own language, surprised to hear an European speaking it with facility, and complaining of their treatment without fear, their tone was changed, they invited me to sit down by them, and spoke to me in a very friendly manner. I attributed their complaisance, however, partly to my janissaries having quitted me for a moment; so that, when they returned, I hastened to depart from a place, of the hospitality of which I had no reason to think highly.

We made the circuit of the bay, or rather the rugged excavation of Fanaraki, commanded by the hill of Gypopoli, in order to ascend to the castle, which was to the north of the village we had quitted. At sight of the firman the prison doors were opened, and I was immediately conducted to the dungeon where lay my friend. What a spectacle was presented to me!—The unfortunate Beauchamp,

struggling against death, was roused by the sound of my voice; I was the first fellow-countryman he had seen since he was in this place; I seemed almost as a friend descended from heaven, and his eyes were filled with tears. I approached the miserable bed on which he was lying, and found him in a burning fever, attended with violent pain in the side; a barber had opened a vein for him, I was afraid, too late. I administered such remedies as I thought expedient, and was delighted to see that my presence at least, if not my remedies, certainly soothed his sufferings; but soon the mephitic vapours, united with the filth of his dungeon, produced such an effect upon me that I lost my senses, and the guards were obliged to carry me out into the air. When I recovered, my first anxiety was to have my friend removed from so horrible a place; but in vain did I entreat, offer all the money I had about me, and storm: nothing would do, the guards were inflexible; the pasha was absent, and the prisoner must remain in the dungeon. Here therefore I was obliged to remain with him.

Towards midnight he felt himself so much relieved by a blister which I had applied, that he would give me the detail of his misfortunes. In vain did I represent that talking would be injurious to him; he persisted, and I was forced to listen to a narrative which indeed wounded me to the soul. Arrested not long after our army landed in Egypt, he had been twenty-eight months in a miserable dungeon when I first found the means of corresponding with him; for I have already mentioned that we who were confined in the Seven Towers had succeeded in establishing an intercourse of letters with our fellow-prisoners in other parts. The victories recently obtained by the French armies in Italy had occasioned some relaxation in the severity with which he was treated, and he had now for a short time been permitted to come out once every week, and walk in the court of the castle; the pasha had often seized this opportunity of walking there in order to meet him. But the unwholesomeness of the place where he had been confined had totally undermined his constitution, and he was struck with a mortal blow at the very moment when the term of his captivity was on the point of expiring: he was consequently less sensible to the pleasure of being restored to liberty than to that of seeing a fellow-countryman.

It was on the twenty-seventh of August that I joined him in his prison. On the twenty-eighth towards morning he got some sleep, by which he was somewhat relieved. The same day we were joined by a young Corsican surgeon, named Merotti, who divided with me the cares which our patient required. This day he was revived far beyond my hopes, and he would fain have taken advantage of it,

to dictate some important notes which he wished me to take down; but I refused, afraid that he would fatigue himself, and this I knew might be attended with very disastrous consequences. In fact, towards evening the alarming symptoms returned with more force than before, on which he entreated me so earnestly to receive his instructions for making his will, that I could resist no longer. He thought his last moments approaching very fast, and indeed such were my apprehensions. Towards midnight, however, he was again visibly much revived; and continuing to amend the two following days, I then, to satisfy him, consented to his embarking for Constantinople. I thought him dying, however, when we arrived there. Happily, in this I was mistaken; he again revived, and lived to breathe his last, as he wished, in France. He died at Nice, a short time after his arrival there.

This excellent man was nephew and grand vicar to Monsieur Mirondot, bishop of Babylon. The vessel in which they were going together from France to the East, was shipwrecked off the coast of Cyprus, which occasioned the uncle to return to Paris; but the nephew proceeded to Babylon, and arrived at Bagdad in 1782. He devoted himself to the study of astronomy, and fixed the longitude and latitude of Bagdad; he made several journeys to the ruins of Babylon and Hella, and communicated many of his astronomical discoveries to Monsieur de Lalande, by whom they were published in the *Journal des Savans*. Monsieur Beauchamp afterwards descended the Euphrates from Hella to Bassora, to observe the longitude and latitude of that place. On another occasion he went to Diarbekir by land, and acquired all the information that it was possible to procure respecting Mesopotamia. From thence he proceeded to Persia, where he determined the longitude and latitude of Ispahan and Casbina, the latter of which is an important point for ascertaining the position of the southern part of the Caspian Sea; a subject upon which astronomers were not at all agreed. Various papers respecting this journey were printed in the *Connaissance des Temps*. Monsieur Beauchamp afterwards returned to France by the way of the Desert, that is to say by Hil and Ana, making in his route many interesting observations upon the nature of the country. He has compiled maps of his different routes, all which are now in manuscript at the *Depôt de la Guerre*.

After a short stay at Paris he prepared for another journey, which he wished to render if possible more useful than the former. In consequence of the differences existing between geographers with respect to the position of the southern part of the Caspian Sea, it was necessary to establish accurately the length of the

Black Sea. Monsieur Beauchamp being appointed consul at Mascatta, proceeded by the way of Venice to Patras, and thence by Nauplia di Romania to Constantinople. He was accompanied by a young student in astronomy, a youth of great hopes, who died at the Turkish capital at their return from the Black Sea. Not being able to obtain a passport from the Turks as astronomers, they solicited one as naturalists, after the example of Tournefort; but because the latter went no further than Trebisond, that place was assigned as the limits of their journey. They determined the longitudes and latitudes of all the points upon the coast, examined the antiquities, and then returned to Constantinople. There Monsieur Beauchamp drew a map of the southern coast of the Black Sea, which he sent to Monsieur Lalande, and which rectifies former errors with regard to that sea. An analysis of the labours of this astronomer is preserved in the *Journal des Savans*, and in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*. His subsequent detention by the Turks prevented the prosecution of his designs, and finally deprived his country of the talents which he had endeavoured to render so useful to her.

The intervals which I could spare from my attendance upon this excellent man, during my stay at Fanaraki, were employed in examining the place and its neighbourhood. This castle is intended to defend the entrance to the Bosphorus from the Black Sea on the side of Europe, but the guns cannot reach any vessel so as to be an annoyance to it. The spot in which it stands is one of great natural strength, in the midst of rocks. It may be divided into two parts; the first of which on the side towards the land is a large court in form of a parallelogram, and inclosed with high walls. On the north side is the pasha's house, built upon an European model: to the east is the fort, which is a regular polygon fortified by French engineers. I counted twenty-five pieces of brass cannon, twenty-four and thirty-six pounders; they are always loaded with balls for fear of the Russians; of these people the Turks live in constant apprehension. The sea breaks with great violence against the rocks which form the base of this fort, and when very strongly agitated it dashes quite up to the ramparts, so that between the roar of the waves and the isolated situation of the castle, in a wild and desolate country, it may be truly called an abode of horrors. If to this be added the brutality of the guards by whom it is defended, the picture will be complete. I have seldom seen a more repulsive set of countenances than those of the disdarlis here: however this was not the most material subject of complaint the prisoners had; a much greater was the brutality of their manners. It is a part of the office of these soldiers to call in the night through a speaking-trumpet, and warn

ships to keep at a distance: in order to prove their zeal, when there are no ships at hand, they call to the neighbouring castles to keep on the alert, and guard their posts with due attention.

My friend's dungeon was within the polygon to the east. It was about fourteen feet long and eight wide, paved with flag stones and extremely damp. The only light admitted into it was by a hole of about a foot each way, in one corner of the room, at the height of twelve feet from the ground. The door was never to be opened more than twice in the day. Dreary as the abode was, a young Greek servant had voluntarily engaged to remain here with his master.

At a little distance from the castle of Fanaraki is an almost perpendicular rock, on which stands a light-house, for the purpose of indicating to vessels the entrance of the Bosphorus. A little more to the south is the island of Cyanea, which is nothing more than a rock, and like the other nearly perpendicular. The imagination of the ancients could alone have brought it into notice, by representing it as a mass floating in the midst of the Euxine Sea. Monsieur Beauchamp recommended to me to examine a block of white marble there, which some of the learned suppose to be an altar, but which is called by the people of the country, I know not on what authority, Pompey's pillar. The shore of Fanaraki is frightful, from the tremendous waves that break against it, and from the cold winds that always blow there. At a little distance from the castle to the north lies the valley of Domousdeyré, at the eastern extremity of which are the ruins of a tower supposed to be that where Ovid died in exile*.

The view of the Black Sea is melancholy and monotonous. During the four days that I remained upon its shores I saw nothing moving along the surface but a few caïques, bound towards the Crimea or the mouths of the Danube, and a few other small vessels, which only appeared in the horizon to be lost again in a few minutes. But if the prospect be melancholy in summer, it is ten times more so in winter. All trade then ceasing with the ports of the Black Sea, because of the tempests by which it is agitated, nothing but the image of chaos is presented from the moment the Bosphorus is passed. In all times upon this inland ocean one seems to navigate under a different heaven; yet timidity and want of expe-

* Dr. Clarke in the first part of his admirable Travels enters upon a very learned and interesting discussion concerning the nature of the country at the entrance of the Bosphorus from the Euxine, and the probable causes that led in remote ages to the opening of this curious Strait. It is accompanied with a beautiful engraving of the spot.—TRANSLATOR.

rience lead the navigators who frequent the sea to magnify the dangers. Such was the opinion of Monsieur Beauchamp. I was extremely gratified by listening to the details he gave me respecting the different places he had visited, and they were rendered more interesting by the partial knowledge of the countries which I had myself acquired. I regret very much that I was not able to avail myself more satisfactorily of my intercourse with him in the latter moments of his life, for obtaining, by means of the notes he had taken, a further acquaintance with the history and commerce of the Black Sea.

When Monsieur Beauchamp was sufficiently amended, after our return to Constantinople, to permit of my leaving him, I made an excursion to the Isles of the Princes, known formerly under the name of Demonesi. I had learnt that our return into France was definitively arranged; and Monsieur Fleurat, one of the drogmans of France, having invited me to accompany him to Prinkipo, I was very glad to accept the invitation. To this place from Constantinople is a navigation of four hours. The town of Prinkipo runs along the eastern shore of the island, upon the very edge of the sea; some persons have even encroached so far upon the dominions of Neptune as to build pavilions upon piles absolutely in the water. From hence there is a view of Constantinople, of the little Archipelago of Demonesi, and of the coast of Asia: the island to the west forms an amphitheatre, scattered over with woods which present a very pleasant and rural appearance. The island of Prinkipo itself is well cultivated and has some fine trees: people come here very much from Constantinople to enjoy the air free from the constraint of the capital. At a very pretty spot called *The Well* there was dancing in the evening, in which we joined, and passed our time very agreeably, nor did the company separate till a pretty late hour.

The next morning I wandered about the island: the soil every where red, and covered with pyrites of copper, appears to have been formed from volcanic matter. The water is very apt to disagree with strangers; but the effect goes off in a few days, and is felt no more, unless after disusing it for some time and then returning to it again. As we were now in the month of September, the people were preparing to shoot the quails, which at this period come in large bodies in their way to Asia. The shooters were surprised that they had not yet appeared, a week of the month having already elapsed, and were watching eagerly for rain, in the assurance that whenever any fell the birds would arrive within four-and-twenty hours.

The Archipelago of the Princes consists of the islands of Proti, Antigona,

Chalki, Prinkipo, Coniglio, and Ostritzia, besides a number of mere rocks. Coniglio is entirely wild, and inhabited only by rabbits and wild pigeons, the latter of which build their nests in the rocks: it is so covered with bushes and bristled with points of rocks, that one cannot walk about it without extreme difficulty and fatigue. When I had well examined Prinkipo, I made a party to go to Chalki, a distance of about a league. Here we visited the monastery of the Trinity, and the caloyers conducted us to a large kiosque or pavilion, built by prince Ipsilanti, where they gave us a repast of olives, anchovies, a sort of alga pickled, hot bread, brackish water, and white wine. From this place we had a fine view over the sea of Marmara to the west, with a little port just below us called Chamliman, or the port of Poplars, thus named because of the number of these trees that grow in its vicinity.

The caloyers told us that the evening before, forty pirates had landed upon their territory, who had obliged the superior to give them provisions and money, and to say a mass to them. 'Tis thus that these islands are infested with such visitors even within sight of Constantinople; and though by a tolerably well established police the abuse might easily be corrected, the government is too weak to think of repelling their depredations. The monks invited us to go over their monastery: it is surrounded by high walls, and very capable of resisting pirates. I had been previously informed that they had a picture of the *Last Judgement*, in which they had gratified themselves by placing their enemies the Turks in the *Lower Regions*. I therefore inquired particularly for it; but I was surprised to find at the head of the condemned, a Greek drogman of the Porte, with his *calpak* or felt cap upon his head. It is indeed but a miserable daubing; yet the monks place a high value upon it, and keep it carefully, though they are obliged to brave many disagreeable circumstances for its preservation. In the interior of the convent are spacious galleries and large apartments, which are kept very clean. I was shown in one of them some bees, who had established themselves between the shutters and glass of a window: the pious solitaries seemed to have very great pleasure in watching the progress of their industry.

We afterwards visited the churches, which are very neat. We made our offerings in them, to indemnify the monks for the repast they had given us. They are visited perpetually by the Greeks, who come to salute the altars, and make the sign of the cross before them. The mariners here never go out to fish without invoking a certain St. George who is in high repute among them, and promising him a tribute of wax tapers. But if the winds prove contrary, or the quantity of

fish taken does not answer their expectations, instead of pious orisons to the saint, they load him with abuse, calling him *paximado clefti*, or stealer of biscuit. The soil of Chalki seems very analogous with that of Prinkipo: the island is cultivated to the very edge of the sea, the summits are covered with pines, and the water is generally bad. Many persons prefer this island to Prinkipo as a place of residence, and indeed I think it the more beautiful of the two. As we were pressed for time, I could not visit some hamlets inhabited by Greeks; but rejoining our boat, which had gone round to the southern extremity of Chalki, we returned to our head-quarters.

We passed four days at these islands; but then thought it prudent to return to Constantinople, as our departure might take place almost at any time. We had scarcely quitted the shore of Prinkipo when the wind changed and became contrary. Our sailors, who were Greeks, would fain have veered and returned to port; nor was it without many promises and entreaties that we could persuade them to brave the weather so as to put us on shore at the fort of L'Epée, which is in Asia, opposite Prinkipo. When we were about to land here, we prevailed on them, by dint of new promises, to proceed to Chalcedon; but as the wind continued increasing, we found it impossible to double the point of Asiatic Fanaraki, and were obliged to anchor at the bottom of the bay of Chalcedon. Fanaraki of Asia is not like the dreary spot which bears the same name in Europe: it is a very pleasant promontory, where verdant meadows and beautiful fountains, shaded by fine trees, unite to charm and allure the traveller. On the top of the promontory is a small light-house. Near it are some ruins, which the Greeks would fain pass off as those of an ancient edifice; but I believe them to be very modern ones of a Greek church.

Our Greeks, espying a Barbary vessel in the creek where we had taken refuge, would not quit their boat; they were afraid of being taken and carried to Algiers, and would therefore run the vessel aground. As we were somewhat embarrassed by the effects we had with us, one of the Barbaresques, who with some of his companions was upon the shore, spoke to us in good French, and offered to go and find us a porter. We accepted the offer, and he soon returned with one; but on our inquiring who he was, he only said that he was not a Frenchman, but had lately been in Egypt, where he was well treated. He then hastily disappeared.

We hired horses at Chalcedon to go to Scutari. By the way we met with a numerous party of *Tchinguenets*, or Bohemians, (gipsies,) encamped in a field. These people, who belong to no country, wander about the Turkish empire like the *Parias* in India. Mixed, confounded together, fathers, mothers, sons, and

daughters, they in appearance profess the Mussulman faith, but are not the more exempted from the tribute of the caratch. They amuse the Turks by their dances, and some tolerably pleasing music with which they are accompanied. Their physiognomy speaks a high degree of moral depravity, and they appear strangers to all the principles that form the foundation of human societies. Among them are some who call themselves Egyptian *Almees* *. The Turks hold these vagabonds in such extreme contempt, that their name is a term of reproach, and to be suspected of inclining to their manners the highest possible affront. They never come into the towns, but remain sometimes for many days together encamped on the same spot in the fields, living by their legerdemain tricks, robbery, and prostitution.

Scutari is so well known, that I forbear entering into any description of it. I shall only observe, that sumptuous barracks have lately been built there, and a considerable body of bostandgis are lodged in them, who are to be trained according to the European discipline. In the neighbourhood are several magnificent cemeteries.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Description of the sultan's gardens, and of the summer harem.

Having made an acquaintance with the Grand Signior's gardener, who was a German, a native of Rastadt, by name Jaques, he promised to show me and my companion Fornier the gardens of the seraglio †. For this acquaintance, and the consequent opportunity of gratifying my curiosity, I was indebted to Monsieur Melling, a friend of the gardener's, and painter to the hadidgé sultana. We

* A sort of vagrant dancers in Egypt.

† As it is a thing hitherto unheard of for a traveller to say that he has penetrated into the interior of the sultan's palace, I can cite as witnesses of the truth of my relation my conductor Monsieur Melling, author of *Picturesque Travels in the East*, now resident in Paris; my friend and companion Fornier, now *Commissaire de la guerre*, and a member of the legion of honour; and lastly, Monsieur Jaques the gardener, by whom we were introduced, and who is now living at Rastadt.

went accordingly, on the tenth of September, with Monsieur Melling, and landing at the Seraglio point, proceeded just beyond Jeni Kiosque, when we entered the inclosure of the sultan's palace by Dermin-Capi, or the *Mill-Gate*, upon the sea-shore below *Hastalik Odassi*, or the apartment of the sick.

As our guide was known to the bostandgis, who were upon guard at this entrance, they suffered us to pass when we had gone through the customary ceremony of giving them a few parats. Jaques, who expected us, appeared at the same time, and invited us to his apartments; to arrive there we passed the Dermin or mill. The apartments consisted of three rooms, which were painted with some taste, but had no view except upon an old pigeon-house. After resting for a few minutes, we proceeded to visit the sultan's gardens, passing anew by the post of bostandgis. We were then between the first and second ramparts of the town, which form the natural fortifications of the seraglio on the side to the sea; for the palace is, properly speaking, a town within itself, having its walls crowned with battlements, its bastions, and its gates, like an old fortified place *. The distance between the two ramparts appeared to me about two hundred feet. To the north is a paved road, which leads to a gate in the second rampart belonging to the Hasné or imperial treasury. This is a vast edifice covered with slabs of marble near the column of Arcadius, which will be mentioned in due time. Upon the right of this road is a wall of separation, which forms the western side of the garden; before it is a square of the width comprised between the walls, where the sultan's suite range themselves when he enters or quits his palace at this spot. Upon the left is a place inclosed on three sides with a palisade, the fourth side being formed by the rampart. This is a sort of garden filled with shrubs; such as early roses, heliotropes, and others, distributed in clumps. There are, besides, several beams, and a great deal of rubbish lying about. Between the first rampart and the palisade is a sort of road, which communicates with the Hastalik Odassi, and there are several posts scattered along to the extremity of the sultan's palace. Here there is a transverse wall, at the foot of which runs a drain that comes from the kitchen of the seraglio, and falls into the sea.

Upon the whole there is nothing here worthy of remark except the wall of the second inclosure, which is covered with ivy, and some pedestals of columns, most of them half sunk into the earth. About forty paces from the station of the bo-

* Dr. Clarke says that the seraglio occupies the whole site of the ancient Byzantium.—TRANSLATOR.

standgis, following the road to the Hasné, we arrived at the entrance of the sultan's garden. The gateway is of white marble, about fifteen feet high by four wide, decorated with columns in a very bad taste. They support a plain lintel, on which is carved the cypher of Sultan Selim the Third. We were received here by six Armenians, who were the servants of Monsieur Paul. He, in order to accompany us, had put on a Turkish dress before he quitted his own house.

A *treillage* twenty-five feet high, and fifteen wide, extremely massy, forms a cross, running each way from one side to the other of the garden, dividing it into four equal divisions. In the centre of the cross it forms a dome over a small basin of white marble, in which is a jet-d'eau. Jaques ordered some of the men to make it play, but the water did not rise above six feet. It was indeed an exhibition much below mediocrity. The four squares formed by this cross are planted with flowers; and in the middle of each are basins again with jets-d'eau quite in miniature. That to the left as we entered appeared the most singular of them. After the water has risen to the height of about four feet, it divides like a parasol; and each stream falls upon a shell on the circuit of the basin, which again divides it into an infinite number of still smaller streams, scarcely bigger than threads. I contemplated this chef-d'œuvre for some minutes, and thought it very pretty for amusing children. The treillage, a work truly German, seems from its solidity calculated to brave the injuries of time for a long series of years. It is covered with jessamine, which perfumes the whole garden: and to say the truth, it has no difficult task to perform; for the inclosure is so small, that there can hardly be said to be sufficient space for the air to circulate freely.

To the right, which is the side towards the sea, the treillage leads to the kiosque of the grand signor, called Jeni-Kiosque, the new pavilion. Three circular steps lead up to it, which occupy, in the semi-circle they form, the portion of the kiosque that projects into the garden. The steps are of white marble, three feet broad and six inches high. Instead of a door, a large painted canvass hanging from the roof like a curtain closes the entrance of the kiosque, giving it in this part the appearance of a tent. We put it aside to enter, and I was most agreeably surprised at the elegance of the interior. It is of an elliptical form, the largest diameter being thirty-six feet; this runs from the curtain to the windows, which look upon the sea. The painting round the sides was executed by Europeans; it represents a colonnade, the cornices being richly painted, and gilt with great taste; in the intervals between the columns are glasses, and some paintings of flowers which seemed well preserved. In the centre hung a beautiful glass lustre,

presented to the Grand Signor by Lord Elgin, in the name, it is said, of his master the king of England. A number of cages with canary birds were hanging about: these little creatures sung charmingly, and had been taught to draw water. The sultan's sofa; was placed on the side next the sea, but had nothing remarkable in it; and there was a fountain of crystal, from which flowed very fine clear water, destined for the ablutions. Perceiving that the floor was only covered with painted cloth, I testified my surprise at it; but Monsieur Melling told me that this began to be a prevailing fashion in the seraglio. The view from the building is delightful, and the sultan loves exceedingly to come here and enjoy the sight of the sea covered with vessels, and little pleasure-boats handsomely gilt, crossing each other in every direction.

About fifteen paces from this kiosque, running along the same rampart, is a terrace of about fifty feet in length and twelve in breadth, adorned with flowers, which has lately been turned into a conservatory. At the end is a crenated bastion, from the top of which any one may see very plainly what is passing in the port without being perceived from below. This also commands the interior of the harem, but it is not possible to see the women. Quitting the terrace to return into the garden, I saw a staircase which descended under ground, and which a little way down was barricadoed by an iron grate. I could not help inquiring whither this might lead, for the place seemed to me more like one of the common sewers of Paris than any thing else. They told me that it was the secret way by which the sultan descends into a kiosque underneath Jeni-Kiosque, where he goes sometimes to smoke. I found that it also led to some little iron gates upon the shore, the use of which I had hitherto in vain inquired. By means of these the sultan can, without any train or bustle, get secretly on board a bark and escape in case of an insurrection, or any other danger by which he may be menaced. Troops might even be concealed there, which he could bring out suddenly as if they sprung from the earth.

The garden I was now in, and which is the largest of those that belong to the grand signor, is not more than a hundred and twenty paces long and fifty broad. At the eastern extremity is a hot-house, where Jaques was cultivating a number of foreign plants and flowers with great care. The hot-house was little better than a shed; under it were a number of benches rising in a stage one above the other, with the flower pots ranged upon them. Among the plants, some from Abyssinia and the Cape held a distinguished rank for their superior fragrance. At the north end of the hot-house is a grated door, called the golden gate, perhaps

because there is a little gilding about it. A gentle descent, paved with flints of various colours, leads from this to an iron gate called Boïouk-Harem-Capoussi, or the great gate of the harem; this is in the second rampart: it is the way by which the sultan goes from his own palace to the gardens and harem of his women. I endeavoured in vain to find some little peep-hole, by means of which my eye might penetrate into the secret recesses within;—places which are no doubt extremely embellished by fiction, and would lose much by being better known, and described only such as they really are. To the left, near the door of the harem, is an iron gate leading into a garden, or rather upon a terrace raised five-and-twenty feet high, which looks down upon the garden we had just quitted. Here we found nothing but a red and parched soil, with a few withered plants. An aviary had been made by order of the Sultana Validé, and this, according to the ideas of the Turks, is the most curious thing upon the terrace. Its other ornaments consist of an arm chair in white marble, of an antique form, on which the sultan sometimes sits to enjoy the view of the Bosphorus; and some basins, the jets d'eau to which could not be played off because there was no water.

At the end of this terrace, opposite to the gate at which we entered, is a gallery called Hassan Pasha's kiosque. It is entirely open to the east, both in its length and height. The ceiling is remarkable by the load of gilding, and by glasses which are fixed into it in such a way that the surrounding objects are reflected on every side. This gallery was once the sultan's favourite kiosque, but it now appears quite neglected, and the swallows have built their nests in the cornices. As it is no longer the custom to come hither, either to court or to get rid of *ennui*, though I know not whether these are sensations known to a Mussulman, it is at present made a receptacle for old furniture consigned to oblivion. Among the things we were shown the ancient throne of the Turkish emperors; this is only an arm chair very much carved and gilt, and loaded with suns. I observed a secretary which is said to have been a present from Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden, and upon it there were indeed the arms of that country; it is a curious specimen of the arts when in their infancy. I could not decypher a number of sentences in Turkish, in Persian, and in Arabic, which were inscribed upon the walls; but I had the less regret upon the subject, knowing the value of these legends, and that they cannot in general boast of much point. I measured the gallery, and found it sixty feet long by fifteen wide. As the snow and rain driven by the south winds have free admittance, it is to be presumed that it cannot be long

before the building falls entirely into ruins. I went over this garden several times, examining every part minutely in hopes of finding some Greek or Latin inscriptions; but I examined in vain, nothing of the kind was to be found.

The excavation of the rampart to the second inclosure made me however some amends, by permitting me to look into the interior of the palace, and Monsieur Melling pointed out to me the column of Arcadius, mentioned by P. Gyllius. It is of white marble perfectly well preserved, and of the Corinthian order; the height sixty feet. Its base I could not see: but Monsieur Melling, who has taken a complete drawing of it, told me that it was covered with Greek inscriptions; he could not however decypher them. Near this spot I remarked a sort of *manège*, where they were dressing the horses. I believe there was a hippodrome here at the time of the Lower Empire, so that the destination of the place is not materially altered. Near this column is the winter harem of the ladies belonging to the Grand Signor, the treasure of treasures, the place too sacred to be seen by any but the sovereign and the black eunuchs. Feeling myself near these abodes separated from all the world, the idea of the library belonging to the emperors of the East occurred to my mind; and I was so struck with the probability of its still containing some curious manuscripts, that I could have exposed myself to the greatest dangers for the sake of exploring it, if there had been the least chance of succeeding.

I quitted this dismal garden, this kiosque of Hassan Pasha, perfectly undeceived as to the chimæras with which my imagination had been previously filled. I had formerly read the letters of Lady Montague, and I seriously believed that I was to find walls incrusted with emeralds and sapphires, parterres enamelled with flowers, in short the voluptuous palace of Armida. I could not help, therefore, making use of some pretty strong expressions in venting my spleen against this lady: her account is indeed drawn from the sources furnished by her own brilliant imagination. Jaques however came, and in some degree dissipated my ill-humour by saying that he had procured the keys of the summer harem; and as the women were not there, the sultan being at that time at Bechik-Tasch, we might go and see their apartments. We were transported; and this time my companion Fornier, though he had more than once charged me with being too adventurous, was no less eager than myself. We quitted the burning garden, then, to visit the harem.—The harem of the sultan! the promised paradise!—here indeed it was impossible that we should not be enchanted! Lady Montague was now about to triumph.

In leaving the garden I cast my eyes once more towards the column, the only

object that I quitted with regret. I descended the slope along which the absolute monarch bends his steps when he honours with his presence the beauties consecrated to his caprices; I examined these iron gates, these masses of brass, these grates by which they are shut up from the world,—I cast a last look towards that solitary palace where lives the great king, surrounded by the apparatus of terror which follows him every where,—I thought of the adulation, of the fatiguing homage of which he is the object,—of the walls mouldering away by time,—of the golden prisons,—of the wretched existence of a prince entrenched in his capital, surrounded with guards wherever he goes,—I thought of the subterranean passages by the side of his kiosque, through which he might be at any moment driven by terror,—I thought of the cares, the embarrassments of his government agitated by war, by dissentions, and revolts;—all these things were passing in my mind, and I was strongly deprecating the misery of such a life when the first door of the harem was opened.

Had a single black eunuch been now at his post, a poniard might have been the only satisfaction our curiosity would have received; but these people were fortunately all at Bechik-Tasch in attendance upon their victims. Notwithstanding this, Monsieur Jaques recommended silence to us, permitting me however to take any notes upon the spot that I might wish. We were introduced by the gate I have already mentioned, called Kutchuk-Harem-Capoussi: the enormous size of the key and the noise made by the gate grating upon its hinges, united with the solitude and sacredness of the place, seemed at first to strike us all with a sort of awe. A second door which was of wood, and not more than a dozen feet from the first, then presented itself: this our guide opened, but shut it again immediately, because he perceived some Turks in the interior of the court; he even thought it prudent to make us retire into a part of the building where the female slaves are lodged, and keep us concealed there a while.

This building occupies a part of the space comprised between the two doors; but as the entrance to it is in the interior of the court, we were obliged to force a shutter and get in by a window upon the ground floor. While we were waiting here I examined the apartment of the female slaves, which is upon the first floor. It is a vast gallery three hundred feet in length, forty-five in breadth, and twenty in height, with a range of windows on each side, and divided down the whole length by a double row of closets, painted some red, some blue, some white, forming two distinct ranges one above the other, and in these the slaves keep

whatever property they have. Near the windows are little spaces surrounded with a balustrade three feet high, and furnished with sofas on which the Odaliscas sleep, in parties of fifteen each. Between them and the range of closets runs a corridor, or walk, six feet wide, which goes all round the gallery. As the doors of some of the closets were open, curiosity led me to examine the treasures within; but some miserable garments of Aleppo stuff gave me no high idea of the splendour of the Odaliscas. I pitied their fate, however, very sincerely, when on calculating the number of compartments I perceived that there was provision made for lodging three hundred and fifty women; and thus packed together, the idea of the mephitic vapours with which it must then be filled, notwithstanding the height of the cieling, struck me irresistibly. At each end of the gallery is a staircase, closed above by a sort of folding trap-doors, which from their weight are difficult to be raised. They are fastened with iron bars across them instead of locks. Some tapers of yellow wax, in candlesticks which are hung up very high, throw a gloom rather than a light over this abode, in perfect conformity with the wretched purpose to which it is destined.

The Turks whom Jaques had seen detained us here more than an hour; but as soon as they had retired, we retreated through the window by which we had entered, and the second door being again opened, we descended into the court of the harem. This, however, our guide desired us to quit immediately, for fear of being seen; and he led us up into the apartments of the sultanas. The court on the side towards the sea is two hundred and fifty paces long. This was the only one that I could measure. The apartments in this part of the building are the most magnificent; below is a colonnade, which forms a sort of gallery or cloister. The columns are of white Parian marble, and at the distance of about fifteen feet from each other. They stand upon socles of bronze, which were formerly gilt; are regularly proportioned, and are terminated by Ionian capitals. In the intermediate spaces hang, instead of elegant chandeliers, a parcel of wretched lamps, which just afford light sufficient for the people to see their way about at night. The walls of the court and the pavement by no means correspond with the elegance of the columns. The latter have, probably, by some chance been preserved here.

The building opposite the colonnade stands against the second rampart of the seraglio, which here takes a different direction. It contains three pavilions for sultanas, separated from each other within, though forming one connected range of building. They are painted of different colours. The side to the garden, by which we entered, is allotted to the slaves; and here also is the kitchen.

Opposite to this is a high crenated wall, with a door which leads into a second court, where are the apartments of the black eunuchs, and the kislar-aga or chief of this body. The space within the square is laid out as a garden, but is very ill kept; it is divided from east to west by a terrace. It was here that the feast of tulips was formerly held; but this has been long abolished. According to all appearance it must have been a very poor thing; but the pens of romance writers can embellish objects the most ordinary, and make them appear of prodigious importance. Some clumps of lilacs and jessamine, some weeping willows hanging over a basin, and some silk-trees, are the only ornaments of this imaginary Eden; and these the women themselves take a pleasure in destroying as soon as a flower appears by which their curiosity is excited.

We ascended a staircase in the centre of the gallery formed by the colonnade, and entered the apartment of the first sultana; for the sultan's wives, to the number of seven, are distinguished by their numerical order, though with no other privileges attached to their priority than those which they obtain by becoming mothers. It was a large square room looking upon the court: the cornices were loaded with gilding, and the walls with glasses. There was no furniture except some mahogany commodes, the sofas having been carried to Bechik-Tasch for the use of the sultana during her residence there. This seems a proof that their highnesses are not very rich in furniture.

From the apartment of the first sultana we followed a narrow and winding corridor to that of the *sultana validé*, or sultan's mother. It is built partly upon the kiosque, well known by the beautiful marble pillars * which are seen on the outside from the quay, as the kiosque of the sultana validé. The part which looks upon the court differs very little from the apartment we had already seen, excepting in the furniture. There were two secretaries ornamented with fleurs-de-lys, a large crystal lustre in the ancient Gothic taste, and some sofas of rich Lyons brocade, with several China vases for flowers. The ascent to the room over the kiosque was by six steps, which ran along the whole side of the room. They were covered with scarlet cloth, embroidered with gold at the corners. Above was an estrade, with an oratory closed by a palisade door gilt. Here the sultana says her namaz or prayers. We went into it, and I contemplated at leisure a number of little objects, of which it would be tedious here to give a detail. A little gilt mi-

* These pillars are particularly mentioned by Dr. Clarke: he says that they "are of that beautiful and rare breccia, the *viride Lacedæmonium* of Pliny, called by Italians *il verde antico*."—TRANSLATOR.

naret, which is seen on the outside, belongs to this oratory. From hence there is a magnificent view over the Bosphorus. Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged that nothing can be more ordinary than the furniture of this harem; even the rooms themselves are scarcely better than those inhabited by our modern *bourgeoises*. This seems to prove beyond a doubt that Lady Montague never was here: she had too much discernment to make so great a mistake as to give a splendid description of what is in truth extremely common and ordinary.

From the apartment of the sultana validé we went to the baths: this room is entirely of white marble. The sultan's bath cannot be, I think, the work of the Turks; it has much more the appearance of having been an ancient sarcophagus, or something belonging to an ancient temple, now converted to its present use. The apartment of the bath is not at all in the eastern style, it is much more in the taste of ours in Europe. The slabs of the pavement are so well united, that the whole has the appearance of being one single piece; and it is very highly polished. The walls are not less elegant; and the vaulted roof is curved in a very good taste, but without figures. I could not find out to whom the credit of constructing this building, or carving the marble columns, was to be ascribed. The bath may indeed be mentioned in the highest terms without violating truth; it is probably the most worth seeing of any thing in the seraglio. The water comes in by golden cocks. What an atmosphere of odours is breathed there! How different from the baths in the town, where the heavy vapour of soap strikes the senses the moment one enters! I did indeed admire this place: it is worthy of the arts, and is so substantial that one may hope there is nothing to be apprehended for it from the ravages of time. The apartments on the other side of the court presented nothing very particular, except a kiosque of the sultan's called the Kiosque of Glasses, where there are five handsome pier-glasses, the remains of a much larger number.

During this survey we were entertained by our conductor with an account of the manners and customs of the harem; of the unhappy fate of the women confined there; and of the intrigues carried on to dispute the withered heart of the sultan. 'Tis here that women endowed with ardent imaginations deify the phantoms of their delirious passions, when despair taking possession of their souls, consumption or suicide terminates at length an existence become hateful to them.

Every sultana has her separate establishment and her separate slaves; but it seems, from what has been stated above, that the slaves, though appropriated to their respective mistresses, live all together in one general community. The sultanas

pay visits of ceremony to each other; and sometimes make little entertainments, to which the sultan is invited. On these occasions they display all the charms of their voices, and dance themselves, or have dances performed. When the sultan intends to honour one of these ladies with a tête-à-tête, he sends to announce his intention by a black eunuch, who in delivering the message prostrates himself at the feet of the unhappy being whom at other times he persecutes. The fable of throwing the handkerchief is no less ridiculous than many others that have been circulated with regard to the harems. Selim the Third prefers the company of his mother to that of his wives. This lady is sincerely loved and respected by him. If he comes to the harem, it is generally to pay his homage to her; to pour out his troubles in her bosom. Too weak for a prince, he has all the virtues and good qualities that would form a truly amiable character as a private gentleman.

We quitted the harem on tiptoe, having first looked about very carefully to see whether the coast was entirely clear. Our guide assured us that we were the only Europeans who had till that moment ever been admitted there*. Before we quitted the seraglio entirely, Monsieur Jaques insisted upon our taking some refreshment at his apartments. He told us that he was very much tired of his situation, and

* Mr. Thornton attacks the account here given by Dr. Pouqueville of his visit to the sultan's gardens and summer harem with very great, it may surely also be said, with very *unreasonable* severity. He is particularly angry at his representing the gardener, who introduced him, as having said that he and his party were the first Europeans ever admitted there, and instances La Motraye as having seen the harem. It does indeed appear as if the gardener, to enhance the value of what he had done, stated what he must have been very conscious was not the matter of fact. Leaving La Motraye's visit out of the question, of which he might very probably be ignorant, it can scarcely be doubted, from the account given by Dr. Clarke of his visit to the seraglio, that he was introduced by this very Monsieur Jaques himself. Dr. Clarke does not indeed mention his name, but says that he was admitted by means of a German gardener, which leaves no doubt as to the identity of the person; and as his visit took place some months before Dr. Pouqueville's, Monsieur Jaques cannot be acquitted of *saying the thing that was not;* but it is rather hard to make Dr. Pouqueville responsible for it. It seems, indeed, not an unfair inference, from the two instances before us, that the gardener was ready to introduce any stranger when he thought it could be done with safety and profit to himself; and it is very probable that he repeated to every successive person that he was the first European who ever obtained admittance there. Perhaps he had carried on the practice till he began to fear he might be suspected, and thought it prudent to retire from his post, as we find from our traveller that he has since returned into his own country. Mr. Thornton seems, besides, very much disposed to arraign Dr. Pouqueville for not being more dazzled with the magnificence of the harem, and for thinking that Lady Mary Wortley Montague has rather, in her descriptions of eastern luxury and splendour, painted from a model formed by her own brilliant imagination than from reality. But it is certain that Dr. Clarke's testimony is a strong confirmation of Dr. Pouqueville's. Indeed, there is so striking a similarity in the accounts given by the two doctors, that each strongly supports the truth of the other,

that it was his intention to return soon to his own country. I have since learnt that he has arrived there; and I have, therefore, not scrupled here to mention his name. This I might otherwise have been afraid to do, lest he might be drawn into difficulties by it. His salary was six thousand piastres a-year.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Departure from Constantinople.—Nagara.—Course from thence to the Bay of Mametta, or Hamet, on the African coast.—Stay at Porto-Conté in Sardinia.—Arrival in the road of Hyères.—News of peace with England.—Debarkation at the lazaretto at Marseilles.

I AM now arrived at the part of my travels most agreeable to myself, that of my return to France. From the time that the Porte had agreed to liberate the French prisoners, those who were already released from confinement obtained permission to organise a regular council for the arrangement of all things that concerned their departure. It was established under the protection of Russia, and was called the *commission of assistance*. Monsieur Ruffin, the *chargé d'affaires*, was placed at the head of it; and Monsieur Flury, the consul-general for trade, was appointed vice-president. The object of this institution was to distribute among the prisoners, according to their rank and wants, the remittances sent by government for them. I have noticed before, that at the commencement of our captivity these remittances were sent through the hands of Monsieur Bouligni, the minister from the court of Spain, and afterwards through Baron Hubschs the Danish minister. To them succeeded the commission above mentioned.

Its first object was to procure information respecting the different places where any of our nation were confined, in order to arrange, through the intervention of

and both lessen extremely the ideas we have hitherto been led to entertain of the luxury and magnificence that reigns in the Grand Signior's seraglio. It is impossible, besides, not to observe, that almost all Europeans who have visited Constantinople subsequently to Lady Mary, with the exception of Mr. Thornton himself, have, if not in direct terms, at least by implication, allowed what Dr. Pouqueville asserts, that her descriptions are somewhat too highly coloured.—TRANSLATOR.

Russia, the means of collecting them together and sending them to France. An agreement was soon after made with a Greek captain of Cephalonia, by name Panagi-Pana, who had then a vessel at Constantinople, the Saint Nicolo, with a crew of seventeen men, to carry the first party: the vessel was to sail under the Russian flag. Among the Greeks who composed the crew was a young Cephaloniate, by name Spirou, whom I have already mentioned as having been on board the vessel which carried us from the Morea to Constantinople, and who rendered us some services during the voyage. I was very much rejoiced at meeting with him again, as he introduced me to the captain and some other Greeks, from whom I collected a great deal of information relative to the present state of maritime affairs in their country, of importance in determining the political ideas to be entertained upon the subject. But as I have already hinted at the progress the Greeks were making in navigation, particularly the inhabitants of Hydra and Spezzia, it is needless to add more in this place.

The arrangement for our departure was no sooner made, than it became a sort of scramble among those whose lot it was to form a part of this cargo, who should make the most ample provision for the voyage; a precaution not altogether superfluous, since the two commissaries, whose business it was to furnish the vessel with provisions, were not very active in executing the charge deputed to them. Among the passengers were whole families, fathers, mothers, and children; and I cannot say I thought with pleasure of the numerous and, as it promised to be, troublesome society with whom I was to be united. There was however something not unamusing in the air of importance assumed by every body: I do not know that there is any sentiment more universally prevalent among mankind than this desire of being thought of great consequence, no matter how obscure the individual is in reality. The Greeks kept protracting our stay from day to day, sometimes urging that water was scarce at Constantinople, and it was difficult to procure a supply, with many other excuses equally frivolous: the truth was, that they wanted to carry with them several objects which they thought might be sold to advantage in France, and it was necessary to gain time in order to procure them.

At length however, thanks to the assiduities of Messieurs Flury and Fonton, whom I urged to hasten our departure, the moment arrived when the Greeks could find no further pretence for procrastination, and the order of the kaimakan arrived for our quitting the shore of Tophana. This was on the ninth of September. I went on board early in the morning, and was amused with seeing the rest of

the cargo arrive, some with baskets full of live fowls, some with fruit, in short loaded with provisions of all kinds: yet notwithstanding the plenty there appeared to be on board, we had got no further than the village of Saint Stephen, when I heard one of the passengers lamenting bitterly the loss of a cold pie which he had unfortunately left behind.

At two o'clock the signal gun was fired for our departure; but as not a breath of air was stirring, six boats were obliged to tow us as far as Dolma Bakché: a breeze from the north then springing up, our sails were set, and we proceeded happily on our way. We hoisted the French and Russian flags of truce; but our captain, in saluting the seraglio, by mistake fired a gun loaded with ball, which had nearly sunk a caïque, and which actually struck the palace walls. The navigation of the Propontis commenced by a copious supper, in which those who had left any tender recollections behind them at Pera took care to wash away their chagrin by abundant libations to Bacchus. On the third day from our departure we came to anchor off Nagara, half a league from the entrance of the Dardanelles. The motive for stopping here was to procure a supply of water, a very small stock of which had been brought from Constantinople. At the same time our salted provisions underwent an inspection, and it was found advisable to throw the greatest part of them into the sea, or there would have been some danger of their spreading a putrid infection over the vessel. They were replaced by a few sheep, which were so lean as to excite no other sensation in the beholder but compassion. Woe to those who propose to supply themselves with provisions at the Dardanelles! every thing is much dearer than at Constantinople.

Nagara is an anchorage upon the coast of Asia, half a league east of the castle of the Dardanelles, below the point where probably stood Abydos. A shoaly part of the coast at a little distance seems to be the spot where Xerxes must have thrown over the bridge by which his army crossed into Europe. The cape of Abydos is now inclosed with walls, planted within with fruit-trees: the water of a fountain which flows from its summit is that by which vessels are supplied. The Turks take care always to turn its course, in order to exact a tribute from navigators who wish to have recourse to it; the quantity of water furnished is by no means abundant. Within the walled inclosure is a small Turkish chapel, and the tomb of a miserable santon, whose sabre and buckler are hung against the wall at the foot of which his body reposes. There is a staircase up to this place, and all travellers indiscriminately may seek a shelter in the mosque. Nagara consists, besides, of three houses occupied by two bakers and a dealer in coffee.

The land about the coast is in general arid and uncultivated, but it abounds with game: in a few spots near the ancient Arisbe, and upon the banks of the Selleïs, there is some appearance of fertility; near the latter are several very fine planes.

We remained at this place till the thirteenth of September, and then again weighed anchor at two in the afternoon. It was not without some emotion that I saluted the plain of Troy, that country of enchantment, rich from the sublime fictions associated with it, and where one must see, with the eye of faith at least, the Xanthus and the Simoïs. The summits of Mount Ida charged with light clouds, the top of Gargara disappearing from time to time in the mist, a sort of general inquietude in the air, if I may be allowed the expression, announced the coming on of the first equinoctial winds. The vessels within sight were all reefing their sails, or running to seek shelter in some neighbouring port, and three Russian frigates had just dropped their anchors between Imbros and Tenedos. We displayed our flags; but, the wind freshening, we soon lost sight of every object around in the haze that overspread the surface of the sea.

In forty-eight hours more we were off Cerigo; but the winds becoming adverse, it was eight days before we arrived in the channel of Malta. We met several cartels carrying the French garrison of Cairo to Marseilles, and learnt from them the final evacuation of Egypt by the French. The wind forcing us to luff, we approached the coast of Africa. On the twenty-fifth of September, being near the island of Lampedosa, we received a visit from two American frigates; they came to inquire whether we had seen any Barbary vessels, and we learnt from them that they were at war with the government of Tripoli. After this visit was over, we left Lampion and Lignosa, two rocks near Lampedosa, to the right, and made towards the African coast. On the twenty-eighth of September we entered the bay of Mametta, or Hamet. This inhospitable shore, dangerous at all times, was now much more so because of the war between the states of Barbary and France. We continued to coast along, keeping at a little distance, intending to gain Cape Bona.

The coast of Africa from Zerbi to this Cape makes part of the kingdom of Tunis. Covered with corn, and having some fine forests, it is inhabited by a cruel and barbarous race of men, among whom the laws of civilized life have never been able to penetrate. There are some ports whither vessels will occasionally run the hazard of going to purchase cargoes of wool, but this cannot be done without incurring a great risk. Next to Mehedia, the town most known upon this coast is Suza. As we were very near it, I could see both that and the

country tolerably at my leisure. It stands at the bottom of a bay formed by the cape, and appears but a moderate town. It may be known at a distance, by the neighbouring mountains being covered with a very extensive forest of palm-trees. On the cape is a round tower, built probably to protect the entrance to the bay. The white houses without roofs, and the low minarets, give it the appearance common to all African towns. Five little islets scattered about the cape add safety to the anchorage, and serve as sea-marks.

Two leagues further to the north we saw a number of tents belonging to wandering Arabs, disposed with the regularity of a camp; they were upon the declivity of a hill above Kashr Hali. Four leagues further, keeping along the shore in the same direction, we came within sight of Hamet, the anchorage of which appears very dangerous. From thence to Cape Bona we saw several villages, and the fort of Sidi-Daoud four leagues from the extremity of the cape: from Suza we had gone on very heavily indeed. Our sailors seemed resolved that we should see as much as possible of the shores of the Mediterranean; for, after carrying us almost into the mouth of Tunis, they brought us within sight of the ancient Utica, now called Porto Farino. It was not till the second of October that we saw the coasts of Sardinia.

The equinoctial winds here broke out with all their fury, and never was the sea more terrible. The noise of the thunder resounded from all parts; and if for an instant the rain seemed to bring with it an interval of calm, it was only for the tempest to rage again the next moment with redoubled force. The night which succeeded our losing sight of the African coast spread over the waters a scene of horror, which the cries of the sailors rendered still more terrible. At length, on the return of day, we ran under mizen sails into Porto-Conté in Sardinia, while an English cartel, the Tartarus, with which we had spoken the evening before, at her arrival in France reported that she had seen the vessel and all the crew perish before it could reach the island. Another English vessel, a privateer, served us in the room of a pilot to find our way into Porto-Conté: she had first chased us; but then seeing the flag of truce waving, changed her direction and ran for the harbour, whither we followed her.

When we had cast anchor, I went on shore with my companion Fornier to give an account of ourselves to the commandant of a tower which guards the entrance to the port. We landed on a shore broken by rocks and entirely barren, and soon heard a voice calling to us to stop. A moment after the commandant descended from his aërial habitation by a rope ladder. He told us that he was *alcade* to his

majesty the king of Sardinia, and commandant of the port where we had anchored. Indeed he did very right to inform us of his dignities, for he had rather the air of a necromancer than an alcade. He was in a white *culotte* pieced all over, his legs were naked, and his shoes had suffered extremely from the ravages of time; he had a waistcoat without sleeves, the foreparts of which, formerly black, were now nearer to the colour of amber, and it was held together behind by two pieces of cloth, which seemed to be part of an old ship sail. He was notwithstanding, according to his own testimony, one of the most illustrious personages in the island of Sardinia, and as noble as the king, to speak with moderation. We accordingly saluted him very respectfully, and he in return took off the portion of hat which yet remained to cover his head.

After the customary questions respecting the plague had been asked on his side, we on ours signified that we wished to purchase some provisions. As he told us, however, that none were to be had nearer than Algieras, a town four leagues off, and that there they could not sell them without an order from the governor, we resolved to have recourse to this magistrate, and to address a letter besides to the Russian consul, begging him to interest himself in our favour. The alcade, retiring after this short conversation, remounted the rope ladder into his apartment, and we advanced to the foot of the tower. From thence we entered into a very amusing conversation with him, when two cannoniers, who formed his garrison, came to join him. They had on white woollen waistcoats, and short black petticoats instead of *culottes;* they were besides disfigured with enormous goitres. Their appearance on the whole was so extremely grotesque that we could not forbear laughing immoderately. The alcade however, far from taking offence, redescended the ladder with great complacency to accept some biscuits which we offered him; for it is well known that bread does not communicate the plague. It was at length agreed in a convention, which the biscuits seemed to facilitate very much, that we might walk all about the bay, and supply ourselves with water if we wished it. The cannoniers having by this time contemplated us sufficiently, and the alcade having again mounted the ladder, it was drawn up, the window was closed, and we saw no more of him for that day.

Porto-Conté is an anchorage in the island of Sardinia, well known to mariners, but there is no town. The entrance is defended by the tower already mentioned, and another the exact counterpart of it; both are mounted with some pieces of cannon, sufficient to keep the Barbary corsairs at a distance. That where the alcade resides is on the right hand. It is sixty feet high, and besides the cannon

is furnished with a great number of stones, which would soon crush any one that advanced too near. There is good anchorage in almost any part of the bay, except near the left-hand tower, where there are rocks just below the water. At the bottom of the bay is a fountain, but the water is rather brackish. We collected some pinnæ upon the neighbouring shore; they were of an amazing size, and contained some silk; the shell was in the inside a tolerably good mother of pearl: the flesh was very hard. The whole shore was covered with stunted palm-trees bearing very dry bad dates. I gathered some beautiful narcissuses, which were flowering for the second time, and we found abundance of horse-radish and dandelions, of which we made very plentiful salads. We had not much success in fishing; a few rougets only were caught by our hooks; nor had some Genoese vessels that were in the bay much better success with their nets.

During the time that we remained at Porto-Conté I had a visit from the captain of the English privateer already mentioned. He was of Port-Mahon, and came with a request that I would extract a ball from the thigh of one of his sailors, who had been wounded some days before in an engagement with a Corsican vessel. He told me that the sea was covered with Barbary pirates, and indeed I thought he had very much the appearance of one himself, notwithstanding he was all over crosses and amulets. I consented also to visit two other of his men, who were ill with fevers caught at Sassari, a town in a very unhealthy situation, six leagues from Porto-Conté, where they had stopped several days.

At length, after repeated applications to the Russian consul, we saw a bark arrive laden with provisions. We paid for them, and the next day quitted the port, where we had been detained twelve days. On the sixteenth of October, at daybreak, we saw the coast of France, and about seven o'clock had the happiness of casting anchor in the road of Hyéres. Here we found the brig *Abeille*, who announced to us the joyful tidings that preliminaries of peace were signed with England. At this news, and at the sight of our country, tears of delight flowed from the eyes of our whole party. We learnt at the same time that the second cartel from Constantinople, which sailed six days after us, had arrived at Toulon, and was there performing quarantine. For ourselves, we were obliged to proceed to the lazaretto at Marseilles for the same purpose, and here we found the passengers of the third cartel, which had sailed three weeks after us; they had already commenced their quarantine. Thus ended my last voyage, which had been protracted to one-and-forty days.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Observations introductory to a detail of the sufferings of Messrs. Charbonnel, Poitevin, and Bessières, during their captivity in Albania; with a description of that country, anciently known under the name of Epirus.

Having thus given an account of the adventures which befel me personally, and those who were separated with me from the rest of our party when our vessel was taken by the corsair, as well as of two others with whom we were subsequently reunited, it remains to speak of the rest whose fates continued distinct from ours during the years of our respective misfortunes. This part of my work will, I hope and trust, not be found the least interesting; the subject it embraces may almost be considered as having perfect novelty to recommend it. United in a strict friendship with the officers whose adventures I have to relate, they have intrusted to me the notes they collected in the different parts whither their adverse fates carried them, that, as the captivity we suffered originated in a common misfortune, the details of our sufferings might be consigned to one common record; thus both sanctioning and encouraging my undertaking. If their own time, consecrated to camps or to other important functions, did not deprive them of the leisure necessary for writing, the honour of arranging and publishing their notes would not have been consigned to me; and the public would have gained much by the greater colour of originality preserved in the pictures with which they were presented.

I shall however endeavour, as much as possible, to retain the manner and style of my originals; and the reader will in this relation be made acquainted with the aspect of a country which, placed at the gates of Europe, is at present almost unknown, and concerning which nothing but vague and erroneous statements have hitherto been published. I must also flatter myself that some commendation will be found due to the prisoners whose adventures I relate, that under circumstances so painful the spirit of observation could not be extinguished among them. It is no unimportant instance how much courage and fortitude may rise superior to moral suffering; nor will the harmony and friendship constantly preserved among them throughout their misfortunes appear less admirable. But before I enter on the

narrative, the reader will perhaps not be displeased at being presented with a sketch of the ancient history and geography of Albania, taken from the notices of the learned Monsieur Barbié du Bocage.

This country, formerly called Epirus, had its name from the Greek word ΗΠΕΙΡΟΣ, which signifies *a continent*. It was given by the Greeks of Corfu, Saint Maure, Cephalonia, and Ithaca, in contradistinction to the islands they inhabited. The province is bounded to the west by Thessaly and Macedonia, to the south by Illyria, and to the north by Acarnania and Ætolia. It extends along the sea-coast from the Acroceraunian mountains for a space of forty-five leagues, to the gulf of Ambracia, now Arta, and is in breadth twenty-five leagues, from Cape Chimerium to Pindus, which separates it from Thessaly. It is a mountainous region which, detaching itself from Pindus towards the sea to the north and to the south, is divided near Cape Chimerium into two branches, one of which forms to the north the Acroceraunian mountains, and the other to the south the Cassopian. From hence it appears that the country is in general very much elevated; it is obvious that it must consequently be very cold. There are many lakes inclosed among the mountains: it is in short a wild and barren country, containing very little level ground.

It nevertheless abounds in excellent pasturage, and always furnished a plentiful supply of oxen and horses; it was also celebrated for the fine race of Molossian dogs, which were held in such esteem for hunting. The mountains were covered with forests of oaks as old as the world itself, and some small plains towards the sea produced corn. The principal mountain is Liacmon, in which the Aous and the Inachus have their sources. Next to this is Mount Tomarus, which sheltered the town of Dodona to the north, and which was lost among the Acroceraunian and Cassopian mountains. From this flowed the Celydnus, the Thyamis, the Acheron, the Arethon, and other rivers. The river Acheloüs, which was the largest river of Greece, flowed from Pindus. The coasts of Epirus abounded with fish. The character of the inhabitants was not less rude and rugged than the face of their country; they were robust, and capable of enduring a great deal of fatigue, full of courage, and excellent soldiers. They were early known to the Greeks; but the latter had little intercourse with them, and they themselves soon began to wander into the plains of Thessaly, from whence they proceeded to Greece.

The country was divided into fourteen different tribes, some of which by turns acquired the ascendancy over the rest. To the north, among the Acroceraunian mountains, were the Chaonians, who lived chiefly upon acorns. They afterwards

collected themselves into several towns, as Orium, Chimera, Photice; and on this part of the coast was the bay of Palœssa, where Julius Cæsar landed with his army when he was in pursuit of Pompey. To the east of the Chaonians were the Atintanians, who inhabited the valley of Celydnus: in the time of the Romans they had several large towns, as Amantia, Hadrianopolis, and others. In another part still further towards the east were the Paraveans, who occupied the valley in which is the source of the Aous. Here were only a few small hamlets, and the people were very poor and wild. Nearly the same thing might be said of the Orestæ and the Stymphalians, who were also to the east; they were originally Epirots, though they were afterwards included in the census of Macedonia. All these countries were covered with wood, and it was difficult to penetrate into them.

To the south of the Chaonians were the Thesprotes, who were the most polished people of Epirus, and had for some time a king of their own. These people inhabited the towns of Buthrotum, of Ephyra, since called Cichyrus, and Gitanæ. It was through their country that flowed the Cocytus and the Acheron. To the south of this district was Cassopia, which was properly speaking only a continuation of Thesprotia, and which answers to what is now called the country of Souli. In this canton there were several small towns, which had been founded by the Elœans, as Buchetia, Platia, Pandosia. The town of Nicopolis was built by Cæsar Augustus on the territory of the Cassopians.

To the east of the Thesprotes were the Molossians, who inhabited the neighbourhood of Dodona. They were a warlike people, and were governed by a king who became very powerful; and whose descendant, the celebrated Pyrrhus, made the Romans tremble. The principal towns of the Molossians were Possaro and Dodona, where was the celebrated oracle of Jupiter. Some authors place Dodona in Thesprotia, but there is more reason to believe that it was in Molossia. Here were the famous oracular oaks which were consulted by people from a very great distance. The deception consisted in a number of brazen vessels being hung to the trees, from which, when they were moved by the wind, came sounds that passed for oracles. There were priests and priestesses attached to the temple of Jupiter, and the oracle was exceedingly frequented in ancient times; but after the establishment of the temple at Delphos, this at Dodona sunk in reputation. The building of the latter temple was ascribed by the Greeks to Deucalion and Pyrrha. The town of Dodona is supposed to have stood where now stands Protopapas, near Janina.

The Perhebians inhabited the mountains to the east of the Molossians. They

had some small hamlets near the sources of the rivers. Still further to the east were the Athamanes; they inhabited a beautiful valley watered by the Acheloüs, and had several towns. The country had formerly been only a vast lake; but the Acheloüs having forced down a dyke which retained its waters and made itself a regular channel, the valley presented a rich soil fit for cultivation. These people were governed by a king, who when the Romans entered Greece was very powerful: the district could then reckon five principal towns,—Argithea, Tetraphylia, Theium, Heraclea, and Theudoria. The Athamanes were separated from Thessaly by Mount Pindus; but to the east of this mountain, in Thessaly itself, were a tribe of Epirots, called Æthians, established near the sources of the Peneus. To the south of the Athamanes was Aperantia, a district covered with wood; and westward of this tribe lived the Amphilochians. In their country were included several Greek towns, among others Argos and Amphilochium, the latter of which was founded by Amphilochus, son of Amphioraüs. To the west of Argos was Ambracia, a very considerable town which had been enlarged by the Corinthians; it was one of the principal towns of the kingdom of Pyrrhus.

Having thus sketched a general idea of the country, it remains to give a succinct account of those by whom it was governed. The eastern part of Epirus was the first which became known to the Greeks, since it was by that side that they penetrated into the country. According to their account, the most ancient inhabitants of the country were Deucalion and Pyrrha, who took refuge here in flying from the deluge that bears their name. They built the temple of Jupiter at Dodona, the most ancient oracle of which there remains any record. After them Thesprotus, son of Lycaon, sovereign of Arcadia, came into Epirus, where he founded a kingdom to which he gave his own name. He was succeeded by his son Ambracus, who in his turn gave his name to the Ambracians, and built the town of Ambracia. The Corinthians afterwards established a colony there, when it became a Greek town. Ephyrus, son to Ambracus, succeeded his father; he built and gave his name to the town of Ephyra in Thesprotia. It was in the time of this prince that Theseus and Pirithoüs made their expedition into Epirus. "They came," says Plutarch, "in the intention to take away the king's daughter, and for this purpose they enrolled themselves among the number who aspired to her hand. The king appointed sports, on the victor in which the princess was to be bestowed; but Pirithoüs, instead of appearing at the competition, took that opportunity of carrying away the prize. This incensed the king so much that he delivered Pirithoüs up to his dog Cerberus, who tore him in pieces. Theseus remained in

irons till he was afterwards delivered by Hercules." This hero is even reported to have obtained so much credit at the court of Epirus that he had a son by the princess.

The descendants of Hercules seem to have reigned in the country at the time of the siege of Troy; for after the destruction of that city, when Neoptolemus, or Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, came to establish himself in Epirus, he carried away from Dodona, Lanassa, great-grand daughter of Hercules, by whom he had several children, none of whom however reigned after him. In returning from Troy he had espoused Andromache, the widow of Hector, by whom he had three sons, Molossus, Pictus, and Pergamus. The two first reigned after him, and the third founded a city, called after his own name, in Mysia. Pyrrhus, however, being killed in the temple of Delphos, at the instigation of Hermione, by a priest as some say, while by others the deed is ascribed to Orestes himself, and his children being all then minors, Helenus, one of the sons of Priam, whom he had brought with him from Troy, assumed the reins of government and ruled over the new colony. He founded the town of Buthrotum, and it was here that he received the fugitive Æneas, who was charmed to find a Trojan governing his conquerors. Helenus in his turn married Andromache, the widow of Hector and of Pyrrhus, and by her he had a son whom he sent to reign over a particular canton of Epirus. For himself, content with having preserved the empire for the sons of Pyrrhus, he dying resigned the sceptre to them, and Molossus, the eldest, ascended the throne. He seems to have died young, and without children, for he left the kingdom to his brother Pictus. No particular actions of these princes remain upon record.

Fourteen generations after Molossus, we find Tharipus or Tharyps, a descendant of Pyrrhus, reigning over the Molossians and the Atintanians. This prince must have been young when the empire devolved to him, for it appears that he had a guardian. His dominions could not be very extensive; for at this time his neighbours the Paravians and the Orestæ had each their own sovereign, while an aristocratical government was established among the Chaonians and the Thesprotes. Tharyps was succeeded by his son Alcetas, under whose reign Jason, tyrant of Pheres in Thessaly, made an expedition into Epirus. This prince had two sons, Aribbas and Neoptolemus, who quarrelling with each other divided their father's kingdom into two parts. Aribbas, however, soon invaded his brother's territories, and drove him from them: he was a powerful prince, and reigned ten years. By his wife Troya he had two sons, Alcetas and Æacidas: the latter was of a mild and

amiable disposition; but the eldest, Alcetas, was so violent and passionate that his father could not endure him, and in consequence, at his death, named Æacidas for his successor.

Neoptolemus, however, who had been driven from his estates, had allied himself with the Macedonians. He as well as his brother Aribbas had two children, a daughter by name Olympias, who married Philip king of Macedon, and a son Alexander. After the death of Neoptolemus, Alexander, availing himself of the demise of his uncle Aribbas, entered Epirus, and with the assistance of his brother-in-law Philip seized the throne of the Molossians. This prince, when he was twenty years old, married Cleopatra his niece, the daughter of Philip; but it does not appear that he had any children by her. He made war upon the Illyrians with some success; but upon the faith of an oracle which warned him to beware of the town of Pandosia, and of the river Acheron, he was anxious to quit his own country, and carried his arms into Italy: he was there drowned in the Acheron, near the town of Pandosia. When he learnt the conquests of his nephew, Alexander the Great, conceiving some jealousy of them, he remarked *that he had found nothing but women to fight with—for his own part, he had been obliged to contend with men.*

At his death, Æacidas, second son of Aribbas, and named by the latter heir to his throne, returned into Epirus, and resumed the sovereignty of which Alexander had deprived him. He reconciled himself with the family of Philip, and made war upon Cassander who had seized on Macedonia. But notwithstanding the mildness of his temper, having given some discontent to his subjects the Molossians, they revolted against him, and massacred him and almost all his family. This prince married Phehia, the daughter of Menon king of Thessaly, by whom he had two daughters and a son: the latter was the great Pyrrhus. When his father was massacred he was a child in the cradle, and being preserved from the disaster was carried to Glaucias, king of Illyria, by whom he was educated. The Molossians, after the murder of Æacidas, placed on the throne that Alcetas, the eldest son of Aribbas, whom his father had rejected on account of his violent temper. He made war upon Cassander king of Macedonia, but had reason to repent it, as this prince sent an army into the very heart of his country, which compelled him to make peace. Afterwards governing his subjects with much cruelty, they revolted against him, and massacred him and all his children.

Such a succession of sanguinary transactions deterred other princes from wishing to assume the sceptre of Epirus, and Glaucias took advantage of this circumstance

to re-establish the young Pyrrhus upon the throne of his fathers. He was then between eleven and twelve years old, and was received by the Epirots partly with good-will, partly by force: it was agreed that the nation should appoint him guardians till he was old enough to govern himself. During his minority he was a sort of prisoner in his country, and his sister Deidamia, who was saved with him, was married to Demetrius Polycrates. But at the age of seventeen, taking a journey into Illyria, the Molossians availed themselves of his absence to plunder him entirely, and place at their head a person whose name was Neoptolemus.

Pyrrhus, deprived of his sovereignty, took refuge with his brother-in-law, and fought with him in the battle of Ipsus, when the army of Antigonus was defeated and he himself killed. Pyrrhus, after having performed several distinguished actions, was given in hostage to Ptolemy king of Egypt, where he obtained so much credit that Berenice, wife to Ptolemy, gave him in marriage Antigona, a daughter she had had by a former husband. This alliance procured him a fleet and a body of troops, with whom he returned to Epirus, where he first agreed to share the government with Neoptolemus, but soon after got rid of this usurper entirely. He made war upon the children of Cassander, who wanted to divide Macedonia, and obtained several provinces of this country: he even got himself declared king of Macedonia in conjunction with Lysimachus: in seven months, however, he was again deprived of it. Returned into Epirus he thought of making Italy repair his loss, and the Tarentines furnished him an opportunity for it by calling him in to their assistance. He conquered the Romans several times, and advanced almost to the gates of Rome; but afterwards going into Sicily to fight the Carthaginians, he lost a part of his army, and at his return into Italy, being beaten by the Romans in an engagement near Beneventum, was obliged to retreat hastily back to Epirus. From thence he made several incursions upon the Macedonians; and having passed into Peloponnesus to make war upon the Lacedæmonians, he was obliged to lay siege to Argos. A traitor delivered the town up to him, but at the moment when he entered he was killed by a tile which a woman threw at him from the top of a house.

This prince had great qualities mingled with great defects. He was impetuous, intrepid in danger, grateful to those from whom he had received any services, but at the same time of a restless disposition, incapable of enduring repose. He was one of the greatest captains of antiquity; nobody was better skilled in choosing posts, in ranging his army, or ever knew better how to gain the hearts of his soldiers. Hannibal esteemed him second as a general only to Alexander the

Great. When he said one day to his friend and confident Cineas that they should make merry together after they had conquered the world, Cineas replied, "*And what should prevent our doing so at this moment?*"

Pyrrhus was succeeded by his son, whom some authors call Helenus, others Alexander. After him reigned Ptolemy his son, and then another Pyrrhus, who was succeeded by a daughter, Deidamia. On the death of this princess the Epirots, weary of being governed by kings, formed themselves into different republics. They did not however find their happiness increased; for they were often subjected to the kings of Macedonia, till the proconsul Paulus Emilius, having conquered Perseus, delivered Epirus up to be pillaged: it is said that on this occasion seventy towns were destroyed, and a hundred and fifty thousand of the inhabitants carried away prisoners. The country afterwards became a Roman province, and in still later times fell, with a large part of the Roman empire, under the dominion of the Turks.

CHAPTER XXX.

Commencement of the adventures of Messieurs Charbonnel, Poitevin, and Bessières.—Massacre of the French and Greeks at Prevesa by Ali-pasha.—Jealousy entertained of the Russians by Ali.—Situation of the French prisoners in Ali's camp.

The reader will recollect the manner in which Messieurs Fornier, Joie, the guide Matthew, and myself, were separated from the companions with whom we had made the voyage from Egypt, and the subsequent separation of Messieurs Beauvais and Girard from the rest. The two latter being consigned over to Kadir bey, the Turkish admiral, there remained on board the vessel of Orouchs the corsair, Messieurs Poitevin, Charbonnel, Bessières, Guerini, and Bouvier. These gentlemen not finding Messieurs Beauvais and Girard return, and conceiving that the lot of these latter must be less wretched than their own, demanded equally to be given up to Kadir bey. Orouchs fell into a violent rage at the requisition, and ordered them immediately into the hold of the vessel, there to be put in irons.

He was afraid of being deprived of his prisoners, upon whom his avarice speculated, and by removing them out of sight he hoped they would be forgotten.

But notwithstanding this precaution, the rumour of the prize he had taken began to spread. It was reported that he had prisoners on board his vessel who had trunks filled with sequins; and the fable, which increased in proportion to the distance it travelled, having at length reached Constantinople, it was there reported, as I afterwards learnt, that our tartane was ballasted entirely with the gold dust of Abyssinia. It is true that the chiefs of the government gave no credit to this tale; but the people, who in all countries are fond of the marvellous, and in Turkey above all, swallowed it with the utmost eagerness.

The siege of Corfu continuing to meet with success on the part of the besiegers, and the Russian admiral who directed the operations finding himself incommoded by the numerous vessels which were anchored in the canal, issued an order for them to quit their stations and retire to some of the ports upon the continent. The corsair was delighted at receiving this order, as he remained there only by command of the Turkish admiral, and wished exceedingly to be in some place where he might be more his own master. He therefore set sail immediately for Butrinto, a town in Albania opposite to Corfu, near which Ali-pasha with his Albanian army was at that time encamped.

Before I proceed to relate the subsequent fate of these prisoners, let me be permitted to advert to some circumstances which had occurred in Albania not long before, and which are almost necessary to be understood for the elucidation of what is to follow. Bonaparte had no sooner obtained possession of Alexandria than he dispatched a vessel to Ancona, with an account of the progress he had made; and this vessel was ordered to touch at the Ionian isles to instruct the French garrisons there of what had passed. The general-in-chief justly considered a war with the Porte as a thing very probable, and recommended to the troops in these islands to keep upon their guard. It is not my business here to enter upon an investigation of the measures pursued by the French commanders in consequence of this warning; but it is certain that they deceived themselves exceedingly as to the dispositions of Ali, pasha of Janina, towards them. This pasha, obliged to give proofs of his fidelity to the Ottoman court, had raised an army of twenty thousand Albanians, who were to march against Paswan Oglou then shut up in Widdin. As the results of this expedition were, however, favourable to the rebel, who in the end received the three tails from the government, Ali returned into Albania just at the time when the French expedition to Egypt

took place. A witness to the defeat of the capudan-pasha, and the death of Alo pasha, who had fallen a victim to the snares laid for him by the Turkish admiral, Ali was resolved not to hazard himself any more among camps, but to remain at home surrounded by his Albanians; and he probably owed the preservation of his life to this prudent determination. It was in this state of things that he learnt the events which were passing, and he remained for some time undecided what course to take.

The vicinity of Corfu had given occasion to his uniting himself in friendship with adjutant general Rose, the same whose death in the prison of the Seven Towers I have already mentioned; and through his intervention the adjutant had united himself in marriage with a young Greek woman of Janina. Ali assisted at the wedding, and always received the general when he came to the court with the same honours that are paid to the pashas: whenever he spoke of him it was always as his friend. Rose, seduced by these attentions, persuaded himself too easily that there was no deceit in the pasha: he even carried his credulity so far, as to conceive that fate had reserved him to play a very important part under the auspices of Ali.

His faith in this respect ought, however, to have been shaken, when towards the end of August 1798 it was known that some vessels carrying the French flag had been stopped in the Bay of Arta. But this first act of hostility, for which the French perhaps had no right to demand an explanation, did not serve to enlighten any body. In short, every one was desirous of deceiving himself with regard to the war; and during all this time the cunning Ali was well instructed with regard to the French force, while the French had but very imperfect information with regard to his preparations. It was, however, resolved to abandon Butrinto and Parga in case of danger; but the general of division was desirous of retaining Prevesa, as if an insulated promontory could be of any material importance. Motives of honour were urged in behalf of this measure; and the French, inspired with this idea, resolved to devote themselves to death in order to defend the post. The designs of the pasha, who had his eye upon the whole maritime frontier, did not evidently appear. He wrote to desire payment for some hundreds of oxen furnished to the French fleet during its stay in the road of Corfu; and insinuated that his forming an alliance with the French was a thing by no means impossible.

While these events were passing, he invited his friend general Rose to a conference upon his territory. This unfortunate man accepted the invitation eagerly:

he was received by Ali with more kindness and distinction than ever; but in a moment after was arrested, loaded with chains, and sent as a hostage to Janina. The pasha was, however, soon constrained to surrender him to the Ottoman Porte. War was after this act considered as inevitable, and it was determined that redoubts should be thrown up to protect Prevesa. The superintendance of the works was consigned to Monsieur Richemont, a captain in the *corps de génie*. General Lasalsette repaired himself to Prevesa, to take the command of the few brave men from the sixth demi-brigade who were stationed there.

Although the resourses were extremely limited, and that there were only two pieces of iron cannon to arm the redoubt, measures were adopted to make the best defence circumstances would permit. The municipal guard of Prevesa was organized; and having every thing to lose in case Ali was victorious, it seemed animated with the highest courage and resolution. An offer having been made by the Souliotes to range themselves under the French standard, it was thankfully accepted, and arms and ammunition were sent to them. The genius of the chiefs having thus created unexpected means of defence, hopes were entertained of being able to resist the Albanians, nay even to conquer them.

But scarcely had the workmen begun to remove the earth for throwing up a redoubt on the side of Nicopolis, where Monsieur Richemont proposed to plant the two pieces of artillery, when news came that Ali-pasha was on his march towards the place. The Greeks, who informed him of all that was going forwards, in hopes of conciliating his favour, equally informed the French of his movements. On the night of the twenty-seventh of October the cries of the Albanians were heard among the mountains; and towards midnight general Lasalsette repaired to the redoubt where the first firing began. He gave his orders for calling together the soldiers, who were scattered about upon a too extended line, and ordered the municipal guard under arms. The Souliotes, however, did not appear; and a fatal indecision began to show itself among the auxiliaries.

At day-break Ali-pasha and his two sons, at the head of nine thousand Albanians, began to pour down with fury from the mountains. A party of Souliotes, who appeared at the same time, after firing upon the French, ran away. The Greeks of the municipal guard did the same; and the Albanians, taking advantage of this defection, fell upon the brave handful of the sixth demi-brigade, and soon stifled the fire of the cannon with the bodies of the slain. The French, however, some detachments of whom were yet unsubdued, resisted with astonishing intrepidity the torrents of foes which fell upon them on all sides, and made a dreadful carnage of

them before they were themselves entirely overpowered. Fourteen grenadiers had succeeded in retiring in good order towards the shore, whence they hoped to get on board the brig Frimaire; but they were assailed by the inhabitants of Prevesa, and fell at last upon the heaps of dead bodies with which they had previously covered the shore.

All was now over with the French; they were overpowered with the immense superiority of numbers on the side of the Albanians. General Lasalsette was already their prisoner; but the brave Richemont held out till covered with wounds he had no longer any power of resistance. Some of the Albanians were about to strike off his head; when Mouctar, one of the sons of Ali, who had witnessed the almost more than mortal courage shown by him, interposed, and threatened with death any one who should fail in the respect due to so illustrious a captive. Torrents of flame and smoke announced that the unfortunate inhabitants of Prevesa were receiving the dreadful chastisement of their disloyalty. It was in vain that they had turned their arms against the French; it was in vain that they had sought their safety by an act of perfidy: their wives violated, or flying on board their barks, their houses falling amid the flames, were fatal presages of the fate that awaited them.

Ali flew about on all sides, endeavouring to stop the carnage and save the few scattered French that remained; but he could not prevent his soldiers cutting off the heads of the slain and the wounded, and raising a horrible trophy of them. Night alone put a stop to their fury and to the effusion of blood. The morrow exhibited a scene of such cold-blooded barbarity as is scarcely to be believed, and showed of what the resentment of Ali-pasha was capable. He came like the grim tyrant Death himself, and took his station amid the smoking ruins of Prevesa. There, mounted upon a gallery which the flames had spared, he ordered three hundred Greeks of the town to be brought before him, and had them all inhumanly massacred in his presence. In vain did they implore his compassion, the murderous sword continued to strike; and the heart of this man, barbarous by calculation rather than by nature, remained inflexible. He applauded himself for the blood which he caused to flow.

Such was the unfortunate affair of Prevesa, to which I have already had occasion more than once to allude. On the next day the French prisoners, amounting to two hundred, were marched away for Janina, and were compelled to carry with them the bleeding heads of their massacred companions. They were received in

the capital of modern Albania with the cries of a barbarous populace, who loaded them with reproaches, at the same time pelting them with stones and mud. Here they were thrown into a miserable prison; nor would it be easy to conceive all that they suffered during six weeks that they remained there. A wound which the unfortunate Richemont had received in the arm soon began to wear a very alarming appearance, and a physician who saw it pronounced that there was no remedy but amputation. Richemont consented to undergo the operation, but was desirous first to make use of his condemned limb in writing to his friends in France; and feeling no confidence in his medical attendants, but considering his doom as sealed, he poured out his heart in a very affecting adieu to them. The day being arrived which was fixed for the operation, Richemont prepared himself for it with the utmost fortitude and composure; but his composure, his fortitude, and his affecting letter of adieu to his friends were equally thrown away, since it now appeared that the skilful doctor knew much better how to recommend than to perform the amputation. The arm was therefore left to take its chance: and in the end a naturally-good constitution triumphed, and both his arm and life were saved.

After six weeks confinement at Janina, he with General Lasalsette and Messrs. Hotte and Rose were sent to Constantinople; and there, as the completion of his misfortunes, Richemont was shut up in the bagnio. But, as if Heaven was pleased to alleviate in some degree the pressure of his sorrows, he had the happiness of meeting here with his companion in arms Monsieur Vallongue. To this event he probably owed his life, since he was soon attacked with a malignant fever which reigned in the place, and to which he would probably have fallen a victim but for the cares of such a friend. Monsieur Vallongue having afterwards succeeded in obtaining his liberty, Richemont was at the same time transferred to the castle of the Seven Towers, where I became acquainted with him, and had the good fortune to obtain his friendship.

Ali, whose hands were still reeking with the blood of the French and Greeks massacred at Prevesa, was, as I have said, encamped with his army near Butrinto, when Orouchs the corsair arrived there with several of our companions as his prisoners. It was not without considerable uneasiness of mind that Ali saw the Russians so near his pashalik; and to cover his frontiers against any sudden invasion, he assembled a corps of observation, which at the same time assisted at the siege of Corfu. The troops were sent thither by turns, but the number generally employed in the siege amounted to six thousand. By occupying Butrinto, which

the French evacuated at the commencement of hostilities, he had secured a very important post; and by the affair of Prevesa he also gained a military command in the gulf of Ambracia, and upon the southern side of the mountains of Souli. Yet his mind was exceedingly disturbed; and conscious that his own conduct could not be justified, he complained of want of confidence in the French, with whom he asserted that he would gladly have made a common cause.

It is indeed true that, some time before the combined Russian and Turkish squadrons appeared in the Ionian seas, Ali had proposed an alliance with the French, on condition that they would give up to him all the posts they possessed on the continent, with the island of Saint Maure, and would admit some of his troops into Corfu to assist in its defence. Whether this overture was nothing but an artifice, or whether it was incompatible with the orders of the French chiefs who commanded in the Ionian Archipelago to assent to it, the parties could not come to any agreement. Perhaps this was a great misfortune. Since it was impossible for the French to protect a number of scattered posts, in suffering Ali to occupy them he might have declared himself independent, and occasioned a diversion at least, in the confusion which would have been created at the principal points menaced by the combined powers. This is not however the place to discuss such a question: I therefore return to the new supply of French prisoners who were about to be placed in his hands.

No sooner had the corsair cast anchor in the road of Butrinto, than a rumour was spread in the pasha's camp that he had on board a person of very particular consequence. Ali accordingly came down to the road in his own kirlanguitch* to investigate the truth of the report, and summoned the corsair captain to appear before him. Orouchs soon undeceived him, and made a voluntary offer of producing his prisoners: this was accepted by the pasha, and Monsieur Guerini was presented to him. He was fixed upon as the first to be exhibited, because he could speak the Arabian language, and could therefore make himself understood, not by the pasha to whom he was to be presented, and who did not understand a word of it, but by the corsair who was to present him. The other three officers and Monsieur Bouvier were almost immediately in like manner presented to Ali and given up to him. As the recompense of this homage the pasha loaded the

* Kirlanguitch is a Turkish word which signifies a swallow. This name is given to a particular species of small vessels which navigate the Archipelago, and they are thus called on account of the lightness and rapidity with which they seem almost to fly over the surface of the water.

captain with commendations, and made him a present of his own kirlanguitch for carrying on his piracies; conceiving, by all he heard from and of him, that he was an excellent mariner, and one who might render him important services. As to the French prisoners, whatever might be the fate that awaited them, it must be preferable to the situation in which they found themselves on board the piratical vessel. They therefore rejoiced at the change, and indeed with reason, notwithstanding all that they suffered in the end from their new situation.

In the first moments of it, abandoned in the midst of the army, there was no one to whom they could address themselves excepting a certain Doctor Tosoni, a physician. This man, like most of his brethren who exercise the same profession in Turkey, gave himself out as a foreigner, calling himself a Frenchman, born at Mâcon, but his language at once betrayed this to be mere pretension. His medical knowledge was confined to ordering in all cases *liquid laudanum;* but his *liquid laudanum* was often treacherous, and did not prove his right to the title he assumed, that of *a physician.* He however continued to exercise his profession and prescribe his laudanum, and enjoyed a high place in the pasha's confidence. He talked highly to the French of Ali's attachment to their nation, upon which subject he explained himself in his vile phraseology in ten different ways in the space of an hour.

The same was not the case with the pasha's secretary, whose frankness and probity were often a source of great consolation to the prisoners. As he spoke their language with ease and fluency, and merited their confidence by the generosity of his sentiments, he was for a long time their great support and protector with his master. Notwithstanding the advantages, however, which they derived from knowing a man of such a character, they suffered very much while they remained in the camp, since there was no possibility of procuring any attention to their wants, though they were very pressing. It is true that the pasha, hardened himself to fatigues and accustomed to privations, had no idea of what was necessary for persons in a state of convalescence from harassing maladies, and who had experienced a catastrophe a great deal too much protracted, not to have been exceedingly injurious to constitutions already severely shaken.

Some days after, through the intervention of the secretary, the French succeeded in getting from the hands of the corsair their servants who had remained on board his vessel. The pasha ordered at the same time that the papers which had been taken from us should be laid before him. When he came to examine them, he found among others the letter of Monsieur Boursier, French agent at

Tripoli, delivered to Orouchs, authorising him to scour the seas*; by which it appeared clearly that he had acted illicitly in taking our vessel, as France was at peace with the regency. This letter was in the sequel a source of many humiliations to Orouchs, since the pasha took frequent opportunities of reproaching him with having taken us when he had no right to do so.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Topography of Butrinto.—Portrait of Ali-pasha and his sons—Sketch of his army, of its discipline, and of the manners of the Albanian soldiers.—Departure of Monsieur Charbonnel for Agio-Saranta, and of the other prisoners for Janina.—Their itinerary to that town by Delvino, Delvinachi, and Dzidza.—Description of Agio-Saranta, and the country round.

Butrinto is beyond all doubt the town which has succeeded to the ancient Buthrotum, of which Virgil speaks. It was in this place that Æneas the hero of the Trojans landed, at the moment when Andromache, with her hair dishevelled, sacrificed upon the tomb of Hector her husband, on the banks of the false Simoïs. Helenus, the son of Priam, who reigned over this part of Chaonia, had given the cherished names of Xanthus and Simoïs to the rivulets that wash Buthrotum; and Virgil, who has in so few words transmitted to us the topography of this town and its neighbourhood, may still serve as a guide to the traveller. If he no longer sees the gate Scœa, nor the vast galleries in which Helenus received Æneas and his companions, he will find the lake of Anchises, with the little streams which then bore the celebrated names of Xanthus and Simoïs, now called the Pavla and Pitritza. Every thing will prove to him, in short, the exactness and precision which so eminently characterize the works of the ancients.

* The Barbary corsairs have no letters of marque; but they generally procure patents from the consuls who reside in the ports whence they sail, in order to prove that they are at peace with the nations whose agents those consuls are.

The modern Butrinto, after having followed the destinies of Epirus, which was a prey to so many different conquerors, and the theatre of so many memorable wars, belonged in modern times to the Venetians, and was ceded by them to France at the treaty of Campo Formio. At the commencement of the war with Turkey it was, as has already been observed, abandoned by the French general who commanded at Corfu, after he had blown up a little fort at the entrance of the lake upon the right bank of the Pavla: it was then taken possession of by Ali-pasha. It lies in a favourable position for commanding the sea, and is in the neighbourhood of the lake, being only separated from it by the ruins of Buthrotum. If the spot itself has but few resources, the want of them is supplied by those which may easily be drawn from the interior. It can never be in any danger of surprise, since it is entrenched from the very nature of the ground, being defended to the south by the river Pavla, and to the east by the lake which receives the waters both of that river and the Pitritza. The former of these rivers flows from the mountains of Delvino towards the north, at the distance of seven leagues; the other has its sources in a mountain towards the west, which may be called an excrescence from the same mountains. The lake formerly called Anchises has now the name of Pelodi: the exhalations from it are the principal cause of the fevers so common at Butrinto.

This town is the seat of a bishopric. The canton, which is of no great extent, has a wild and sterile aspect, and the inhabitants are only rich by their industry. They carry on a considerable trade in *poutargues*, which they make of the spawn of several fish that abound upon these coasts. On account of its trade, and the frequent intercourse that subsists between the island of Corfu and the continent, the port of Butrinto is the resort of an almost infinite number of barks. From the heights near it may be seen four rocks, which are called by the Greeks *Tetra-Nisia*, or the *Four Islands*; they designate the entrance to the road and the place of anchorage.

The French officers remained twelve days in the camp at Butrinto. Plundered as they had been, they soon began to suffer from the cold, which was already pretty severe. Chaonia has always been considered as a cold country; and though not more than six leagues from Corfu, the difference of the temperature is very sensibly felt. Released from their chains, but deprived of their clothes, the prisoners were lodged in a wretched hut; and having nothing to lie upon but boards beneath which the water stood, they soon began to find their limbs grow benumbed with the cold if they were inactive for a moment. Thus, instead of enjoying repose during the night, they were obliged to walk or jump about in order to warm

R. Cooper sculp.

An Albanian Soldier. A Reis of Barbary.

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themselves: it was only when totally worn down with fatigue that they ever closed their eyelids, and then but for a short time.

The Albanian soldiers, accustomed to the chilly atmosphere of the mountains, and wrapped in their thick cloaks, did not seem to feel the severity of the season. Occupied all day with the exercises of the camp, with singing, or with dancing*, their habits of temperance were such, that they thought themselves extremely well fed with a small ratio of bread made of maize, some black olives, and salted sardines. Very different from the great people among the Osmanlis, who place their whole happiness in living in complete indolence, the Albanian is never happy but in action. The transports of the soldiers cannot be restrained when they hear of the approach of danger; they were particularly delighted when their turn came to assist at the siege of Corfu; they ran with eagerness to the shore, and seemed emulous which should first get on board the vessels that were to transport them. Whatever were the events of the service, they never failed to attribute any success obtained to themselves, but would never acknowledge that they had any share in a defeat; and if they could bring home a head, there were no bounds to their boasting. Sickness is a thing scarcely known among them; but the moment that any is felt, it is impossible to retain the sufferer at his post; he immediately retires to his family. It must however be acknowledged, that the moment he is recovered he returns to the army.

Proud of his profession, the Albanian soldier shows with ostentation the scars with which he is covered. He makes a great parade of the raggedness of his clothes and his linen: to express that an Albanian is brave and intrepid, they say that he never quits his shirt till it falls away in rags. If this be well as a votary of Mars, I do not think it very recommendable as a votary of Hygeia; at least the custom, if not injurious to a rude Arnaout, would not, I think, be very salutary to a civilized European. We still see in the attitudes and manners of the people of Epirus the soldiers of Alexander, of Pyrrhus, and of Scanderbeg. With such men, well disciplined, a commander of genius might effect wonders, and change the whole face of the East. They alone, in the fallen state of the

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* Among the Albanians, songs are still to be found which go back to the time of Scanderbeg, and that which is known by the name of *the Arnaout* is no less famous among them than the hymn of Harmodius and Aristogiton was among the ancients. But notwithstanding its antiquity, I shall abstain from giving it a place here; there is nothing in it very striking, and I have perhaps already subjected myself to censure in giving some Greek songs, which to persons of taste may appear very feeble.

empire, have preserved their original character; they still pant for combats, their hearts still thrill with joy at the sound of arms.

The Albanian officers are usually accompanied in marching by a sort of squires, who carry their cuirasses and their arms, and who in their manners and habits recall a faint image of our ancient knights of chivalry. The people have got, I know not how, a curious idea respecting the origin of their nation, and call themselves descendants of the French. Without discussing how far this opinion may be well or ill founded, I will only observe that in the Arnaout language, which is that of the mountaineers, there are many words, and even phrases, entirely French. They make use of the words *quatre* and *mois* exactly as we do; but most of their expressions have more affinity with our ancient than with our modern idiom. They always speak of the French with a respect which they do not show to any other people. In this the opinions of the pasha and his sons were conformable to those of the officers and soldiers under their command.

The present great hero of the Albanians, Ali-pasha, was born in a village near Tebeleni, or Tebdelum, a town of the ancient Thesprotia, twenty-four leagues north of Janina. His father was a pasha of two tails, who commanded in the district; and his mother, who was herself endowed with the courage of the ancient Amazons, did not merely give him existence, but gave him besides courage and talents. At the death of his father, Ali was yet too young to defend his own domains, and would have been deprived of them if his mother had not taken the administration upon herself. Putting herself at the head of the Albanians, by her courage and conduct, and by sacrificing whatever she possessed, she successfully resisted all the attacks of her enemies.

Ali, as soon as he had sufficient strength to carry a musquet, entered into the ranks, and was trained to the art of war amid the troubles which then from time to time agitated Thesprotia. Brave among the brave, he went through all the gradations of the military service; and did not rise to the command of his companions till he had rendered himself worthy of it by feats of arms which merited their attachment. It was then that he took the place of his mother: but he was not always successful; and if he could never be reproached with want of courage, he had not unfrequently reason to complain of the ficklenesss of fortune. At one period driven from Tebeleni, deprived of all his villages, he was reduced to only sixty parats for the payment of his troops. He would not, however, suffer himself to be dismayed, but, finding resources in his own genius, so worked upon the Albanians, that their courage was raised to the highest pitch,

and in a short time he recovered all that he had lost. From that moment his power began to increase, the valiant from all parts hastened to range themselves under his banners, and his estates were enlarged every way. His views were in consequence soon carried beyond the spot where he was born; and the pasha of Janina, whose want of energy had been the occasion of reducing the pashalik to a state of anarchy, having been beheaded, he contrived to be appointed his successor. Prudent in his prosperity, Ali's attention was now principally directed to establishing his power upon a firm foundation. He reduced the rebels to submission, and afterwards contrived to keep them steady to his cause, particularly by patronizing the Greek religion. He made alliances with the agas of Thessaly, and in due time associated his two sons with him in the supremacy, by naming them pashas. At length, after a series of successes surpassing even his most sanguine expectations, he received the three tails at his return from the expedition to Widdin in 1798.

Though now forty-eight years of age, no traces of premature old age are discernible in his exterior. His countenance is open and dignified, indicating a strong mind; and his features always express very powerfully the passions by which he is agitated. Master, however, when he pleases, of the variations of his physiognomy, he can assume at will the most engaging smile, masking by it a sentiment very contrary to what it appears to express. Yet his anger cannot be restrained when he inflicts punishment; it is dreadfully manifested in the workings of his countenance, and by a convulsion of his frame, which unfolds the violence of his character. For the rest, he is courageous in the extreme. His stature is tall and athletic; and he cannot uncover his arms or his breast without showing honourable scars.

Firm and steady in his projects, he has adopted a plan of conduct of which he has never lost sight, though circumstances have sometimes constrained him for a time to deviate from it. Convinced that with money he may always retain the favour of the Porte, he has never failed in paying the tributes; and has thus, in wearing the semblance of dependence, rendered himself in fact independent. The avarice, therefore, of which he is accused, is founded upon a principle that attaches itself to his very existence. He loves to repeat that he is the modern Pyrrhus, which he pronounces *Bourrous*. He is a Pyrrhus, however, who observes the proper decorums towards his sovereign. Different, by the knowledge he possesses, from the greater part of the pashas, he has his eyes open with regard to whatever is passing in Europe. He has the newspapers translated to him; he is very desirous of obtaining information on all points; and is no stranger to the

ruling events that determine the alliances or divisions formed among its sovereigns.

Equally attentive to the catastrophes which agitate the Turkish empire, he takes advantage, like a man of talents, of the weakness of the government, to extend his frontiers and gain possession of advantageous posts. Strong, in short, by the dependents he creates to himself, and by the powerful friends he has in his pay, even in the divan, the Porte, sensible of his resources, is well aware that it has a powerful interest in keeping upon good terms with him. The French revolution has in these latter times been the constant theme of his conversation; not, as is pretended, in the idea of learning lessons from it for freeing himself, but from the pleasure he feels in talking of the exploits performed by our armies, which have strongly excited his admiration. He interrogated the French officers who were his prisoners, upon the manner in which so many victories had been obtained, being disposed to attribute them to a sort of magic, to some spell which held victory chained to our standards. Ali, in short, little satisfied with an ephemeral empire, has carried his views into futurity; and, not willing that his pashalik should become the prey of strangers, has obtained the title of pasha for his two sons; while the Porte, who generally hopes at the death of one of its deputies to resume its rights, seems to have lost Albania entirely.

Mouctar, the eldest of his sons, formed by his example, shows already great decision, perhaps even ferocity of character. Veli, whose manners are milder, seems rather to devote himself to the cares of the administration. For the rest, united in the strictest bonds of friendship, these two brothers have hitherto never been divided by the pursuit of opposing interests. Mouctar governs Arta and Negropont as pasha; and Veli fills the post of dervendgi-pasha, or grand provost of the highways. By this reunion of offices, the artful Ali derives a support from his children which strengthens and increases his own authority. An Albanian in every thing, he speaks only the language of his country, or the Greek, and places his whole happiness in commanding those to whom he owes his elevation. Mouctar has studied the Turkish language. His warlike character has led him from his infancy to be always in the field. Veli, more addicted to study, every day adds to his stock of knowledge and attainments, and is much acquainted with the Oriental languages. These observations are the result of the frequent intercourse which the French officers had with Ali while they were his prisoners: they were during that time often invited by him to assist at his councils.

We are now to follow my countrymen in their route, when they quitted Bu-

trinto to go to Janina. In accompanying them the reader will be introduced to a new country, for such I may venture to call it, since the celebrated D'Anville acknowledged, that from defectiveness of materials and knowledge upon the subject he was unable to give a map of Epirus. Few travellers have, indeed, penetrated to Janina, and none have gone beyond that town. It is not to be reached without passing through great dangers, from travelling among a restless and turbulent race, whose natural dispositions lead them to robbery, to murder, to cruelty.

At the end of twelve days after the French officers had been delivered up to him by the corsair captain, Ali purposing to remove his camp into the interior, and to disband some of his army, determined on sending most of his prisoners forwards to Janina. The pasha was induced to adopt this measure on account of the severity of the weather, which afforded him a certainty of not being molested during its continuance. Never was a more severe winter known throughout all Greece: the course of the rivers and torrents was suspended by the ice, and the Acroceraunian mountains, which usually resound with the most formidable thunder, were now enveloped in snow and ice. It was under these circumstances that Messrs. Poitevin, Bessières, Bouvier, and Guerini were dispatched, attended by a proper escort, to Janina; but Monsieur Charbonnel was sent to Agio-Saranta, a village in the district now known by the name of Valetitzia, and which forms a part of the ancient Chaonia.

The division of Greece, anciently called Chaonia and Thesprotia, contains none of those relics which the traveller delights to seek out, and, if I may be allowed the expression, to interrogate; time has destroyed every thing. In their place new towns, unknown hamlets, have arisen; while nature, every where wild and terrible, commands attention and excites astonishment. Here are to be seen deep lakes; there, forests which have stood for ages, or lofty mountains over which time itself has no power. Wherever the eye is turned, picturesque scenes are presented, always astonishing, often terrible. Amid such scenery, rendered more formidable from being covered with snow, the French officers pursued their way eastward for seven leagues, till they arrived at Delvino. The part of Thesprotia over which they travelled in the course of this day formerly contained many towns, such as Ekatompedon, Meandria, and Omphalon; but the route now presents nothing, except some insignificant villages scattered over a wild country broken by frightful inequalities.

Delvino, the chief town of a pashalik of two tails, commanded by Mustapha,

and then under the power of Ali, stands upon a considerable eminence, and is surrounded by advantageous military stations. It has a castle without cannon, the fortifications of which are of several ages back, and which add little to the strength of the town: its chief strength is indeed derived from its natural position. At a short distance from it are the sources of the Pavla, or Xanthus, which running westward unites itself with the false Simoïs. The position of Delvino, its population, which amounts to more than eight thousand persons, the limits of its territory, and more than all the warlike character of Mustapha, and the love borne him by the people whom he governs, have not unfrequently raised clouds and created dissentions between him and Ali. This town is of the greater importance to the pasha of Janina, since inclosed within his domains it is yet commanded by one who is a stranger to his family, and dares even to oppose him.

There were at this time upon the route many desolated villages, and some hamlets inhabited by Albanians who never quitted their arms, and whose manners announced people that lived in a constant state of war and violence, nor would readily permit a stranger to travel over their country, unless escorted by a numerous and faithful guard. Without such a guard, any one would be in imminent danger of being assassinated, or carried away to be sold as a slave among the mountains without hope of deliverance; for these men take excellent care to keep themselves out of the reach of others, by frequenting none but the most rugged and remote parts. The reason of their leading such lives is to be sought in the extreme poverty of the people: this impels each individual to commit, without remorse, any action which he hopes may bring him money.

The French officers, being properly escorted, passed in safety through all dangers: when they arrived at Delvino, they were lodged at the khan pell-mell with the animals and merchandize which formed part of the caravan. Not that this was done as any particular affront to them, it is the usual practice among travellers in the Turkish empire. The next day they proceeded to Delvinachi, ten leagues further, in a north-easterly direction. Here were again many ruined villages; but they also passed through some valleys the fertility of which formed a fine contrast to the naked appearance of the Acroceraunian mountains.

The little town of Delvinachi is governed by an aga, who is subject to Ali-pasha. It is situated in a fertile valley, watered by a rivulet which flows into the Thyamis, but is often dry in summer. To the north and west, mountains which are a continuation of Tomarus or Dzoumerka bound the horizon. They are inhabited by an independent race, who from the summits of their natural intrenchments

brave the attempts against their freedom often made by their neighbours. The most important productions of the canton of Delvinachi consist in wood for ship-building, sumach for dyeing, and pitch. The town appears to be nearly in the situation of the ancient Omphalon ; I dare not, however, affirm it to be that town, as Meletius does positively. He has also placed in this canton the ancient towns of Meandria, Elea, and Dochna ; the former of these he finds in Delvino. All this erudition, however, is founded entirely on supposition, since there are not here the ruins and remains of military roads, which are found in Peloponnesus, to serve as guides. Time has destroyed every thing which bore the impression of the arts and of civilization ; indeed the inhabitants of this country were never more than a half civilized race, whose favourite occupation was war. It is only by the face of nature, by the invariable figures of the mountains which cover Epirus, and by the direction of their chains, that the traveller can assure himself he is in a country renowned in antiquity.

In quitting the valley of Delvinachi to go to Dzidza, the travellers saw to the north the forests that cover Mount Chimera. Their route this day was in a south-easterly direction, over a well-cultivated country. At three leagues and a half from Delvinachi, half way between that town and Dzidza, they saw the town of Margariti, but did not stop there. A part of their route lay through some very fine forests, and they saw immense ones extending to the north. Dzidza stands in part upon the summit of an arid mountain, facing the west south-west. The name, which signifies a gourd, has perhaps been given it from the form of the mountain on which it stands, and which strongly resembles that fruit. It is inhabited by Albanian christians, who have a monastery and several churches. The little soil capable of cultivation in the neighbourhood is chiefly planted with vines, and the sun which strikes upon this unequal and stony surface gives a particularly fine flavour to the grapes. Three sorts of wine are made here, the best of which is reserved for the pasha ; the prior of the convent is charged with collecting it for him. As some acknowledgement of so great a service, which an Albanian knows as well how to appreciate as a Greek, Ali protects this town very particularly, and above all the sacred abode under the guidance of his purveyor. The water of Dzidza comes from a pool at the foot of the mountain, and from some springs ; but it is far from being good. Happily the wine, which all the inhabitants, as well as Ali-pasha himself, prefer very much to water, makes them ample amends for the privations which they endure with regard to the latter.

After passing the third night of their journey at Dzidza, the French officers set

out with their escort for Janina. When they had proceeded an hour and half on their way, they came to Karkalopoulo, where the pasha has a palace, or seraglio. The country increased in beauty at every step as they advanced nearer to Janina; nature every where wore a more smiling aspect; and the illusion of fable seemed to display all the graces of its allegories when they approached the fields about Janina, called by the inhabitants, even in these days, the Elysian Fields. Well cultivated lands, villages scattered about a fertile plain, the view of Pindus and of Mount Tomarus or Dzoumerka, that of the Acherusian lake and Mount Cassiopea, struck the imagination, and presented the idea of travelling in a land of wonders. The impression is indeed such, at the sight of so many spots which recall past ages, that the capital of Albania itself is almost overlooked, though otherwise its size and population are such as reasonably to engage the traveller's attention. But the few moments of enjoyment now passed by the French officers were cruelly contrasted in entering the town. Hooted by the populace as they passed along, they were afterwards shut up in a wretched prison, the melancholy of which was increased by finding there the sad remnant of the French taken at Prevesa; those whom Ali had not thought proper to send to Constantinople.

While Messrs. Poitevin, Bessières, &c. pursued their route to Janina, Monsieur Charbonnel was sent with Ali's secretary to Agio-Saranta to take a view of its position. This town, which is two leagues to the east of Delvino, stands on a small port, frequented only by vessels of a very inferior size: it is dependent upon the pashalik of Janina. It stands at the foot of a mountain, and faces the south: two old towers, which are now to be seen on the mountain to the north, formerly served for its defence. Ali appears to attach importance to it only as a point proper for watching what passes upon the coast, as well as among the neighbouring Philatians. In the environs are some woods, but none of note; the soil is poor, and the lands little cultivated, as is the case in almost all the parts of Albania that border the sea.

Monsieur Charbonnel remained but a short time at Agio-Saranta, and then went to Janina, following from Delvino the same route that had been taken by his companions. He soon after proceeded to Bonila, where was the pasha's park of artillery: the sequel will show how he formed there a school of artillery, and the great distinction he acquired. Thus the reader will have before him the particular adventures which befel each of the prisoners during their abode in Albania, whether in the court of the pasha, or in the expeditions in which they accompanied him.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Elysian Fields.—Topography of Janina.—The lake Acherusia.—The Cocytus or subterranean river.—The river Acheron.—The hamlet of Bonila, with the school of artillery and the pasha's gardens there.—Visit of the French officers to the monastery of the prophet Elias.—Province of Sagori.—Forest of Dodona.—Return of the French officers to Janina.—Journey of Monsieur Bessières with the pasha to the northern parts of Albania.

The Elysian Fields, a name given by the moderns to the plain at the extremity of which stands the town of Janina, might still be the abode of a happy race. There, in the midst of the most romantic scenery, under a serene sky, in the bosom of a fertile territory, the golden ages described and sung by the poets might be revived. The eye can in no part of the world wander over wider perspectives, whether it be turned towards Pindus, when the sun rising above its summits comes to awaken the birds that repose in the woods which adorn its valleys, or whether it follows that glorious luminary when in the decline of day it is about to sink beneath the Acroceraunian mountains. At the murmur of the rivulets, at the noise of Cocytus, at the view of the lake, genius seems awakened, and a frolicsome youth seems to descend the slopes on all sides to renew their ancient festivals.—But alas, these are but visions! those lovely woods, those enchanting abodes are governed by Albanians, and the Greek even in the midst of the Elysian fields lives in a state of constant terror. The voice of the thunder which resounds through the groves of Dodona is far less formidable to him than the decrees of the pasha who rules his destiny.

This plain occupies a space of five leagues from the north-east to the south-west; its mean breadth may be estimated at about six thousand toises. To the north it is bounded by mount Tomarus with its vast forests; to the east, by the town of Janina and the lake Acherusia; to the south, by the mountains of Pindus and Cassiopea; and to the west, by the hilly territory of the ancient Elea. It is watered by many springs and rivulets, and by a river which flows into the lake towards the north.

Janina or Joannina, founded by Michael Lucas Sebastocrator and the despot

Thomas, is the chief town of Albania, and of the extensive pashalik governed by Ali. Situated at the north-eastern extremity of the Elysian Fields, upon the western bank of lake Acherusia, the view from it extends to Mount Pindus or Liacmon, embracing a horizon no less lovely than majestic. It was subjected to the yoke of the Turks in 1424, under the reign of Murat, by his general Amurath-bey, at the same time that Thessaly and Macedonia were conquered, and it was one of the towns which was the best preserved amid the general spoliation. From its situation upon very unequal ground, and on the borders of the lake, it might be rendered a place of great strength; so much the more formidable, since it would be impossible to blockade it without having a flotilla upon the lake to cut off all communication with the country on that side.

Janina, such as it now exists, may be divided into the upper and lower town. The latter is bounded to the east by the lake Acherusia, which stretches towards the north and forms a curve round this part of the town. The country hereabouts is hilly, and there is a ravine, fortified by the head of a circumvallation with which the pasha has surrounded the place. He has a garden in this direction, and the road into the province of Sagori passes near it. The upper town stands upon the eastern declivity of some slopes, which constantly decline towards the south, and finish by disappearing in the neighbourhood of the road that leads to Bonila. There is only one street on the western side of the girdle of hills that inclose Janina. The line of circumvallation is at some distance; it begins at the ravine I mentioned, and at intervals are esplanades planted with cannon. Although a considerable force would be requisite to defend the works, much blood must be shed before they could be taken, especially if defended by Albanians, who, like the Turks, fight with desperation provided they are behind some kind of shelter.

The town is about fifteen hundred toises in length from north to south, and between seven and eight hundred in breadth from east to west. Two principal streets divide the town in length and breadth; the one begins at the gate of Bonila, and leads to the bazar,—the other goes from the bazar towards the lake: the latter is called the Jews' street, because it is principally inhabited by people of the Jewish nation. At its eastern extremity is a castle mounted with cannon, which commands a peninsula that runs into the lake; on this stands the seraglio, or palace of the pasha. Here Ali lives, isolated from the town and from his subjects, surrounded by a select troop of his followers, not a prey to terrors, but at his ease, in the security that is inspired by courage and confidence. In this place are assembled his treasures,

his military stores, and his wives; in a word, whatever he possesses of the greatest value and importance. Here he has accumulated all those resources of which his provident genius would know how to make the best use if he were ever menaced with danger. He would issue like a giant from the lake of Acherusia, and the stranger who should be sufficiently imprudent to hazard his safety in these barren defiles would never return to the shores whence he came. The peninsula where stands the palace could even hold out after an enemy had become master of the town.

Ali governs the people subjected to him by the double means of terror and confidence. Formerly the shops were shut the moment he appeared in the streets, and he congratulated himself upon being feared; but he begins to discover that it is better to be loved, and he has thrown aside a part of the ostentation by which he was surrounded. Free from that excess of barbarous ferocity which sheds blood without a motive, the massacres with which he may be reproached have never been perpetrated without a conviction in his own mind that they were necessary to his interest or tranquillity: it must however be allowed that his suspicious character has often led to his considering himself as surrounded with imaginary dangers. He protects industry and commerce, and is anxious to attract the latter to the countries he governs: on these and many points he has enlarged views, which appear surprising in a man living in a state of so much supposed barbarism.

The population of Janina amounts to forty thousand persons, and they are some of the most industrious in the whole Turkish empire. Among them are many rich merchants, and men who have a sort of cultivation not to be found in other parts of the country. There are even, among the Greek physicians, (a race of men who are always to be distinguished from the *caloiatros* or Italian quacks,) many persons of eminent merit, who, formed to do honour to their country, unite the knowledge derived from the ancients with modern science and literature. Of this number are Monsieur Psallidi and several others, men whose virtues reflect a lustre upon their fellow citizens, while at the same time they instruct them by their example and conversation. Thus, even in the heart of Epirus, are to be found men of kindness and hospitality, Greeks worthy of their ancient name. The town of Janina, besides the advantages it derives from its increasing civilization, is the centre of a very considerable commerce which extends over the whole empire. Many merchants have houses established in the principal towns of Romelia, of Wallachia and Moldavia, in Hungary, and even at Vienna; and

Janina ought to be the residence of the commercial agent of France, rather than Arta or Prevesa.

The lake of Acherusia is at the extremity of the Elysian Fields. Its length from north to south is four leagues and a half; its breadth may be about three thousand four hundred toises. Its environs are to the east rugged, mountainous, and barren, but to the south and west cultivated and pleasant. Towards the north the lake is crossed by a causeway which leads into the province of Sagori. The position of an island about the middle of the lake with regard to its length, but nearer to the eastern than the western shore, has given occasion to the distinction usually made between the upper and the lower lake. The two lakes are however formed by the same river, known to the ancients under the name of Cocytus, and by some moderns still called Cokytos. Formed without doubt by innumerable glaciers, and by unknown lakes among the mountains; this river after running a long time underground bursts into the lake Acherusia, about the centre, at a place which the Greeks call Perama. The mountains which border the right bank of Acherusia form a semi-circle, or rather section of an ellipsis, which surrounds Perama: here is a country-house belonging to the pasha. The Cocytus falls from the shore, forming near twenty small channels, each not larger than the trunk of a tree, through which its waters are poured into the lake. These falls from the Cocytus have a distant resemblance to our fountain of Vaucluse.

The little island in the midst of the lake is inhabited by Greeks, who have a village to the north, and a monastery. But although most of the inhabitants were born and have constantly lived there, they have never been able to reconcile themselves to a phænomenon which occurs perpetually, and most commonly during the autumn. At this time the island seems as if it stood upon a moveable base; more perhaps than thirty shocks are felt in the course of a day, accompanied with explosions like the firing of a cannon. The Greeks, terrified by these subterranean commotions and the noise which accompanies them, run out trembling from their houses, and invoke heaven with cries and lamentations. It does not appear that the danger is as great as might be imagined, since no apparent effect has hitherto been produced; though it is not improbable that the island may be destined to be swallowed up some day in the waters of Acherusia, or that other islands may rise, like those of Santorin or the Cameni, and forcing the waters over their present banks inundate the whole of the Elysian Fields.

The lake is inhabited by a prodigious quantity of fish, particularly crawfish, which seem to multiply to a degree almost inconceivable. It is besides in all

seasons covered by a multitude of aquatic birds, and a number of barks are rowing about in all directions; the pasha himself has a kirlanguitch upon it. An infinite number of plants grow upon its banks, flourish upon its little island, or float upon the surface of its waters. It has its calms, its tempests, its currents, and in times of great rains overflows its banks, extending itself to double its usual size; the road to Sagori, which it has been said lies over a causeway at its northern extremity, is then entirely intercepted. At the southern boundary of the lake the waters collect themselves into a stream, the celebrated Acheron, which three quarters of a league further to the south loses itself in the cavern of Avernus, in the Cassiopean mountains. The ancients, witnesses of this phænomenon, made the river flow afterwards through the Infernal Regions, for which they could never find a more appropriate place than beneath the mountains of Epirus. Formidable, however, as the cavern may appear, we are yet assured by the moderns that it does not exhale the odour of sulphur and bitumen ascribed to it by the ancients.

Mount Cassiopea, which I have stated above to be situated three quarters of a league south of Acherusia, is not lofty; it is covered with a light pasturage, which feeds large flocks: the ruins to be seen there appear modern ones. The Acheron rises again from the ground about twelve leagues below this mountain, near a village called Velistri, when it flows to the gulf of Arta, formerly called the gulf of Ambracia, about which it first forms considerable marshes. At a short distance from Cassiopea begins the little Pindus, or more properly speaking this latter is a continuation of Cassiopea; it rises gradually northwards till it becomes the Pindus properly so called. To this chain the moderns have given the name of Mezzovo. The river Arta rises on the other side of the little Pindus. These mountains are covered with pasturage, composed principally of fragrant herbs on which the flocks feed with avidity. All the mountains situated to the south and east of the lake are calcareous. Shocks of earthquakes are occasionally felt among them; they usually take place, as in Peloponnesus, in the autumn; similar shocks scarcely ever occur among the mountains of Chimera and Tomarus. Earthquakes are more particularly felt in Greece after a dry and burning summer, but they seldom occasion much damage, as the buildings are commonly lightly constructed.

About a league to the south of Acherusia is a small hamlet called Bonila, which may be regarded as the germ of a future town. It is built upon a regular plan, and forms a perfect square: three sides of it, that is say, those to the east, the south, and the west, are occupied by houses, while the rest is now an open space: here, however, the pasha purposes building a street, in order to divide it.

On the western side of Bonila is a gate, by which the town is entered in coming from Janina; and to the east is another gate, leading to the pasha's gardens. On the same side is a small rivulet, which flows into the lake. The population of Bonila is composed entirely of Bulgarians; they are governed by an aga named by Ali-pasha. These people were, for the most part, brought away from their country and their families in Ali's expedition against Paswan Oglou. Transplanted from the cold mountains of Bulgaria to a milder climate, they accustom themselves insensibly to other habits. Though generally retaining their own manners and language, some were beginning to speak Greek: but even if this should become universal among them, there is still such a fundamental difference of character between them and the Albanians, that they will always be very distinguishable the one from the other. Among the women are some remarkable for their grace and beauty: these are indeed generally the lot of the fair sex among this people. It was doubtless by like translations of entire villages from Greece, that long after were found in the heart of Persia names of towns the same as in Thessaly and Macedonia, and the inhabitants speaking the Greek language. The Great King in those days did the same as the satraps of Janina in ours.

To the east of Bonila are a palace and gardens belonging to the pasha. There is nothing particular in the palace; but the gardens laid out by Monsieur Charbonnel are very pretty. The fertility of the soil and the regularity of the surface have admitted of planting long avenues of trees, which will make the spot hereafter extremely beautiful. At this place there is also a school of artillery, at the head of which Ali placed Monsieur Charbonnel. He was in consequence decorated with the insignia of command, and assumed the Albanian costume. The exercises of the school were now carried on with an order and regularity unknown before: a new spectacle was presented to Acherusia; and the pasha, delighted, released the French officers from the state of confinement in which they had hitherto been held. Monsieur Charbonnel took up his abode entirely at Bonila, excepting when he accompanied the pasha in certain expeditions of which I shall soon have occasion to speak.

On the road to Arta, about Vrontza, a village seven leagues from Janina, are many plane trees; and a sort of white oak mentioned by Pausanias, as a tree then only known in this part of Greece. It was here that Monsieur Charbonnel had a quantity of wood cut down to make the carriages and machines necessary for the artillery of which he had the superintendence. The western side of the Elysian Fields, on the side of Philatea, which is the ancient region of Elea, is in ge-

neral well cultivated, and abounds with vines and olive trees. There are several villages which are very populous, not having suffered from the ravages of war like those on the side of Delvino. The latter have the misfortune of lying in the route commonly taken by Ali's Albanian soldiers when they go against Mustapha-pasha, or when they form their camp in the neighbourhood of Butrinto. The road conducting to Paramithia and Souli crosses this country.

A vessel from Barbary having anchored in the Bay of Arta, it was reported that one of the crew had died with symptoms of the plague. About the same time several persons died at Janina in a way which bore every appearance of their being attacked with the same fatal malady. At this news Ali gave orders that the Barbary vessel should be confined within certain limits; and he put the whole crew into quarantine in an elevated situation upon the mountains, where they could be effectually excluded from all intercourse with his own people. Not satisfied however with these precautions, he summoned the French officers before him, and inquired whether they were under any apprehensions of taking the infection. They replied that they were not: but he said that he was afraid of it for them, and proposed their going to pass some time at the monastery of the prophet Elias. "It is seldom," he said, "when this malady does break out here that it is of long duration, and you will be amused there. The festival of the prophet is soon to be celebrated: you will have plenty of good wine and good cheer, and the caloyers will pay you every possible attention." This act of kindness appeared the more remarkable, inasmuch as it was received from a man usually represented as a tiger, and was shown to persons whom he seemed at first to consider as his slaves.

The motives which led to the French officers taking this journey, no less than the beauty of the country over which they travelled, rendered the expedition particularly interesting to them. The road at first lies upon the borders of the lake, through well cultivated fields planted with vines, and interspersed with scattered villages. The lake is then crossed by the causeway which I have already mentioned, and which is more than half a league in length. It would be difficult to surmise at what epoch this might be constructed; but it is now in a very bad state, and, when the waters of Acherusia rise, wholly impassable. The road soon after crosses a little river which comes from Mount Tomarus, and may very possibly be the ancient river of Dodona; it proceeds from hence in a north-easterly direction over downs sometimes covered with verdure, sometimes entirely sterile.

On entering the country of Sagori, which begins at a village four leagues from

Janina, the forests of Dodona are to be seen to the right, spreading over Mount Tomarus or Dzoumerka. Here the imagination is immediately carried back to those visionary ages when superstition animated every tree in this forest, and feeble-minded credulous men believed that in consulting them the impenetrable veil of futurity would be drawn aside, and the fate that was to attend their subsequent lives spread clearly before their eyes. But if Dodona was in former times the region of prodigies, it is now only the retreat of a number of turbulent and disorderly Albanians; and its oaks, abandoned by their protecting deities, might be more nobly employed in serving for the construction of vessels: to this they are particularly suited. No mention is made of any relics of antiquity still subsisting in the country; and it would doubtless be impossible to find the smallest traces of the little town of Dodona. Nothing then remains but the recollection of events, and the remembrance of past times, to those who may come to meditate in this corner of the world: for this reason, probably, it is one to which no traveller has directed his steps for many ages. The forest of Dodona runs to an immeasurable extent northward; and in the region where the oaks cease to grow, pines succeed, the dark hue of which forms a variety not unpleasing in the whole picture presented by the chain of mountains.

The route, after quitting the village above mentioned, continues for four leagues over elevated mountains, whence from many points very fine views are to be seen. One while they are bounded by Pindus, another by the mountains of Sagori, nature always presenting a sublime and majestic aspect. Happy inhabitants of the villages of Sagori, your country, remote from the usual haunts of intruders, and almost unknown to the world, enjoys the supreme blessing of a mild and benignant climate: your days are marked by some of the choicest blessings of heaven. In advancing towards your mountains we begin to breathe, amid a purer air, the delights of peace and tranquillity, and to experience sentiments the very opposite to those inspired by the towns of Albania, alternately a prey to the evils of despotism and anarchy.

The monastery of the prophet Elias stands upon an elevated peak of the mountains of Sagori, eight leagues from Janina. The caloyers who inhabit it received their new guests with much kindness and pleasure, and never ceased to render them every good office in their power during the whole of their stay. The festival of the prophet, the patron of the institution, was celebrated as the pasha had announced; and a wealthy merchant of Bucharest, called Polychronos, a native of the province of Sagori, presided at the entertainment. The wine, agreeably to

Ali's promise, flowed plentifully; and every day was to the French officers a new feast, in which frankness and hospitality recalled the enchanting ideas of the golden ages. Below the monastery, about half-way down the declivity, is a village inhabited entirely by Greeks; and four leagues northward from thence is the town of Sagori, the capital of the province.

This country was anciently that of the Paraveans. The inhabitants submitted voluntarily to the pashas of Janina; in return for which the latter have allowed the administration of the province to be carried on after their own manner, and have established perfect freedom with regard to their religious worship. Never were any race endowed with more sweet, mild, and sociable manners than the Sagorians. It is among them that the *alégresse* of the ancient Greeks, with their address and quick talents, are still to be found. The stranger is received with friendship and amenity under their hospitable roofs; the utmost respect and attention is shown him. Robbery, murder, and other acts of violence are things unheard of among them. Contented with the excellent fruits of their rich slopes, with the aromatic milk of their sheep, they are no less ignorant of the vices unhappily too much spread over the other countries of Greece, than they are of the tyranny and oppression under which they groan. They seem to participate in the purity of the air which they breathe, in the salutary emanations exhaled from the lovely bowers and flowery vales in which their days are passed. Instead of the suspicious character observable in the Greeks, the Sagorian by his openness and frankness conciliates the attachment of every one. Like the Neophytes, who do so much honour to Paraguay, among these descendants of the Paraveans are to be found all the most endearing virtues, the purest morals, the utmost frankness and hospitality, without any counterbalance of vices.

With so much mildness and simplicity of manners the Sagorians, however, unite great courage: and this certainly cannot be denied them, since it is allowed by the Albanians. Their belouk-bachis, who govern the villages, are received with distinction, and have the utmost attention shown them at the court of the pasha. As he is sure of their fidelity, he never fails to grant whatever they ask. Above all things, he favours them in the establishment of monasteries. These pious foundations, in which man is occupied solely with working out his own salvation, dividing his time between labour and prayer, serve also as asylums to the traveller: whether from policy, or that they are used as places of repose to the pasha in his journeys, the number of these institutions is doubled since Ali was the chief governor in Albania. He preserves a constant good understanding

with the superiors, and by that means obtains a very extensive influence over the minds of the Greeks.

If the country of Sagori be rich in picturesque spots, in good morals, and in territorial productions of the best quality, through the want of a market for its commodities it is poor in specie. There are few rivers: it is from the other side of the Sagorian mountains that flow the streams which after watering Acarnania take their course to the ancient Celethrum, now called Castoria, into the basin of Argyro-Castron, and towards the valley of Tebeleni. The interior of the province, in which any one may travel with the most perfect security, is only visited by travellers going from Janina to Wallachia, who prefer this route to that of Larissa over Mount Pindus. By a little research, remains might no doubt be found of ancient roads, as some must have existed for the purpose of communication between Upper Epirus and Thessaly. Besides, by observing the direction of the mountains, there can be no doubt that Pompey's army in quitting Dyrrachium passed by the mountains of Sagori to arrive at Pindus.

The apprehensions of the plague having ceased, there was no further reason for the prisoners continuing at the monastery, and the pasha recalled them to Janina. They passed their time much to their satisfaction; and Monsieur Poitevin, whose health had long been in a precarious state, found himself so much recovered by the pure air of the mountains, that no further reason appeared to entertain fears for the result. Monsieur Charbonnel returned to his school at Bonila, and Monsieur Bessières soon after accompanied the pasha to Telebeni, the place of his nativity.

Ali, different from all the other pashas of Turkey, and accustomed to an active life, often visits the distant parts of his dominions, with the double view of keeping his subjects in obedience by his presence, and of creating himself friends among them. The Upper Albania, whither his course was now directed, is the country of the ancient Atintanes and Chaonians. The road passes between the towns of Protopapas and Rodostopos. The former stands upon a high rock in the Elysian Fields, three leagues north north-west of Janina. From its elevated situation it is seen at a great distance. Every thing announces that this place is entirely modern; or it should rather be said that, if ancient, there is nothing which indicates what town of antiquity stood in this situation. When the times of barbarism succeeded to the glorious days of Greece, the remains of its inhabitants then took refuge in places strong by their natural situation, as asylums from the wandering hordes that desolated the country; and it is not improbable that some of the in-

habitants of the Elysian Fields, which must have been a very populous district, might then have chosen this place as their retreat. The spot is fine from the view that it commands, but sterile, and the inhabitants are poor; it also forms a grand object in the *ensemble* of the plain of Janina.

Rodostopos, or the country of roses, stands a league to the north-east of Protopapas, and four leagues from Janina. From the aridity of the soil it might well be supposed that the name it bears was given in derision; yet the variety of the ground, its poetic aspect, and the fine verdure with which some parts are ornamented, render it a spot deserving of admiration. Like all the hamlets at a little distance from the lake of Acherusia, it enjoys a very pure air. The revenues arising from the contributions paid to government by the inhabitants of Protopapas, Rodostopos, and Delvinachi, form a part of the dower of the Sultana Validé.

The first place at which Ali and his companion, Monsieur Bessières, stopped, was a monastery in mount Tomarus or Dzoumerka, at a short distance from the little river which flows into the northern part of the lake: thence they proceeded to Argyro-Castron, ten leagues from Janina. The valley in which this town stands extends from the northern side of Tomarus to the port of Vallona, the ancient Aulone; and may be about fifteen leagues in length. It is divided by a river which rises in Tomarus, and is probably the Celydnus of Chaonia. Its left bank bounds the district inhabited by the independent Chimariotes: from hence their country extends to a ruin which is called the fortress of Canina, on the north-west extremity of the Acroceraunian mountains. Upon the right bank of the Celydnus are many villages, and a town which might very probably have been Passaron*.

Argyro-Castron, though the chief place of a pashalik of two tails, is sometimes governed only by an aga; it is a modern town, but is supposed by Meletius to have succeeded to the ancient Antigonia. After resisting the pasha of Janina, it yielded at length to his arms, and is at present governed by a person appointed by him. Its advantageous situation, in the midst of a fertile valley, would make it a very desirable place of residence, if it were not surrounded by a half savage people, who live in a constant state of petty warfare among themselves.

The country over which Ali now passed in continuing his route, is mountainous and woody quite to Barath, a town six leagues from Argyro-Castron. Barath

* The kings of Epirus, as well as the people, used to assemble at Passaron to sacrifice to the God Mars. The kings then swore to govern by the laws, and the people to defend royalty submitted to the laws.

is the chief town of the pashalik of Vallona; it stands in the valley of Bolina, half a league from the right bank of the river Bolina, the ancient Aous. The slopes that surround this valley are covered with wood, and there are some villages, particularly on the side towards the sea. They are inhabited by a brave but ferocious people. The whole trade of Upper Albania is carried on by Vallona; but what is this trade?—Vallona is inhabited by a race of men whose manners are like those of the Algerines, and its port is far from presenting the same security to vessels of other nations as to those of its own: foreign vessels are consequently not often to be seen there. It is frequented by the vessels of Dulcigno, who find it convenient for the commerce they carry on with Italy and the Ionian islands.

From Barath to Tebeleni is six leagues, always in a northerly direction, and among rocks or through forests. The latter town, the native place of Ali, surrounded on all sides by arid mountains, seems placed as in the bottom of a tunnel. A small river, however, flows through the valley, and runs out by a narrow passage among the rocks: this passage continues to grow wider and wider till it comes to fort Cavailla, near which the river flows into the sea. The pashalik of Tebeleni has been abolished since Ali rose from that to be pasha of Janina, and the town is now governed only by an aga. As the plague had appeared here this year, as well as in other parts of Albania, the pasha, who is not impressed with a belief in predestination, did not think proper to venture himself there, and he soon returned by the mountains of Sagori to Janina.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Extent of the pashalik of Ali.—His revenues.—His troops.—His influence in Romelia.—Further particulars respecting the school of artillery at Bonila.—Tragical end of the corsair Orouchs.—War between Ali and the pasha of Delvino.—Monsieur Guerini turns Mussulman.—The pasha dismisses Monsieur Bouvier to France.—Route from Janina to Larissa.—Productions of Upper Albania.

The pashalik of Janina comprises Epirus, Acarnania, the mountains of Pindus, Phocis, a part of Ætolia, Thessaly, and some districts of Macedonia. It is only by degrees that Ali has subjected so extensive a dominion to his power. While he made allies and friends among the agas in Thessaly, he subdued by his arms the pashas of Arta, of Argyro-Castron, of Ochrida, and Delvino, so that, though still decorated with empty titles, they are in fact submitted to his will. It has ever been his policy to fill the posts which are not nominally under his jurisdiction with people entirely devoted to him.

But if he has had reason to be satisfied with his success against the neighbouring pashas, he has experienced a formidable resistance from the tribes who inhabit the mountains of Epirus. He had a long conflict to maintain with the Souliotes of Cassiopea; he has been obliged to temporise with their neighbours the Paramithians; to be contented with receiving a voluntary tribute from the Philatians, who live on the borders of the Thyamis; and to have recourse to address in order to estrange from the pasha of Delvino the warlike Chimariots of the celebrated Acroceraunian mountains. Besides these, the numerous hamlets situated on the mountains that border the valleys of Epirus should be mentioned, and a tolerable idea is then given of the number of enemies whom Ali has either to watch over or to combat. His principal engine for keeping them in subjection is to sow divisions among them, and in this he is tolerably successful. But if a certain number, united among themselves, ever succeed in obtaining a situation which they think advantageous for the purpose, they never fail refusing to pay the contributions, and resigning themselves to their natural desire of independence. The dangers to which they are thus exposed is to them a very inferior

consideration: accustomed to a constant warfare with the wolves and the wild-boars, habituated to arranging all their quarrels by the sword, they early acquire a great indifference to life.

The defiles of Thessaly being in the possession of Ali's brother-in-law, the pasha of Tricala, little is to be apprehended on that side, while considerable resources may be drawn from the country. The situation of Tricala, standing on the eastern slope of Pindus, is very strong, and very convenient for commanding the defiles of the mountains; while the aga of Zeitoun, Mouctar, who was educated to the pashalik of Negropont, secures the dominions of Ali on that quarter. Among the last-mentioned cantons he finds a people who always pay the contributions with the utmost exactitude, while at the same time they furnish a hardy and faithful race of warriors, ready at the first signal to hasten and range themselves under his banners. In mount Derveni, however, the lower part of Pindus, are some independent villages; but contented with their liberty, and occupied with the care of their flocks, they abstain from plunder, and are averse to a state of warfare.

The pashalik reaches forty leagues north of Janina, and is bounded on that side by the province of Ochrida, which is governed by a dependent of Ali. Above Tebeleni it extends to the valley of the Drino, and the frontiers of the pashalik of Scoudari or Scutari. To the west it includes a very wide range, a part of which the Chimariots dispute with him: in this district also the towns of Paramithia, Margariti, Philati, and Parga are perfectly independent. At the mouth of the Acheloüs, upon the gulf of Lepanto, is the pashalik of Mezzalonghi, which is dependent upon the beglerbey of the Morea. Lepanto or Enebechté is governed by a pasha of two tails, and has a territory independent of Ali; but the forests of Manina, the banks of the Acheloüs, and the country situated below the gulf of Ambracia, are all submitted to his authority. Some Albanian posts extend even to mount Olympus, and to the neighbourhood of Larissa, which act only under the orders and in the name of Ali. In fine, his frontiers to the north-east may be fixed at the Cambusian mountains, which join mount Liacmon, in the country of Sagori.

The names of the countries which now form the pashalik of Ali have undergone changes which it may, perhaps, not be unimportant to point out. Janina, for instance, has given the name of Janat to the country of the ancient Molossians; the district of the Paraveans is now the province of Sagori; Chaonia is called the country of Chimera; and Thesprotia is now the bishopric of Butrinto. The can-

ton of Souli includes the rugged mountains of Cassiopea, called at present Valetitzia; the eastern and southern sides of these mountains are known as the canton of Loroux. Acarnania is called Carlelia, and Ætolia Xeromeros. The other districts take their names from their principal towns.

The revenues of Ali arise from timars, from numerous flocks, and from imposts. The latter are levied here with less harshness than in most other parts of the Turkish empire. If we calculate by approximation the products of his resources, including what he makes by the sale of wood and wool, as well as the benefits arising from the trade he carries on, (for he is the principal merchant and monopolizer in his dominions,) the whole may be estimated at between three and four hundred thousand pounds. With this sum he supports his own establishment, pays the contributions to the Porte, and maintains his army.

The latter, in its ordinary state, consists of from six to eight thousand Albanians. He is indeed often obliged to increase this number, consequently the expenses necessary for maintaining them. The maintenance of twenty-five thousand men during his expedition against Paswan Oglou, and in the time of the last war, must have brought heavy expenses upon him, particularly as he was obliged to purchase cannon and arms. These disbursements are, however, far from being lost; and the Porte, which has granted many things he desired for the safety of Albania, has placed him upon a very respectable footing. His military situation is constantly improving. Albanians are to be found in the service of all the pashas: they are the best soldiers they have, and form their usual guard. These men only remain in their service, and engage in the intestine quarrels of the empire, to gain money. As soon as they have amassed a tolerable sum, they hasten to return to their mountains, and compose, in case of need, a seasoned body whom Ali can dispose of at his pleasure. Others, after having for some time carried on the trade of haïdouts, or highway robbers, and having sullied themselves with crimes, abjure this state to be again Albanians. As they are well acquainted with the most obscure defiles of Romelia, they would be formidable in a war of posts, where, as we know, the Mussulmans are intrepid.

To the powerful means he thus possesses, Ali unites all the refinements of the most subtle policy to gain himself friends, or to ruin those whose designs he fears. Far from vexing the agas, he leaves them quiet, persuaded that such kind of people have nothing to fear from a change in the state of things, in which they might be sure of finding impunity. By this means some of them are fanatically devoted to him. He never slumbers in a fatal security; and if, as I have said, he

knows perfectly well what is passing in civilized Europe, he seldom suffers a foreigner to enter his country without making him appear before him. This is not done with the view of extorting a present, though he is avaricious like all the Turks, but in the hope of obtaining some information which may be useful to him. He combines things together with great ability, and calculates events to a nicety. Every thing, in short, leads to the conclusion, that Ali, after having occasioned great alarms to his master, will now be one of his firmest supports, though he will, perhaps, rather serve him as a great feudatory, than as a servant or slave.

The French officers continued daily to acquire a higher and higher place in his favour; and he was very glad to avail himself of their talents, in a way honourable to themselves and useful to him. Monsieur Poitevin drew him plans of fortifications, with which he surrounded the town, and some points of the lake; while Monsieur Bessières superintended the execution of the works. Monsieur Charbonnel continued to reside at Bonila at the head of his school of artillery. Here his health, which had been extremely injured, recovered very fast. Ali at this time had conceived the project of making war upon Mustapha, pasha of Delvino, and the Souliotes. He knew the military rank of Monsieur Charbonnel, and he wanted to put his practical skill in the management of artillery to the proof. He went to Bonila, and after a long conversation with him in the Greek language, which Monsieur Charbonnel could now speak with great facility, engaged him to exhibit a specimen of his skill in firing bombs, of which his own topdgis, he said, were very ignorant. He invited him, for this purpose, to the palace at Janina, where his artillery was kept, that he might choose a mortar for the purpose.

Monsieur Charbonnel accompanied him thither accordingly; and having made his choice, it was found that, in order to be transported to Bonila, where the experiment was to be made, it must be carried down stairs, through the harem of the women. While this was performing, the colonel, who still wore a part of his European dress, was recognised by a French female slave in the service of the princess-mother, as of her own country. The love of our native land is never so truly, so keenly felt as in exile, or when suffering under any great calamity which precludes the return to it: notwithstanding her situation, therefore, this woman could not refrain from rushing out of the apartment where she was, and running up to her countryman as to a long-lost friend. The colonel, not less astonished at the accent of this woman than deeply affected with her tears

and agitation, stood motionless, scarcely able to believe what he saw. The unfortunate creature eagerly inquired of him after her husband, who was in the tragical affair at Prevesa, and of whose fate she was ignorant. She was beginning to unbosom herself to him, to lay open all the sorrows by which her soul was oppressed, when the interview was interrupted by the appearance of Mouctar the son of Ali. Surprised to see a female conversing with a stranger in the harem, he approached the colonel, and said to him calmly, "My friend, go and pursue your business." Monsieur Charbonnel, now scarcely less astonished at the mild reproof given to the imprudence of which both he and she had been guilty, retired, though not without regret that the poor slave was so soon deprived of the consolation she seemed to derive from seeing him. The mildness with which Mouctar spoke, is a proof that the Albanians are far from being equally absurd with regard to their women as the Osmanlis.

When the mortar arrived at Bonila, Monsieur Charbonnel constructed a platform on which it was placed; but the Turkish bombardiers, who were to enter into a competition with him, contented themselves with placing theirs upon some boards laid on the ground, without concerning themselves about the level. On the day when the experiment was to be made, the pasha arrived, followed by his two sons and his whole court, with the belouk-bachis, the agas, the Albanian captains, and in short the whole garrison of the capital. A little tent was erected at the distance of about six hundred toises, which was to be the mark. The two first bombs were fired by the colonel: both took the right direction; but the first went beyond the mark, while the other fell short of it. He was about to rectify his mistake at a third stroke, when Ali ordered his bombardiers to fire: they did so; but their bombs did not merely miss the mark, they went in a totally different direction. After six essays the pasha bid them cease, abusing them as stupid and awkward fellows. Monsieur Charbonnel was then ordered to renew his efforts; and as by this respite sufficient time had been given him to make his calculations upon the proper charge required, his third bomb blew the tent into the air, a thing never before seen in that country. A general shout of triumph was raised; the air resounded with acclamations: every one rose, Ali excepted, and went to the battery. Veli pasha, by order of his father, took the colonel by the hand; and leading him to the place where he (Ali) was seated, the pasha presented him with a pelisse, and appointed him his topdgi and comparadgi-bachi, that is, chief of his cannoniers and bombardiers. The next day Monsieur Charbonnel received from the pasha a complete Turkish dress: he was at the same time charged with

the instruction of several young Greeks and Turks, who were to form a part of the pasha's artillery corps, and was appointed superintendant of all his works.

These different functions occasioned a constant intercourse between Monsieur Charbonnel and Ali, so that the former often went to the palace. Here it so happened that he several times met the corsair Orouchs. This pirate came to give an account to the pasha of his cruisings; but they by no means answered the expectations formed by the latter. Surprised and confounded at seeing the high degree of favour his ci-devant prisoner enjoyed in the pasha's court, he was exceedingly humble and submissive whenever he met with him: but this could only excite contempt in the colonel. He was one day even provoked, by finding him always crossing his steps wherever he went, to say, "Hence, wretch! this is thy work: thou seest the fate to which thou hast brought me! Thy fate will be the bowstring." His words were prophetic: Orouchs having again put to sea, the kirlanguitch intrusted to him by the pasha went to the bottom; and as he had the imprudence to reappear at court in order to vindicate himself, Ali, tired of him and his importunities, ordered him without further ceremony to be strangled.

A short time after these events war was declared on the part of Ali against Mustapha the pasha of Delvino. Monsieur Charbonnel received orders to prepare a park of artillery for the field and for a siege, and the Greek peasants were put in requisition to draw the cannon and mortars to the frontiers of Mustapha's dominions. These wars among the inferior powers do not bring with them such a frightful scene of calamities, nor are they of equal duration with those between sovereigns. A faithful image of the quarrels which have in all times divided Greece, the differences between two neighbouring pashas or agas are settled by arms; while perhaps in a night, a week, a month, the destruction of the enemy is accomplished, and the olive of peace again rears its head.

Ali's army had no sooner advanced into the territories they were to invade, than the Albanians made the Acroceraunian mountains resound with their *broko-valas*, or war-songs, and began to live at the expense of the enemy. Not a soldier appeared to defend the military positions which cover the principal town, and they advanced to form the siege of it almost without striking a stroke. I have spoken above of Delvino, and the situation in which it stands. It was not judged proper to endeavour to take it by a coup-de-main: perhaps the pasha was emulous of displaying the effects of his artillery. Several bombs were in consequence fired against it, and Mustapha in a very short time submitted to the will of his antagonist. After this campaign Monsieur Charbonnel returned to Janina, where he

as well as his companions in arms, who were prisoners with him, witnessed a most extraordinary and, on their part, unexpected event.

Monsieur Guerini, a barefooted Carmelite, and a member of the Inquisition at Malta, who has been mentioned as among the prisoners taken in *La Madonna di Monte Negro*, was now forty-two years of age. In his early life he had preached the gospel at Damas in Syria, and in Palestine, during which time he acquired a considerable knowledge of the Oriental languages. Returning from his missions, he was sent by Pope Pius the Sixth to Malta, as a member of the Holy Office, and was in that island when it submitted to the arms of general Bonaparte. He desired to accompany general Desaix into Egypt as his interpreter; but he found the tumult of a camp little suited to his taste, and soon obtained permission to return to Italy.

On his arrival at Janina he became intimately acquainted with a santon, no less a fanatic than himself, and they had now been for some time in the daily habit of going together into the mountains to meditate, when they constantly seemed to return more and more charmed with each other. Our Carmelite came one day to Monsieur Bessières, and in a long conversation with him took occasion to observe, "that all religions were good, and that he was very far from condemning any man on account of his faith. For his own part, however, he was convinced that he had hitherto been in an error; but Mahomet had been pleased to appear to him, and open his eyes." Monsieur Bessières heard him with astonishment: but it was very obvious that no other effect was produced by the reasonings of the new Mussulman; and as he had a great desire to draw over to his party men whom he esteemed and very highly respected, he next applied to Monsieur Poitevin. To him he represented the very indifferent state of his health, and the new resources presented to him if he would embrace Islamism; while to Monsieur Charbonnel, whom he went to see at Bonila, he talked of the attachment borne to him by Ali, and told him confidentially, that if he would turn Turk he might be a pasha in two years.

Rejected on all sides, Monsieur Guerini's resolution was not the more shaken; and he very soon after made a public profession of the faith of Mahomet. Nor did he stop here; but having long been accustomed to the sacerdotal office, he was not inclined to relinquish it, and even made himself an imam. In this capacity he was soon appointed almoner and secretary to the pasha, and he is now known at Janina under the title of Mahomet-Imam-Effendi: he has also become a teacher of the Arabian tongue. A short time after this the pasha gave Monsieur Bouvier

permission to return to France without even requiring his parole of honour. He equally promised his other prisoners their liberty in due time; but said that it must be given in succession, lest in dismissing them all at once he should draw upon himself the anger of the Porte.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Eastern part of the pashalik of Ali.—Itinerary from Janina to Larissa.—Upper Albania.—The Chimariots.—Western Albania.—Description of the coast from Butrinto to Prevesa.—The mountains of Souli.—Wars of the Souliotes with Ali.—Southern part of Albania.—Trade of the Gulf of Arta.—Earthquakes.—Phænomena on this coast.—Forests of Manina.—Villages bordering the Acheloüs.—Isles of the Eschinades.

The eastern part of the pashalik of Ali includes the country of Sagori, snd the mountains of Pindus or Mezzovo. In the valleys formed by the little Pindus, which begins at the foot of Mount Cassiopea, there are many villages, some large forests of tall trees, and smiling slopes on which numerous flocks are fed. The traveller who would go from Janina into Thessaly crosses this country; but it is scarcely known to us even by the Roman Itineraries, the only remains of antiquity on which we can rely. The route from Janina to Larissa lies through Bonila; and then, after coasting the lake Acherusia in various directions for three hours, the traveller begins to ascend the little Pindus. The ascent and descent again of this mountain on the other side occupy about an hour. At the foot of it the river Arta, the ancient Arethon, is crossed by a bridge. The course of this river is followed for five hours, and then another mountain is passed to arrive at Mezzovo.

This little town, which is said to have its name from being between two mountains, is composed of about fifteen hundred houses. Its distance from Janina is computed at nine or ten leagues. On quitting it a very high mountain is ascended, which is covered with snow nine months in the year. This is the Pindus properly so called, now by the inhabitants distinguished as Mezzovo. Seen at a distance it

forms a fine termination to many beautiful landscapes; but when arrived upon its summit, the traveller sees nothing but nature under its wildest and most chilling aspect. If some tufts of pines adorn the lower parts of its declivity, in the higher parts are nothing but naked peaks covered with snow and eternal ice.

Two hours are required to descend Pindus, when the traveller stops at a khan near a small village called Malacassi: thence he proceeds to Kokouliotiko, eight leagues from Mezzovo, which terminates the second day's journey. The third day the road goes over several little mountains to a town called Stagous, which contains about a thousand houses. At a little distance from this place are the celebrated monasteries of Meteora, to which I have already had occasion to make allusions, in speaking of the Greek religion, as being built upon rocks so steep, that they can only be reached by mounting ladders placed against them, or being drawn up in a basket by means of a crane *. They are nine in number.

The distance from Kokouliotiko to Tricala occupies ten hours. Here begins the country known anciently as Thessaly, which is immediately recognised by the beauty of its plains, the fertility of its territory, and the strength of its vegetation. Zarko, a small town containing about eight hundred houses, governed by a very powerful aga, is the next place in the route to Larissa; it is five leagues from Tricala, the road lying all the way over a very fine plain. In continuing the route to Larissa over the same beautiful plain, the river Salembria, the ancient Peneus, is passed by a ferry. Larissa is a journey of only three hours from Zarko. All this country is dependent on Ali, though governed by several inferior pashas and agas. The route I have described is that usually taken by travellers, and by the merchants of Thessaly and Epirus.

Almost all the coast from Vallona to the gulf of Drino is rugged. The mountains by which it is bordered descend rapidly towards the sea, and present to the navigator only naked and barren summits. Along the coast are to be seen in succession the ruins of the ancient Apollonia, in the country of the Taulantians; the town of Cavailla, which stands on the right bank of the river Aous, and where the finest wood of Albania is to be procured; and lastly Dyrrachium, now called Durazzo. Here we begin to be upon classic ground. Memory immediately recurs to those times when the fugitive senate and the youth of Rome, ranged under the banners of Pompey, were besieged here by Cæsar. The slope may still be seen where the intrenched army seemed destined to perish with thirst and misery; nor

* See page 142.

can we conceive without difficulty how Pompey could protract his ruin by obliging his enemy to retire to the plain of Pharsalia.

Nine leagues from Durazzo stands Croïa, the sole remains of the ancient town of this name, which was for a long time the capital of Albania. Its territory, once the theatre of the great exploits of Scanderbeg, now contains only a few hamlets inhabited by men condemned to misery, and half savage. Here the sea begins to form a deep gulf, at the bottom of which are the mouths of the Drino, and the town of Alessio. This town stands on a sort of rock, the base of which has been worn away by the Drino; it contains about two thousand inhabitants, two-thirds of whom profess the Christian religion according to the Greek or Latin rites. They live by their commerce and fisheries. Upper Albania, a part of which depends on the pashalik of Scutari, is to be seen from these shores; but in turning to the other side from Vallona to Butrinto, not a secure place of anchorage is to be found. Some small ports, very little frequented, are the only places by which the Chimariots find a vent for the commodities of their country.

These people inhabit the ancient Acroceraunian mountains, now called the mountains of Chimera. Warlike by character as well as by necessity, we find them mentioned with distinction from the time of Scanderbeg, as always forming a sort of isolated society or republic among themselves. At once shepherds and soldiers, they live in a state of independence amid the inaccessible retreats of their mountains. Often at war with their neighbours, or among themselves, they hold no qualities in any estimation but those of a courage, or rather temerity, which leads to undertaking the most perilous actions. Ready alike to seize the unfortunate mariner whose vessel may be wrecked upon their coasts, or the traveller whose ill stars may lead him into the way of their ambuscades; their victims are either sold, or condemned to labour in places known to themselves alone. The only part of their country in which some faint traces of civilization are to be found, is in the neighbourhood of Porto Palermo; here a little trade is carried on in the commodities of their country. These are chiefly oil, vallony, and wool; they are sent to Vallona or other ports upon the coast; and in exchange for them are purchased muskets and pistols from Brescia, cloaks from Calabria, some coarse cloths, and a little silver. Wood for building, sumach, rosin, and hides, are also objects sometimes exported by the Chimariots; but their commerce seems so variable that nothing respecting it can be positively ascertained. A great majority of these people profess the Christian religion, though there are some Mussulmans among them.

In the western part of Albania, which extends from Delvino to the mountains of Souli, and from the town of Butrinto to Prevesa, no recollections of ancient times, no illusions of mythology are presented to the mind; here every thing is modern. The ruins which meet the eye are not the relics of polished but of barbarous ages; they are the remains of towers built by the Venetians, nor can the venerable impression of antiquity any where be traced. Even Nicopolis cannot sufficiently occupy the attention of the traveller, to draw him aside from mourning over the still smoking ruins of Prevesa.

Eastward of Butrinto, after passing the Xanthus to follow the coast on the side of Valetitzia, is Agio-Saranta, of which I have spoken already, and further on Keracha, a small port frequented chiefly by the Philatians, one of the most independent tribes of the ancient Thesprotia. Their territory is covered with olive-trees; they feed abundant flocks; and the population, which is scattered in several villages, may be estimated at from six to eight thousand.

Gomenizza, a village situated beyond the Thyamis, is sometimes included in the country of the Philatians. Its port is difficult of access, on account of several rocks just below the surface of the water which obstruct the entrance. Sayades, another village belonging to the pasha of Janina, where a small fishery is carried on, stands at the bottom of a creek; towards the east it is inclosed by high mountains, on the other side of which are several independent villages. In the interior of the country, following the same direction, is the little town of Margariti, which is governed by a belouk-bachi. Its inhabitants, though free, pay a certain tribute to Ali-pasha.

The town of Parga stands upon rocks, which forming a promontory protect two ports; and its walls, following the declivity of the ground and inclining a little to the north, embrace the whole of the promontory. Vast screens of olive-trees, mingled with tufts of oranges grouped in the distant scene, form many points of view on which the eye rests with delight. This town always despised the feeble government of Venice, and has found the means of freeing itself, entirely by its own exertions, from the Turkish yoke: every thing leads to the belief that it will never be compelled to resume its fetters. Its population may be estimated at about eight thousand. Geographers, who have till now had very imperfect notions with regard to Epirus, from the silence of ancient writers on the subject, have placed lake Acherusia upon the coast, three leagues south of Parga. Without entering upon a discussion of the facts which have led them into this error, I can assure them that there is nothing on the coast of Valetitzia which resembles

a lake, and that the Acherusia of the ancients is twenty-five leagues distant from the nearest point of the sea.

Faneri is a port six leagues south-east of Parga, and eight leagues further is Prevesa. This town stands at the entrance of the gulf of Arta, about a league from the ancient Nicopolis, and was, as has been noticed above, one of the Venetian possessions in Albania. The whole gulf of Ambracia is seen from this place: a multitude of barks are at all times passing and repassing here. From this spot too is seen the celebrated Leucadia, with its rock so fatal to lovers. The ruins of Nicopolis, or the city of victory, founded by Augustus after the battle of Actium, are at the foot of the hills between the gulf of Ambracia and the Ionian sea. There are still some remains of two theatres, of a stadium, and of several other edifices, but they are all of brick: no marbles or sculptures of any kind are to be found. Some researches which the French had begun to make while they were in possession of the country had been tolerably well repaid; and important discoveries might have been made but for the war which broke out with the Ottoman Porte, and which led to the disaster already related.

The mountains of Souli to the south of the Elysian Fields have long served as the retreat of a Greek tribe, already frequently mentioned under the name of Souliotes, who have recently come too much into notice not to find a place in this work. Their actions, the designs attributed to them, the great things of which they believe themselves capable, have been celebrated in the work of Mr. William Eton, upon the faith of a French drogman attached to Monsieur Cousineri, and to Monsieur Beaujour, who was in Albania in 1792. As much more has been known since that time with regard to the Souliotes, and above all, as many errors have crept into the English traveller's narrative, a corrected account may perhaps not be unacceptable to the public; nay, I cannot help entertaining a hope that my zeal may even be applauded by Mr. Eton himself.

The mountains of Souli are the southern boundary of the plain of Janina, and are fifteen leagues distant from that town. Dervigniana, a town which stands about a six hours journey from Janina, was formerly the limit of the pasha of Janina's dominions, and it was then alternately in the hands of the Souliotes and the Paramithians; but they have both been since expelled, and the town annexed to the pashalik of Janina. The inhabitants however, as well as the peasants of some obscure hamlets in the neighbourhood, are of such restless and turbulent dispositions that not much advantage is derived from the country. From Dervigniana to Paramithia occupies five hours: the latter town stands in the road which

must be taken to enter the principal defile of the mountains of Souli. The country between Dervigniana and Paramithia is hilly, but fertile, or covered with furze intermingled with myrtles, rosemary, sage, and other aromatic plants, such as embellish even the wildest spots in Greece. The tall bay, the humble marjoram, the thyme so much sought after by the flocks, the melissa the favourite food of the bees, the fragrant narcissus for making garlands, the sweet marjoram which gives so great a relish to our own cookery,—these are all mingled together, and are to be found at every step: the air, according to the season, is perfumed with a great variety of delightful odours, while concerts of birds warble their melodious strains, which the enchanted echoes repeat with delight. Even in winter, the forests of pines that cover in part the slopes of the mountains, and which are soon freed by the sun from the weight of abundant snows, announce that vegetation has not entirely perished.

Paramithia is the chief town of a canton inhabited by a free people, who quietly pay a small tribute to Ali-pasha. It was at this time under the command of Progno, a man of great courage and intrepidity, and highly cherished and esteemed by his fellow-countrymen. The town has no walls, but is well defended by the valour of its inhabitants: it is supposed to contain a population of about fifteen thousand souls. Most of them are of the Mahometan persuasion; but they know no laws except those imposed upon them by their own courage, and obedience to their military chiefs. The Paramithians who inhabit the country are not divided into clans, but into hamlets or chorions, which are governed by belouk-bachis under the orders of the chief Progno. Many of these people are of a remarkably robust and athletic form: they used to consider the Albanians as very much their inferiors; but their ideas it may be presumed have undergone a change, since they have been obliged to submit to them.

From Paramithia there is a road which goes off to Margariti, another to Parga, and a third to the mountains of Souli: the town is only four leagues distant from the latter. These mountains bound the pashalik of Arta and the canton of Loroux to the east; to the south their base terminates at the reverse of the mountains above Nicopolis; and to the south and west they bound Margariti, with the country of the Paramithians and Philatians. The extent of the district of Souli is ten leagues from north to south, but in breadth it is never more than two leagues and a half. Some scattered villages towards the east, and the rivers bordering on the canton of Paramithia, belong to the territory of the Souliotes. On the side of Philatea are some salt springs, which issue from a rock and form two little streams.

The name of Souli is said to come from *Xylon*, that is to say woody; but, as there are no trees among these mountains, this does not appear a very probable derivation. They present nothing but arid summits, which have the appearance of crenated bastions formed by nature to serve as the retreat of men who place their whole happiness in independence. From these aërial sites the eye only looks through natural embrasures in the rocks, to wander over a wild and rugged country intersected by deep ravines, or over a wide extent of sea. The burning heat of the sun and the piercing cold of winter are alike felt here in their utmost extremes.

On whatever side the mountains of Souli are approached, nature becomes rugged, and presents difficulties to be surmounted; but I know not why Mr. Eton has represented Ali as investing the territory on all sides before he commenced his attack. The southern part being only accessible by a defile, he always menaced the Souliotes on this point; and not being able to reduce them by force, he built towers at the extremity of the defile in order to blockade them. Not more probable is it that he ever received assistance from the Chimariots, separated as they are by the pashalik of Delvino. It is well known that a sort of antipathy to each other exists among all the independent nations of Greee. They will lay aside for a time their domestic dissentions, to defend the canton they inhabit when it is menaced; but never will they carry their patriotism and disinterestedness to the length of forming a league which shall give freedom to all.

The country of Souli contains eighteen villages, some of which are in such elevated situations among the mountains as to be almost inaccessible to any but themselves. There are several hamlets at the foot of the mountains, which the inhabitants used to evacuate at the first approach of danger, and retreat with all their effects to the natural entrenchments above. But, these mountains being arid and destitute of water, they found themselves, if blockaded, compelled to yield sooner or later. The population of the country might be estimated at about eight thousand; fifteen hundred or two thousand of whom were warriors capable of bearing arms.

The wars of the Souliotes have however been much celebrated, and the people were long represented as a race devoted to liberty, from among whom might be expected to emanate those sentiments and that energy which would lead to the regeneration of the country. Souli was the pharos of Greece, all eyes were turned towards her rocks, and they were in fact distinguished by occasional prodigies of courage, by flashes of extraordinary valour. The Souliotes sometimes descended

like a torrent of burning lava into the plain of Janina, carrying terror wherever they went. But notwithstanding these ephemeral advantages they could never subdue an inch of ground so as to retain it; and the divisions by which they were torn among themselves when they had no longer an external enemy to fear, threw them into all the horrors of anarchy.

Ali, who watched them carefully, employed policy and force against them alternately; but his endeavours were abortive, and did not lead to results of any solid advantage to himself: if he succeeded sometimes in sowing divisions among them, they often baffled the calculations of his policy. As in his wars the pasha acted without any regular plan, contenting himself with attacking them impetuously, or with blockading their defiles for some time; he was always obliged to finish by disbanding his army, and leaving the Souliotes to return again to the cultivation of their lands. Sometimes truces were concluded between them, with the intention on both sides of violating them on the first favourable opportunity. The interest and amour-propre of the pasha induced him to desire the extermination of the Souliotes, and the restless genius of these people was perpetually leading them into new conflicts.

The Ottoman Porte was not however by any means desirous that Souli should be conquered, considering the warlike spirit of its inhabitants as the only effective counterpoise against the power of Ali. The Souliotes might even have turned this disposition very much to their own advantage, if, like the Maïnotti, they had sought the protection of some distinguished member of the imperial family. But isolated in the most formidable canton of Epirus, too proud of their own victories, and too confident in the natural strength of their country, they never carried their views beyond their own boundaries, or thought of fighting but to defend them. The fatal hour therefore which destroys the most powerful empires, when they know not how to adopt proper means for their own preservation, sounded at length for these warriors.

The exterior villages which were destroyed by Ali in 1796 deprived the inhabitants of Souli of the resources they drew from them, but he endeavoured in vain to force them from their rocks. Repulsed in several assaults, when his best troops were destroyed by the stones and trunks of trees hurled upon them from the fortified peaks, he could not even prevent his own territories from being frequently ravaged. He then took a desperate resolution of terminating this long protracted contest, and the year 1803 saw their power completely annihilated. His object might probably have been sooner accomplished if the French officers

would have lent their assistance in promoting his views, or if his own captains had not been too much daunted by some unsuccessful efforts.

At the time I mention, the year 1803, he began his operations by building towers at the entrance of the defiles; when the Souliotes, pressed on all sides, attacked incessantly by an enemy so much superior to them in numbers, and who seemed to multiply in proportion to their losses, saw themselves deprived of some of their strongest holds in the mountains, after having first dyed the ground with their own blood and that of their assailants. In this manner they were compelled to evacuate Kiafa and Kako-Souli, and retire to Parga. The last place that fell was Agia-Paraskevi. It was occupied by three hundred Souliotes, under the orders of Samuel, a caloyer or monk, who had governed the tribe for three years. They saw without terror the Albanians advancing, and never ceased to combat and make terrible havoc among them for six days; but their provisions and water beginning to fail, they were obliged to capitulate upon the same terms that had been granted to Kiafa, and retire also to Parga.

Hostages being given on both sides, the post was evacuated; the caloyer alone with four of his soldiers remained to surrender the town, with the ammunition, to two belouk-bachis deputed for the purpose by Ali. Introduced by Samuel into the magazines, this latter instantly set fire to the powder they contained, and blew himself with his four companions and the agents of Ali into the air. The pasha, considering himself absolved from his engagements by this act of treachery, thought of revenging it upon the Souliotes who were retiring with their wives and children. But despair can almost achieve miracles, and the unfortunate Souliotes, though surrounded by five thousand Albanians, made such a resistance that in the end they effected their retreat to Parga. Here they found the refuge which their valour and misfortunes so highly merited; and here they have remained, in the hope that they may in future be enabled to return to their own rugged but cherished country.

Such was the end of a tribe whose courage had often proved formidable to Ali. Had it been better directed, and had they been more peaceable, they might still have remained free in the bosom of their mountains. But too much presumption brought ruin upon them. They were more formidable than the Chimariots, or any other of the independent tribes, and their downfall became necessary to the pashas of the Morea and Albania. If however they no longer occupy their mountains, the remains of them form a more select association, and, united with the Greeks of Parga, may in the end experience a happier fate.

Ali judging of the importance of these mountains by the difficulties he had found in conquering them, thought immediately of rendering them one of the most powerful bulwarks of his empire. He began by establishing garrisons among them, and occupied himself in repairing towers that had been ruined, in forming cisterns, in erecting fortifications,—in a word, in doing every thing proper to render it a formidable position. More secure in this retreat than another Gelimer, if he should ever lose Janina, he will find in Souli a position which his genius has rendered invincible. If ever Albania should be menaced with a war, he will find the means of securing a supply of provisions so as to enable him to retain this spot; from hence he may embarrass the operations of the enemy, and fall upon him unawares, or leave him to perish in detail amid the unwholesome air of the rice-grounds that border the southern parts of the mountains.

The towns of Margariti and Parga are the most troublesome neighbours remaining to the pasha of Albania. They have been for a long time his declared enemies; and their whole population, which is numerous and brave, is occupied only in endeavouring to annoy him in every possible manner. I doubt however whether the inhabitants of Parga, brave as they are within their own walls and upon their own territory, would ever be induced to quit them unless they were well supported by regular troops. As to Margariti, the pasha would not fail to seize upon it the moment that he conceived any danger was to be apprehended: he already in great measure commands there by means of an aga devoted to him.

The southern part of Albania was celebrated in antiquity for several towns, which underwent a total change when the country fell under the Roman yoke; it afterwards acquired no less distinction from the building of Nicopolis, in commemoration of the celebrated and most important battle of Actium. In its modern state it is interesting from its extreme fertility, from the trade carried on in its gulf, and from the mercantile advantages to be found at Arta and Salagora.

The former, which is now the most considerable town near the gulf that bears its name, stands upon the banks of the river Arta or Arethon. It is not, as Meletius pretends, the Argos of Epirus; it is a modern town, about which neither ruins nor ancient roads are to be found, and the position of which does not agree with that of any place mentioned by ancient writers. It is the seat of a Greek bishopric, and was for a long time the chief place of a pashalik, which was held by Mouctar before he received the investiture of that of Negropont. Since that time it has been united to the dominions of Ali, and is governed by a pasha or aga tributary to him. The Arethon is never dry at any season of the year:

it is crossed by a bridge which the inhabitants always point out to the observation of travellers, because one of the arches is built in an ogive, which may be four-score feet in height. As these people are easily enchanted, they consider the work as a positive wonder. The Christians on their part show as a monument of antiquity a church built of brick, under, as they say, the last Christian emperors of Byzantium*. For the rest, the town has all the uniformity and monotony generally to be observed in Turkish towns; it is spread over a great extent of ground, and the streets are narrow; the population may amount to about six thousand, a fourth part of whom profess the Mahometan religion.

Arta, however, notwithstanding the advantages derived from such a situation, is said to be extremely subject to fevers, particularly in summer. The rich inhabitants generally quit the town at that season, and retire to some villages about the mountains, or to houses upon the shores of the gulf. Either of these situations is considered as very healthy. Besides the excellent wines furnished by the slopes about Arta, the fields abound with corn, and some of the best tobacco used in the East is grown here. The forests are full of wild boars, stags, and game. This canton, in short, from the variety and fertility of its territory, presents every thing that can render a country agreeable.

The town of Arta, which may be considered as the great depôt for the commodities of Lower Albania, carries on a very extensive trade in barley, oats, maize, lazari, lentils, nuts, chesnuts, kidney-beans, cotton, flax, vallony, raw wool, leather, morocco-leather, coarse woollen cloths, taffeties of cotton and thread, and of silk and cotton, linen cloth, tobacco, wines, brandy, gums, oxen, sheep, hogs, and wood for ship-building. The latter was very much bought up formerly by a French house for the use of the marine at Toulon. It is doubtless on account of this important trade that the gulf of Ambracia is now called the gulf of Arta, since it is little frequented except for the purposes of trade with this town. Arta stands at the distance of four leagues from the sea.

The pashalik of Arta comprehends Aperantia and a great part of Ætolia. One of the most considerable towns within this district is Tricala, but it does not contain more than three hundred houses. It is situated two leagues east of Arta, upon the western declivity of a chain of mountains which form the eastern boundary of the valley through which the river Arethon flows. It is governed

* It is to be observed, that almost all the ancient monuments in Albania, particularly those belonging to the times of the Lower Empire, are constructed of brick.

by a belouk-bachi. The inhabitants cultivate cotton and olive-trees; they manufacture taffeties, cut down from their forests wood for ship-building, and tend their flocks in the mountains.

The Inacchus of Epirus, which rises in the mountains of Sagori, flows to the east of the mountains on which Tricala stands. Two leagues before this river empties itself into the gulf of Arta, it is divided into two branches which form a delta. The soil here is uncommonly rich and fertile: it is employed chiefly for the cultivation of cotton and tobacco. The principal town of this little district is Terra Nova, a modern name, indicating, perhaps, the novelty of the soil on which it is founded. Its inhabitants are principally Venetians and banished Jews, with some Greeks from the Venetian isles, who have brought hither their manners and their industry. The spot is indeed deserving of a more illustrious population.

The whole of this valley is beautiful and fertile. It abounds with superb olive-trees, with mulberry-trees, sumachs, planes, and lofty oaks excellent for the marine. Vast numbers of cattle are fed in it, and horses adapted to carrying on war in a mountainous country. There are also thermal springs, and the variety and vigour of growth among the vegetable creation are quite surprising. The wine is scarcely inferior to the best produced from the slopes of Albania. Meletius mentions some ruined castles, which must have been upon the levels near the gulf: nothing is now to be seen but some little hamlets inhabited by fishermen. The river Inacchus abounds with fish, but is too shoaly to be navigable. It is probable that, by giving a little attention to clearing away the sands from its mouths, this inconvenience might be remedied, and the river rendered still more serviceable to the fertile valley which it waters. Three leagues westward of the western branch of the Inacchus lies the port of Salagora. It is a miserable town standing in the midst of marshes.

Vonitza, which probably is the ancient Anactorium mentioned by Pausanias, as depopulated by Augustus on his building Nicopolis, stands on the Acarnanian or Carlelian shore of the gulf of Arta. This town is at the bottom of a deep bay, which receives the waters of a little river that rises in the forests of Manina. These forests lie four leagues south of the town. Vonitza formerly belonged to the republic of Venice. Its inhabitants have suffered much by the arrangement made in the last treaty between Russia and the Porte, which gave it into the hands of the latter power. Its principal trade is in poutargues. Eastward of this town lies the village of Loutra or Loutraki, a name which is probably derived from the

thermal springs in its neighbourhood. It is inhabited by Albanians, who are almost independent, wandering continually about the mountains and woods around, occupied with the care of their flocks, and with collecting vallony. This part of the pashalik of Arta contains many other villages, but it is difficult to visit them on account of the barbarous manners of the inhabitants. Money is extremely scarce, the internal trade being carried on entirely by barter. The prevailing language is the Sclavonian. The people are partly Christians, partly Mussulmans.

The southern shore of the gulf of Arta is very irregular, forming a number of little creeks for a distance of three leagues; when the sea running very far into the land extends itself to a spot which some geographers believe to be the ancient Ambracia. The country in these parts is alternately fertile and cheerful, wild and terrible. Here are forests and pastures, with rocks rising above the lofty trees that form a fine green fringe at their base. Venice peopled these shores with the refuse of her own inhabitants, equally with those who were known and were suspected to be unsafe citizens at home. With the appearance, therefore, of milder and less ferocious manners than in the bosom of Albania, perfidy, vengeance, and the stiletto are here in fact but too common; creating risks to the traveller so much the more dangerous, as he is less likely to be aware of them.

The inhabitants of the gulf of Arta carry on a constant intercourse with St. Maure, Ithaca, and Cephalonia. So many matrimonial alliances have been contracted at various times between the islanders of St. Maure and the Greeks of Vonitza and Prevesa, that they are almost all relations. The soil of all these islands seems homogeneous: the same volcanic appearances are to be remarked in them as in the mountains of Carlelia; and earthquakes are commonly felt there at the same time as in these parts of the continent. St. Maure appears, indeed, once to have formed a part of the continent; it is only separated from it by a very narrow channel. This was the ancient Leucadia, rendered so famous by the death of Sappho, and of some other lovers equally deprived of their reason.

It seems as if subterranean fires communicate all the way from Zante to Cephalonia, St. Maure, Ithaca, Acarnania, and the Morea, without the chain of mountains of Upper Albania being at all affected by the shocks they occasion: even Corfu does not appear subject to the influence of these submarine volcanoes. They may, perhaps, be destined hereafter to give birth to new islands, or to ingulf those which exist at present. There is no calculating upon the effects they may produce. It is to them, probably, that certain phænomena observable in these parts are to be ascribed. The waves of the sea are sometimes agitated by a sort of con-

vulsion, an agitation very different from the ordinary motion of the waters, or from that given to them when impelled by strong winds. This takes place during the most profound calms, and particularly in the great heats of summer. Persons worthy of credit, and capable of observing, have assured me that water-spouts are seen to rise on the side of Leucadia, and at the mouth of the sea of Corinth. Be these things as they may, these seas and these shores, notwithstanding some disadvantages, must be reckoned among the pleasantest and most beautiful parts of the globe, and will always deserve particular attention from the traveller who wishes to study nature, and who loves to meditate amid picturesque beauties.

In Ithaca, now called Thiaki, is a heap of stones, which persons with ardent imaginations call the ruins of the palace of Ulysses: the materials are, however, of a much less remote date. The soil of Cephalonia is arid; and the idea of this island can never be presented to the mind unconnected with that of the factions by which it is torn. The mind immediately recurs to the unfortunate Count Carbury, cut off in the midst of his projects for ameliorating the situation of his countrymen; nor can one reflect without the deepest indignation upon their ingratitude in dyeing their hands with the blood of their benefactor *.

Carlelia, the ancient Acarnania, is a little canton of Southern Albania, comprised between the strait of St. Maure, the lake of Arta, and the river Acheloüs, or Aspro-Potamos as it is now called. It is in length from north to south about fifteen leagues, about eight or nine in breadth, and is bounded to the north by the gulf of Arta. Five leagues and a half below the entrance of this gulf is a harbour running pretty far inland, called by the Greeks Porto Candili. To the north and east it is sheltered by the mountains of the continent; to the west it is protected by St. Maure, and by some rocks which render it difficult of access. At a little distance is a village called Tzavedra, which may have been the ancient town of Alysia, as that must have been in these parts: it is, however, so very uncertain

* The name of Count Carbury is well known in Europe as having transported the granite rock, on which the statue of the czar Peter the Great stands, to St. Petersburgh. He had conceived the project of numerous institutions, which would greatly have increased the prosperity of his fellow-countrymen at Cephalonia, and came to establish himself among them in the intention of devoting his whole fortune to carrying them into effect. He had already made extensive plantations of exotic trees, which were in a very flourishing condition, when he was assassinated. The remains of these plantations are still shown to strangers. Some scattered coffee-trees, and fields which he had rendered fertile, now wholly neglected, excite in the bosom equal regret and indignation.

whether Tzavedra stands on the site of any place known in antiquity, that the possibility of its having been Alysia is all that can be suggested.

The forests distinguished by the name of Manina, which extend quite to Calydon, occupy the interior of this country, and are the resort of a tribe of *vauriens*, who are however under the jurisdiction of Ali-pasha. The houses of the people in easy circumstances, which are chiefly in the villages, are a sort of fortified towers with battlements, and are entered by a draw-bridge, the stair-case to the chambers where they live being shut down by a ponderous trap-door. Here they remain constantly armed, and on the alert; and, as they never quit the musquet, are always ready to do themselves justice when attacked.

In this singular country, which may be regarded as the focus of anarchy, there were still several important places in the time of the Lower Empire, and even under the government of the Turks, but by degrees they are fallen entirely to ruin. Dragomestra, which was in a very strong situation, exists no longer but as a miserable village; nor is the little town of Petala, upon a creek about a league from the mouth of the Acheloüs, in a much better situation. With the name of the Acheloüs of Ætolia, which Homer distinguishes by the pompous title of the King of rivers, a thousand interesting associations are combined; and the recollections they bring with them naturally lead, in visiting the country, to examine the changes which may be supposed to have taken place at its mouth. There is no doubt that Hercules was a very great benefactor to Greece; and he probably undertook some important work by which he purposed to confine the waters of this river to one regular channel, and thus drain the marshes about its mouths. Hence arose the allegory of his subduing the monster.

The name of Aspro-Potamos, or the White River, has been given by the moderns to the Acheloüs. Along the banks of this river lie several towns and villages, the principal of which are Dragomestra, Pandi, Vlachori, Anatolico, Mila, Ivoria, and Katochi. As none of them are at a great distance from the seat of government, they may easily be visited by a stranger; and a very advantageous commercial intercourse might be established with them through the merchants at Patras. The country abounds in oil, cotton, silk, sumach-wood, and vallony.

The town of Anatolico stands upon several of the Eschinades, a groupe of islets or rocks at the entrance of the gulf of Lepanto, the formation of which was attributed by the ancients to the alluvions of the river Acheloüs. It was formerly governed by a pasha of two tails, but is now under the command of a bey. It is

inhabited principally by Greeks, whose chief occupation is fishing, for the sake of the fish's roes, of which they make poutargue. These form their most essential article of trade. At the distance of a league south-east of Anatolico stands Mezzalonghi; and about a league in the interior is still to be seen the dust of the ruins of Calydon.

Such are the limits of the pashalik of Janina, and such is the nature of the country governed by Ali-pasha. If by far the greater part of it be still in a state nearly of barbarism, it must nevertheless be said that Albania is the richest province of the Ottoman empire in men of a warlike disposition, and in territorial productions. In the Albanians are still to be seen the soldiers of Alexander and of Scanderbeg. Accustomed to privations and dangers, they breathe nothing but war; and other nations are esteemed by them only in proportion to the courage which they suppose them to possess. Thus, even if the Ottoman empire were dismembered, Albania would probably long remain such as it now is; for it is not easy to conceive how men intrenched in almost inaccessible mountains, and resolved to defend their liberty to the last moment, are ever to be subdued.

It is very much to be wished, that, in order to obtain a more complete knowledge of the country than circumstances would permit those from whose papers these pages are compiled to acquire, some traveller would undertake to visit Macedonia and Thessaly, for the sole purpose of obtaining all the statistical information possible with regard to them. Let not any one who may ever meditate such a scheme, permit factitious dangers to turn him aside from the pursuit of it. Let him impress his mind deeply with the necessity of respecting the manners and customs of the different tribes he may visit; and let him always recollect, that the greatest part of the calamities which have befallen Europeans travelling in the East have been the consequences of their own imprudence, of the contempt shown by them towards people upon whom they were dependent as long as they remained among them.

The pasha of Janina, though of a restless and suspicious temper, would without difficulty open the most inaccessible defiles of his pashalik to a stranger who would communicate his designs freely; it may reasonably be presumed that he would even show him all possible favour. What errors in geography might be corrected! how rich a harvest would be offered to the naturalist! But what must be the disposition of the man who would really derive the greatest possible advantages from such a journey? He must be one who would be ready to run every hazard for the promotion of science; who would place his happiness in carrying

the germs of civilization into countries formerly so celebrated, and which perhaps only want a slight stimulus to renew those days of prosperity and glory.

May these pages then—may the picture of which I have given but an imperfect sketch, excite emulation, and inspire a wish in others to become more acquainted with Greece! The clue I present may serve as a guide to assist the traveller in proceeding on his way. He will rectify my errors; he will add the treasures of his discoveries to what I have published; and our contemporaries, I trust, will be grateful to us for making them acquainted with regions now almost unknown to them. In any case, satisfied with my own labours, I shall always rejoice in having rescued from oblivion documents which, divested of all pomp of style, have no other aim but to become of public utility.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Customs and manners of the Albanians.—Climate, and state of the seasons.—Qualities of the different waters.—The diseases most common in the country.—Physicians and surgeons.—State of commerce.

The Albanians, who may be called the Scythians of the Turkish empire, have but few wants. I speak here of the people in the country. The houses are in general nothing more than a ground-floor; and they sleep upon mats or thick cloaks. Little sensible to the variations of the atmosphere, they lead an equally-laborious life the whole year through. Contented with a little, they live principally upon milk, cheese, eggs, olives, and vegetables: they eat very little meat, occasionally fish, or salt-fish. Sometimes they make bread; but often eat their corn or maize only boiled. Their common drink is wine. The inhabitants of the towns are both better lodged and fed: lamb, pork, game, and poultry, are frequently to be seen at their tables; they have good bread well baked, and excellent wine. Their oil is delicious, and is used entirely in their cookery instead of butter. They drink coffee very much, and are no strangers to the liqueurs of Corfu and Cephalonia.

The Albanian shepherds, who are equally warriors, are clothed in a sort of

coarse woollen stuffs, for the most part never wearing linen; or, if worn, it is never changed, but left till it falls off in rags. Sober and active, they are contented in their journeys, or when at their labour, with a little boiled rice or corn, while singing, dancing, and gaiety seem all the relaxation they desire from fatigue. It is therefore very rare that a handful of soldiers are to be seen without a mandoline-player and a singer. They have often, besides, an orator to tell them stories.

The shepherds, to whose care the flocks of Ali and his sons are confided, change their cantons according to the seasons. During the summer they commonly range the mountains of Pindus and Tomarus. In June the flocks are brought into the plain of Janina to be sheared, and then a sort of festival is celebrated. They are afterwards carried to the slopes of Cassiopea into the valley of Arta, towards Paramithia, Margariti, and Nicopolis. During winter they are chiefly cantoned about the gulf of Arta and Carlelia. When winter buries the upper Albania in snow, the inhabitants shut up in their smoky cabins have little occupation; but they often amuse their ennui with hunting-parties.

A very great difference is observable among the native Albanians, and the Greeks, by whom the towns are much inhabited. Hippocrates seems to have painted the Albanians when he is giving the difference between an Asiatic and an European. "All the inhabitants," he says, "of countries that are mountainous, and ill supplied with water, and which experience great variations in the seasons, will naturally be tall in stature, full of courage, and capable of going through great labour and exercise. They are generally savage and ferocious in their dispositions." Such are the Albanians: they are seldom less than five feet nine inches in height, and are extremely strong and muscular. They have oval faces, large mustachios, a great deal of colour in their cheeks, a brisk animated eye, a well-proportioned mouth, and fine teeth. The neck is long, and the chest broad; the leg slender, and with very little calf.

Thus formed to endure fatigue, and to engage in distant expeditions, the Albanians or Arnaouts form a part of the military corps in every province or district of the Turkish empire, from the shores of the Euphrates to the mouths of the Drino. In Egypt they have become celebrated. They are well known among the Barbary states; nor have they scrupled to associate themselves with the turbulent rebels who infest Romelia. The trade of a brigand excites no blush in them, since it is accompanied with danger; and they vaunt their prowess no less in these predatory expeditions, than in those to which real glory is attached. An Albanian, talking one day to Monsieur Bessières of the pleasures of his youth,

"A man is happy," said he, "only so long as he is strong and vigorous. For me, alas! that time is past: but every thing must have an end. I am now returned for the second time from Mecca, and am going to my own home at Pharsalia, after having made a good use of the days that are past. I was a chief of haïdouts: conceive the satisfaction I had in plundering Romelia. How delightful was it, after I had placed a village under contribution, to see the women come in despair, and entreat me in behalf of their husbands! I always granted their petitions: and you may imagine that I was not a little proud of my situation. That time has passed very rapidly."

The women who bring this race of semi-barbarians into the world partake in the vigour of their organization. They do not live in the indolence of harems, but labour hard; and no less than the men eat their bread with the sweat of their brow, frequently even sharing the dangers encountered by their husbands and their sons. Their features are strong; their muscles firm, and endowed with great elasticity: they are therefore little subject to disease, and preserve the freshness of youth much longer than the women of Greece. They continue to become mothers till an equally-advanced period of life with the women in more northern countries. They sleep upon the same mats with their husbands, are like them clothed in coarse woollen garments, and often march with their legs naked during the most rigorous cold of Albanian winters. If the mother of Ali-pasha took arms to defend the rights of her son, the women of Upper Albania are no less to be seen placing themselves in the ranks, and exhorting the men to perish in the common cause.

Besides the bravery which is natural to the Albanians, they have a frankness of character not common among the eastern nations: they show their esteem or contempt for any one equally without disguise and reserve. They scarcely ever speak of the Osmanlis without severe reflections upon their dissimulation. They indeed despise, even to affectation, every thing that comes from Constantinople. Their openness of character is carried so far, that they never think of dissembling their views when they endeavour to obtain any post. Money is their object, and this they freely avow. The aga of Bonila, who was a great admirer of Ali, said, "The pasha has placed me here; it was on purpose to get money: therefore, money I must have. Money, money, or the bastinado must be set in motion." Incapable of the craft which distinguishes the Mussulman character, the Albanian cannot load with caresses the person whose destruction he seeks, or whom he detests at the bottom of his heart. He openly avows his hatred, and, if he

meditates the destruction of any one, makes no hesitation in declaring his purpose.

As bad Mahometans as they are brave soldiers, they show extreme negligence with regard to the external ceremonies of their worship, and believe as little in the Prophet as in Jesus Christ: they more frequently, indeed, make their asseverations in the august name of the latter. It seems not a little extraordinary to hear the words *Maton Theon*, *Maton Christon*, perpetually coming from the mouth of men who profess the faith of the Koran. They are in consequence accused of infidelity and irreligion; and the word Albanian is considered by the True Believers as nearly synonymous with that of infidel. Full of enthusiasm for their country, they never speak of it but as far superior to all others; nor, though fixed in countries generally considered as more benignant, do they ever cease to turn with longing eyes towards the mountains of Epirus. They do not think of the privations experienced there, but of the independence they enjoyed. They cannot forget the humble roof under which they first saw the light, the rocks among which they wandered, the valleys imprinted with their infant footsteps; these are objects that always speak the most forcibly to those hearts that have lived the nearest to a state of nature.

Why am I forced here to notice the deep offence against morality with which, in one respect, these people are to be charged? But it seems as if a passion disowned by the first laws of our nature is one of the ordinary concomitants of barbarism. The Albanian is no less dissolute in this respect than the other inhabitants of modern Greece, without seeming to have any idea of the enormity of his crime; especially since, far from seeing it discredited, he finds it rewarded by the chief to whom he is subjected. The wandering lives led by these people, their days being passed chiefly amid camps, perhaps encourage this revolting passion. It is general among all classes. The women are not shut up under locks and bars, but in the mountains may be seen walking about perfectly free and unveiled. Interest has no part in the marriages contracted in this country; and the matrimonial tie once formed is seldom cancelled by divorce. A man among the common classes has rarely more than one wife; and the number kept by some of the great is rather a matter of etiquette than of taste.

The Greeks who inhabit Albania, though perfectly distinguishable from the native Albanians, have more of the habits of barbarism than the people of the southern provinces of Greece, and of the Greek islands. They even lose here a part of that duplicity and want of honour of which they are generally accused.

This may probably arise from their feeling more strongly, among so independent a race, the dignity of their nature, and from their not being obliged to degrade themselves so low in crouching at the feet of an oppressor. Those who inhabit the towns retain more of the manners which distinguish nations among whom corruption has superseded knowledge, and where the illumination necessary for arriving at virtue is extinguished in proportion to the necessity of practising it.

The climate of Albania, subject to frequent and sudden changes, varies very much in different places, particularly according to the aspect of the valleys. While the mountains of Chimera are covered with clouds, the valleys of Aous and Acherusia, and the sea-shores, enjoy serene weather, interrupted only by occasional storms, which bring with them fertilizing showers. Great droughts, or rains continued so as to impede the labours of the husbandman, are equally rare. If sometimes torrents rush from the summits of the mountains, a beneficent sun soon appears again to repair the mourning they had spread over the slopes. The frosts which afflict our climates, the smut which so often injures the corn in the Morea, and the worm which makes such ravages among the vines,—these transient yet fatal scourges are unknown in Albania. The valleys are seldom covered with fogs, even at the approach of winter. After the last rains of autumn, the mornings are often very cold, with a slight frost, but the ice is melted by the sun before the middle of the day. The winters are usually severe; the north wind freezes the rivers and lakes, and gives to the valleys, which are so beautiful in summer, a melancholy and monotonous appearance.

The temperature of the air during this season is that of the northern countries. The frosts generally continue in their rigour for about two months; but when the south wind blows, the rivers are swelled with the melting of the snows. It is not however till spring, when the zephyrs begin to warm the air, that the mountains lose their snowy garb, and the avalanches fall with a terrible crash from their craggy summits. In the defiles the heat of summer would be insupportable, were it not for the breezes from the loftiest mountains, which coming over the snows and glaciers bring with them a salutary and refreshing coolness, or those which appear to issue from the depths of the woods, bringing the most fragrant odours. The shores of the gulf of Arta are during this season particularly pleasant; and the inhabitant of Janina, but for certain apprehensions under which he lives, would find the utmost delight in wandering by the side of Acherusia amid the coolness of these lovely evenings.

I have spoken of the earthquakes, and indicated the phænomena of the subter-

ranean fires, which are the principal agents in the physical particularities observable in the mountains that border the Elysian Fields. It does not appear that they produce any noxious effects, and the island of the lake which is so peculiarly affected by them is not less salubrious than any other part of the province. None of those sulphureous exhalations are perceptible which are common in the neighbourhood of volcanoes, nor are any vapours injurious to man produced by the numerous caverns. If formerly they produced dangerous vertigoes, no tradition of them has been transmitted to us; the recollection is lost in the obscurity of intervening ages. The greater part of the valleys of Albania, like those of Greece, are exposed to the east or south: but the valleys of the Aous and of Tebeleni form an exception to this general rule; the declivity of the first inclines towards the north, that of the second to the west. The towns and villages in these, however, face the east and south: some of the sea-ports only front the west; not one town or hamlet faces the north.

The greater part of the rivers of Greece, which according to fable and history might be supposed much more considerable than they really are, during the heats of summer are commonly entirely dry; for this reason water is not in general plentiful, and what there is must often be very bad. The best water is the rain water collected in cisterns, or which stands in cavities among the rocks. The waters of the Thyamis, the Aous, and the Arta, are unfit for use in the summer, on account of the number of insects and decomposed vegetable substances which they contain. The people have then recourse to the water from springs.

It has been seen by the itinerary from Butrinto to Janina, that this country is only watered by some trifling streams, and that Delvino, the principal town of the district, stands upon a considerable height. Delvinachi, which lies in a valley, is watered by some springs; but at Dzidza there is only one fountain, the rest of the water used in the place is drawn from the marshes in its neighbourhood. Janina is better supplied with water: that of Cocytus is fresh, soft, and pleasant to drink; but the waters of Acherusia are brackish, and have a disagreeable smell, so that they can only be used for bathing. As they have never been analysed, any one who should examine them critically would perhaps find that they possess qualities which would amply compensate being deprived of them for the common uses of life. A small rivulet runs by the side of Bonila; but some springs to the west, the basins of which are filled with cresses, yield a much pleasanter water.

There are a number of springs in all parts; some thermal ones have already been noticed. In the country of Philatea there are some salt waters flowing from

the rocks, which well deserve the attention of the œconomist; but one of the great objects in examining Albania accurately would be the waters in different parts. Acarnania abounds with lakes, particularly about the sources of the Acheloüs. It is difficult to determine the temperature of several of the valleys; yet this would be a thing very important towards explaining many passages in ancient authors, and towards accounting for many phænomena now presented to the observation of the traveller.

It will be seen however from what I have said, that there is more uniformity in the temperature of Albania than in that of Peloponnesus. Nature has undergone fewer changes in the former country; the chains of mountains are long, and connected the one with the other: Pindus, Tomarus, and the Acroceraunian mountains form vast amphitheatres, above which rise many lofty peaks; but they do not wear the appearance of having been subjected to the same convulsions of nature which have shaken the southern parts of Greece, and the islands of the Archipelago. Thessaly and the cantons situated on the eastern side of Mezzovo are watered by deep rivers, which are never dry in any part of the year. The winters are longer, but are not so severe there as in Epirus: the atmosphere is equally clear and delightful; and lands which are now, rather from want of hands than from want of industry, suffered to lie uncultivated, might be made to yield in a manner of which it is scarcely possible to form an idea. The waters are pure, soft, and easy of digestion. The clouds, attracted by the summits which surround the basin of Thessaly, feed an infinite number of springs, from which flow limpid streams: these, after fertilizing the fields, carry their waters to augment the Peneus or Salembria.

From all that has been said above, it will not be difficult to conjecture what must be the reigning diseases of Albania. The work of the oracle of Cos will serve as a guide to us upon this occasion, and it will be found that the principles he lays down are no less applicable to the present times than to those when he existed. The nature of the food, full of juices and nutritive particles, will also furnish medical inductions; but unfortunately facts are wanting to give an equally methodical view of this subject as I have done in treating of the Morea. This is one of the objects which it remains for future travellers to investigate.

I shall content myself with observing here, that the environs of Janina, from the vicinity of the lake, are subject to tertian fevers in the spring, but in the autumn the quartan seems more prevalent. The country about Arta is equally subject to fevers, and the lakes on the side of Ætolia render those parts no less

unwholesome than the downs of Corinth. The rice-grounds in this country are without doubt the cause of like effects in the air, and the inconveniences resulting from them.

The plague is evidently a stranger in the climate of Albania; such a scourge can never long afflict a country the temperature of which is wholly adverse to it. If it be believed that it issues from the marshes about the gulf of Arta, it is not because it has its origin among them, but that this is the spot of all Albania which has the greatest intercourse with foreign countries. It is from Constantinople, or the coasts of Barbary, that the plague is brought to Albania. A vessel which arrives from Tunis or Algiers is never visited, no inquiries are made whether any epidemic disease reigns in the country whence it comes, or whether any extraordinary death has happened on board the vessel during its passage. Nay, even if any questions be asked upon these subjects, still no hesitation is made in admitting the vessel, provided the captain makes some present to the commandant of the port, or the aga. Avidity, which never speculates, afterwards buys up, without any precaution, whatever offers any prospect of gain, and the germs of contagion are thus introduced into the interior of a country where otherwise it would never be known.

The couriers also who come from Constantinople bring with them various articles of merchandise, without any inquiry whether or not the plague exists in the places where they purchase them. I know that from the time occupied in the journey the air will have purified themselves and their garments from all pestilential miasmata, even if any were lurking about them when they set out; but the case is different with merchandise which has been carefully closed up all the way, and which they have no idea of purifying in the air before it is offered to sale. Albania, however, is never liable to be the theatre of a general desolation; the towns and villages among the mountains are tolerably out of the reach of it, and offer at all times a safe asylum against its ravages. The very infection itself is soon destroyed by the purity and salubrity of the air.

The Albanians by their manners have escaped a more positive danger, in keeping themselves clear of the *caloiatros* who infest Constantinople and the Morea. The physicians at Janina are Greeks, and in this branch of natural science the Greeks merit particular distinction. The greater part of them have gone through a regular course of study, either in France or in some other of the principal countries of Europe. In the Greek physicians of Janina may be observed a zeal, an enthusiasm, an ardour to do good and diffuse knowledge, which speak the true friends of human nature. They receive the stranger with kindness and amenity, they

question him in hopes of gaining new information, and their disinterestedness is equal to their sensibility.

It is unfortunate that they do not join the surgical to the medical science, and are not equally able to perform operations as to prescribe for diseases. Surgery is entirely in the hands of the Albanians, or of some charlatans; and the latter, though extremely ready in the application of an ointment or a plaster, know no more of reducing a fracture or a dislocation than the apes that people the wilds of Africa. For this reason, a man when materially wounded is considered the same as dead; nay, this sentiment is carried so far, that the Albanians will often cut off the head of a wounded soldier, considering his fate as inevitable, and that it is better therefore to dispatch him at once. That skill which can recall life even at the moment when it seems ready to depart, which carries a balm to the deepest wounds, and restores hope to the soldier bleeding in his country's cause, would be indeed a precious gift to carry into Albania: not the remotest idea is entertained there of the perfection to which this science is carried in other countries.

Notwithstanding that Albania is so much covered with forests and mountains, there are in some parts excellent pastures where a number of cattle are fed. Olives as well as mulberry-trees are planted wherever the soil is suited to them, and vines upon the slopes that have the proper exposure. In the valleys and the levels among the mountains, maize, barley, and tobacco are cultivated; there are even valleys which furnish very fine wheat. So great a quantity of honey and wax is furnished by the bees with which the country abounds, that it far exceeds the consumption, and leaves a great surplus for exportation. A great deal of butter and cheese is made; olives are prepared, and several sorts of fruits dried: the inhabitants of the coast make poutargue, and salt sardines and some other kinds of fish.

The country not being peopled in proportion to its extent, and to what the soil is capable of producing, it follows that the actual products much exceed the consumption; and the natural temperance of the Albanians increases the proportion which it is their interest to export. I say their interest, since they have great want of money from other countries to pay the imposts, and some objects of European manufactures necessary in a district where even the most common arts are very little known. Arms of all sorts are indispensable to so warlike a people; but besides being an article of necessity, they are to them an object of luxury. They give the preference very much to the pistols and musquets of Brescia; from Italy also they import glass, mirrors, and paper. The favourite

object of dress among the women is a handkerchief worked with gold flowers, the thread for doing which comes from Vienna. An infinite number of other objects which are wanted in Albania, renders it absolutely necessary to keep up a regular commercial intercourse with different countries, and creates a sort of dependence upon them.

The commodities exported, particularly wood for ship building, find their markets principally in France, Germany, and Italy. Those of immediate consumption are for the most part carried into Italy by Ragusan or Sclavonian vessels, which take in their ladings chiefly at Arta, Prevesa, Vallona, Durazzo, or the mouths of the Boïana. At these ports five or six cargoes of oil are taken in every year, and carried to Trieste or Venice, three or four of raw wool to Ancona and Genoa, three or four of corn to Genoa, and one or two of tobacco to Naples and Messina.

France always carried on a commercial intercourse with Albania, and before the revolution imported annually a vast quantity of wood for the marine, of a very superior quality to what comes from the Baltic: our finest frigates were built of Albanian timber. For the last ten years the events of war have suspended our trade with the East, so that we have only received from Epirus, by means of neutrals, some ladings of corn: they were brought more particularly during the continuance of the war of Italy. At present we only receive some cargoes of vallony and Morocco leather. In case of peace, there is no doubt that our intercourse in these parts would be exceedingly increased: Marseilles it may be presumed has acquired much more correct ideas with regard to her true interests.

At Janina, which is the principal mart of trade in Albania, there are many very wealthy merchants: they carry on an extensive intercourse with the principal ports in the Adriatic, and with several of the great towns of Germany, and have besides in their hands all the most important trade of the interior. A very considerable branch of commerce lies in spun cotton, which comes from Thessaly, and is carried into Germany, commonly by Trieste, though sometimes it passes entirely by land carriage: this does not indeed seem much more expensive. A very large capital being requisite for carrying on the cotton trade, it is chiefly confined to the Greeks of Janina, they alone having means adequate to supporting it. The Ionian isles receive almost all the cattle consumed in their countries from Albania; they pay for them with the sequins of Venice: this is an object of great importance to the Albanians.

The importations consist principally in woollen caps and cloths, gold and silver

lace, fire-arms and balls, knives, sugar, coffee, cochineal, indigo, and tin ware. The coffee and woollen cloths, which are the principal articles, were furnished almost exclusively by France, before the revolution, and the trade was of great advantage to both parties. Trieste has succeeded to this trade; she sends into Albania the cloths of Leipsic which she receives from Germany, and the colonial merchandise which she procures from England.

Venice, notwithstanding the changes that have taken place, still keeps up her ancient connections with Albania for the sale of fire-arms from Brescia. The Albanians prefer them to the French musquets, because they are lighter and not bronzed. The merchants of Ancona, and the traders to the fair of Sinigaglia, send a vast quantity of false gold and silver lace into the country, which they do not hesitate to pass as real lace from Lyons. Many other articles of manufacture which we used to furnish are now furnished by them; but though of a very inferior quality, they still give them the title of French.

During the last twelve years, in short, a great change has taken place in the Levant trade, and the commerce of Albania has fallen almost entirely into the hands of such a set of crafty people, that even the Jew merchants dare not enter into a competition with them. It is very much to be hoped that at the restoration of peace the Albanians will be tired of dealing with swindlers, and that Marseilles will be again employed in furnishing them with the principal commodities of which they stand in need. There is no port in the Mediterranean so well calculated for this trade; not one that could with equal facility collect the different objects of which the cargoes must be composed.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Plan concerted and executed by the French officers to escape from Albania.—Their arrival at Corfu.—Anger of Ali-pasha upon the occasion.—Treacherous conduct of the Turks.—The prisoners are lodged in the citadel of Corfu.—Their escape from it, and concealment in the island.—Arrest of several of the Corfians.—The French surrender themselves, they are reconducted to the citadel, and at length given up to the Turks.

The reader has seen how much the French officers had grown into favour with Ali-pasha: two years' experience however showed them but too plainly that no dependence could be placed upon his word. He had promised them their liberty, and was perpetually repeating his promise; but it was evident from a thousand circumstances that he did not intend to keep it. After reminding him many times in vain of the hopes with which they had been flattered, convinced that no reasonable expectation was to be entertained of arriving at the object of their wishes, either through his justice or generosity, they resolved to take the first opportunity of emancipating themselves. They had entered into no engagement whatever with Ali, and no law of honour required them to remain his prisoners. Reduced to a state of captivity by a pirate, whom the pasha himself had frequently reproached with having violated the law of nations in taking them, his own words absolved them in the step they now determined to take. They had a right to reclaim their liberty: but what is good in principle is not always carried strictly into execution, and nothing remained but to throw off themselves chains which ought never to have been imposed upon them.

At the moment when they conceived this project, the Albanians seemed upon the verge of important events. Different rumours were circulated in the country: one was, that the province was menaced with invasion from the French; nay, many people, to whom fear gives a readiness at beholding phantoms, had more than once absolutely seen them land. Such fears are, however, common to all countries who believe themselves menaced with invasion. The pasha did not by any means share in these ridiculous terrors, and if he discovered enemies, it was not in the same quarter.

To fortify himself the more securely against the dangers he apprehended, he thought of reducing under his power the independent tribes by whom he was frequently harassed and annoyed, and first turned his eyes towards the Souliotes, who became every day more and more formidable to him. It is unnecessary to enter into details concerning this new war with these independent mountaineers; the result has been already hinted: suffice it to say that Monsieur Charbonnel was charged with preparing the artillery to be employed in it. He accompanied the Albanian army in crossing the country of Paramithia, and directed the construction of the towers which were planted at the entrance of the dervin or defile of Souli. He remained with the army a fortnight; and his labours then being completed, he was permitted to return to Janina, as the reduction of the enemy must necessarily be a work of time, or the result of favourable circumstances which it was not possible to foresee. Re-united with Messieurs Poitevin and Bessières, the project of their escape, which had been delayed on account of the illness of the former, was definitively arranged. It was agreed that they should depart separately; a thing which might be done with facility, as they had frequently absented themselves for a time to make excursions about the country; and Monsieur Bessières was appointed to take the lead, as he could speak Greek perfectly well. It was further agreed that he should go to Corfu, there to sound the disposition of the Russian commanders and their commercial agent.

Hiring a mule, therefore, he quitted Janina, and crossing the canton of Philatea arrived in safety at Keracha, a small port near the mouth of the Thyamis: here he procured a vessel without difficulty, which landed him at Corfu. He immediately, according to the plan arranged, presented himself before the consul of Russia, and the Russian commanders, to whom he made himself known, imparting to them the motives which had induced him to escape from captivity, and informing them that he expected to be speedily joined by two companions, the sharers in his misfortune. He met with a very flattering reception, and the strongest assurances of protection were given him both for himself and his friends.

Elated with the hopes thus held out to him, Monsieur Bessières had now no subject of uneasiness but what arose from the still doubtful fate of his companions. He knew that Monsieur Charbonnel was liable at any moment to be summoned by Ali to rejoin him at the camp, and he was still more apprehensive lest any obstacle should arise to Monsieur Poitevin's departure, from the ill state of his health. Every moment of delay increased his impatience to see them safe out of the hands of the pasha, and he passed many tedious days of anxiety, constantly

wandering along the shore with his eyes turned towards Albania. Every bark coming from that quarter flattered his hopes: the moment that a distant sail was seen by him, it was watched with the utmost eagerness, and when disappointment ensued he became a prey to the most gloomy apprehensions.

Day after day thus passed on, and no friends appeared; till at length, wearied with fruitless expectation, he resolved to risk crossing the channel again, for the purpose of examining the bay, and endeavouring to procure some intelligence concerning their fate: but still none was to be obtained. At last the constant state of restlessness in which he appeared, his going so often backwards and forwards to and from the island, began to excite suspicions against him, and he was conceived to be a spy sent by Ali to examine the situation of the town, and make his reports concerning it: he was therefore watched as a suspected person. As however nothing really objectionable could be discovered in his conduct, the Russian commander proposed to him to depart immediately for Italy, engaging in like manner to assist the escape of Messieurs Charbonnel and Poitevin whenever they should arrive. Monsieur Bessières however, making many acknowledgements for the offer, declined it, saying that he could never think of securing his own liberty while he remained in uncertainty as to the fate of his friends. Having hitherto been involved in the same dangers, whatever might be the event of their present undertaking, he would never separate himself entirely from them till he saw the termination of it: if they were doomed to new sufferings, he was resolved to share them.

This generous refusal, far from removing the suspicions excited against him, was rather in the eyes of the Russian commander a confirmation of them, and was the occasion of his being watched still more narrowly. At length, as he continued going backwards and forwards in the same way, he was ordered under arrest. Previous to this measure of rigour, another incident had hazarded the total overthrow of the project. One day as he was walking along the shore he met an Albanian officer belonging to Ali-pasha, who accosted him by his name, appearing exceedingly astonished at seeing him. Monsieur Bessières had sufficient presence of mind not to appear at all disconcerted; and feigning at first not to recollect the Albanian, he afterwards imposed silence upon him with an authoritative tone, saying that he had been sent thither by the pasha, and added that, if the officer should betray him, Ali should certainly be informed of it. He even told the man that he would do well not to return in too much haste to

Janina, and upon no account to quit Corfu without his knowledge. The plot succeeded, and the officer was completely deceived.

At length Monsieur Charbonnel arrived, and the suspicions of the Russian commander were completely satisfied on seeing him: he immediately renewed his promise of sending all the three officers to Italy as soon as Monsieur Poitevin should arrive. The illness of the latter, Monsieur Charbonnel said, had been the occasion of so long a delay in their departure; but he had left him so much recovered that there was every reason to hope for his speedy arrival. In effect, he appeared three days after. The joy of the prisoners was now complete, though Monsieur Poitevin's health was still very indifferent, and he was extremely fatigued with his journey. The Russian commanders being perfectly satisfied, the French officers were left entirely at liberty, and they received many very flattering testimonies that there were still people at Corfu who had a great attachment to their nation. Numbers of the inhabitants made comparisons between the state in which they had been and that in which they were, not very much to the advantage of the latter.

In effect, the islands of the Ionian republic were now pretty well agreed as to the folly of the measures they had pursued. The restless spirit of the Greeks, always discontented with their government for the very reason that it is their government, flattered itself that a new order of things was to arise on the expulsion of the French, and thought that their prayers had been heard by Heaven when they saw the Russian flag waving among their islands. But the licentiousness in which they looked forward to being indulged, was very soon repressed, the prerogatives they were to enjoy they found to be a chimæra of their own brain; no disguise was even observed towards them, they were feeble and divided among themselves, and a government was established among them little suited to the taste of any party.

Nothing could exceed the anger of Ali when he was first convinced of the escape of his prisoners. They had been seen and recognised upon their route; and as they did not reappear at Janina, some of those who saw them thought proper to mention the circumstances to the pasha. Not being able at first to persuade himself that they could have quitted his dominions, he thought they must be concealed in some of the obscure villages; and swearing to retake them, he dispatched couriers to all parts in pursuit of them, more especially to the towns on his maritime frontier. At the same time he offered large rewards to any of his

subjects who should bring back the prisoners dead or alive, and set a price upon their heads sufficient to excite the zeal of the least covetous. Convinced however at last that they were out of his reach, his anger, which demanded some victim, fell upon the unfortunate muleteer who had been instrumental in their escape: he was arrested and hanged without ceremony.

Still he did not relinquish all hope of having the prisoners again in his power. He was too deeply incensed to lose sight of this object very easily, and he addressed himself to the Russian chiefs commanding at Corfu, giving them an account of what had passed. Not obtaining any direct or satisfactory answer from them, he next applied to the Ottoman chiefs. They, unknown to the Russians, gave orders to a capidgi-bachi to land secretly at Corfu with three hundred men, and take the French officers away by force: they were then lodging at an inn. The Russian commanders having concealed the message they had received from Ali, the French officers had no idea of any danger, and the Russians themselves were far from suspecting the plot that was going forward: the Mussulmans therefore entered the town without the least suspicion being entertained of the errand upon which they came. As they were not very well acquainted with the situation of the inn, and as some of the Corfians heard them inquiring for the French officers, they hastened to inform the latter that the Mussulmans were in pursuit of them. Messieurs Charbonnel and Bessières immediately sought an asylum in the house of the Russian consul; but Monsieur Poitevin, who was ill in bed, fell into the hands of the Turks. His situation inspiring them with something like compassion, they contented themselves with keeping guard over him, and did not take him away.

An event of such a nature, such an open act of violence committed against men who were under the protection of the Russian commanders, excited the utmost indignation in Corfu; and the Russian consul, to support his responsibility, immediately sent his two guests on board a frigate of his nation which was at anchor in the port. Prisoners under the appearance of a special protection, Messieurs Charbonnel and Bessières remained there, looking anxiously forward to the event, but still hoping to be reunited to their friend, and sent with him to Italy. If they made any reflections upon the sort of captivity in which they were retained, the answers they received were vague, evasive, and ambiguous: it seemed as if new pretences were sought to protract the captivity of men, who the moment they had quitted Albania were not properly the prisoners of any nation. At length,

at the expiration of a fortnight, they were transferred to the citadel, where Monsieur Poitevin, who had been rescued from the hands of the Turks, was sent to join them: their speedy release was at the same time promised, though it was by no means the intention that it should be granted.

Convinced after awhile of the want of good faith in those by whom the promises were made, the prisoners were driven once more to tempt fortune, notwithstanding the little disposition she had hitherto shown to favour their wishes. They resolved to strike a bold stroke, and, seizing upon the justice they solicited in vain, to effect, if possible, a second escape. Monsieur Poitevin's health was so much amended, that he could with safety take part in such a project, and he entered into it eagerly. Before they proceeded however to such an extremity, they judged it right to try once more what was to be done by negotiation, and made a fresh exposure of the rights they reclaimed; these being nothing more than what are generally established among civilised nations. They concluded with announcing the resolution they had formed, if justice was still denied them, to break their chains the first favourable opportunity.

This frank confession might reasonably have been expected to awaken some sense of justice in the minds of persons even of the greatest apathy. The formal avowal of such a design would, to a candid mind, have appeared to deserve a release, if it had not been in fact due to the prisoners. But far from producing this effect, greater vigilance was employed in guarding them. They were transferred to a remote bastion which looked upon the sea, and a sentinel was posted at the door of the prison, who was ordered never to lose sight of it. All those with whom they had had any intercourse while they were at liberty, were then sought out and examined as to every word they had been heard to speak.

This conduct only increased the impatience and indignation of the French officers, and they thought of nothing but the means of freeing themselves from such an insupportable tyranny. From the bastion where they were confined they saw a great many boats in the port and upon the shore, which were not guarded, and they conceived the hope of being able to seize upon one, when from the vicinity of the shores of Italy a reasonable expectation might be entertained of finding themselves at length completely at liberty. They still maintained a communication with some of the Corfians by whom the success of their project might be promoted; and one night would be sufficient to carry them beyond the reach of their oppressors. If again they should prove unsuccessful, what had they to

fear? They might be immured in a casemate; but between that and a bastion there was so little preference, that the possible inconvenience to be experienced could not stand in the balance against the advantage that might be obtained.

As time commonly brings with it a relaxation in even the most rigorous measures, the Russians after awhile ceased to regard the French officers with the same eye of suspicion as at first, and, believing the intention they had announced to be mere boasting on their part, relaxed considerably in the vigilance with which they watched them. The officers, then, taking advantage of a favourable moment, fastened the sheets of their beds to the carriage of a cannon, and by their assistance glided down in succession on the outside of the bastion till they reached the rock upon which the citadel is built. Here they found in waiting a Greek of the island who was entirely devoted to them; and following his steps, he conducted them to a little church not far off, dedicated to Saint Dimitri, where they were to wait till the project of their embarkation could be realised. The good man was fully persuaded that the sanctity of the place in which he had concealed his stray sheep would contribute very much to the success of the undertaking.

It was not long before he was undeceived upon this subject: the escape of the prisoners was soon known, and the news spread such a consternation in the town, that it seemed as if some very extraordinary and unheard of event had happened. The Greek was soon denounced and thrown into prison, without being able to inform the fugitives of his situation; and the senate, holding an extraordinary meeting upon the occasion, seemed ready to declare the country in danger. When this body were assured that the prisoners were still in the island, they thought themselves placed on a volcano. They knew that there were many discontented minds among the islanders, and they were afraid of the French officers putting themselves at their head: they therefore followed the example of Ali-pasha, and offered a great reward to any one who should take them dead or alive. The next step was to fulminate against all who might conceal them; and as they had some private piques which they were glad of an opportunity to gratify, forty of the principal persons from different villages were arrested, and threatened with death if the fugitives did not speedily appear.

Amid all this confusion the French officers were far from suspecting what had passed. They had now been forty-eight hours in the church of St. Dimitri without food, vainly expecting their guide, and began to be uneasy in the fear that he was playing some treacherous part. At length a trusty friend of this generous agent came to inform them of the alarm their flight had occasioned, and the

consequences attending it: he gave them at the same time some food, of which they were extremely in want, and placed them safely in the hands of a chief of the party.

This news was soon known to the senate, who declared their resolution to proceed with the utmost severity against the hostages that had been arrested, unless the prisoners were immediately given up. The Greeks however, faithful to the religion of hospitality, remained unshaken, and no apprehensions appeared of their defection: but a sentiment of honour now dictated to the French the conduct they ought to pursue. As they had been unjustly detained, and were pursued with fury, there was every reason to apprehend the lengths that men thus blinded by passion might go, and the officers saw that they might but too probably be the cause of innocent blood being shed; they determined therefore that it was proper to devote themselves, and surrender their own proscribed heads to save the hostages. They wrote accordingly to the governor of the town, saying that having been made acquainted with his intentions, and being determined that innocent people, who were entirely ignorant of their designs, should not suffer upon their account, they were ready to surrender themselves into his hands, provided he would consent to set the hostages immediately at liberty, to forget the past, and to pardon all those who had in any way assisted in their flight. They besides stipulated expressly that they should themselves be immediately sent to Italy.

The chiefs of the town, and the senate, wishing to terminate the affair without engaging in a contest which might have very unfortunate results if the discontented should take up the cause of the French officers, readily consented to the proposals made them, and a convention was concluded between the parties to that effect. The hostages and the Greeks who had been arrested were immediately set at liberty, and the French presented themselves at the Russian posts with the calmness and confidence that a good cause always inspires. But the Russians, not showing equally good faith, treated them as enemies, and remanded them to the citadel, whither they were conducted by a guard with fixed bayonets.

Thrown again into the cell whence they had escaped, the prisoners waited with courage and indignation the further insults prepared for them. They demanded the execution of the convention, complaining with dignity of the infringement of it, but without sullying the goodness of their cause by any unworthy abuse of their persecutors. The Russian consul had again recourse to treachery and promises, assuring them that their long-protracted detention would soon be brought

to an end, that decisive measures would immediately be adopted, and their destiny regulated in a manner to give them entire satisfaction.—Irony no less cruel than perfidious—worthy only of a grovelling mind! They were in a short time indeed brought out from their dungeon; but it was in order to be delivered up into the hands of the Turks, on condition that they should be carried to Constantinople.

In so doing, these tyros in politics conceived that they had effected a master-stroke. They dared not take upon themselves to set the prisoners entirely at liberty, because an act of generosity appeared to them a thing of so extraordinary a nature, that it was far above their comprehensions; and they were not at all inclined, for various reasons, to give up the prisoners to Ali-pasha. After the common mode with little minds, they therefore chose a middle way, which they thought would shelter them from reproach, indifferent to the real nature of the action as considered in itself. How pleasant must have been the night they passed after having engendered this brilliant conception! how much distinction must the first mover of it have acquired!

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Departure of the French officers from Corfu.—The islands of Cerigo and Lesbos.—Gallipoli.—Arrival at Constantinople.—They are sent to the French house of detention at Pera.—Their release, with permission to return to France, is procured by the English and Russian ambassadors.

As the French officers seemed doomed to experience all the petty persecutions which such minds as they had concern with could invent to tease and fret them, though they were transferred from the citadel of Corfu, it was not to sail immediately for Constantinople, but to be put on board a Turkish frigate, there to wait till some vessel should sail for the capital. On board this floating prison they remained for three weeks; they were then removed to a kirlanguitch which was charged with dispatches for the Sublime Porte, and which put to sea as soon as they arrived on board. They quitted without regret the shores of an island

where they had been the sport of perfidy and want of faith, rejoiced at any change, though they were wholly uncertain what their fate was to be on reaching Constantinople.

On leaving Corfu they proceeded along the coast of Albania, as far as Parga; from whence their course was directed to Cephalonia. This island rises like an immense mole above the waves of the Ionian sea; while from the coast scarcely any traces of vegetation are to be discerned over its volcanic masses, though in some of the valleys Nature is liberal of her gifts. The kirlanguitch next proceeded to Zante; an island which enjoys a reputation highly deserved, as being rich and pleasant, and as being inhabited by the most amiable set of people that the Ionian Archipelago can boast. The vessel soon approached Cape Chelonita; but the wind being adverse, with a very high sea, when it came into the neighbourhood of the Strophades it took shelter in the port of Modon. After quitting this port, it had scarcely passed the rocks of the Cacovouniotes, and doubled Cape Matapan, when another gale forced it to take refuge in Cerigo; for it is a custom among the sailors of the Archipelago to run into the nearest port upon the least gale of wind that rises.

Cerigo is well known to be the ancient Cythera. Here, by a strange caprice of imagination, altars were built to the gay laughter-loving goddess in the midst of a most wild and desolate country. The view from the rocks, though some cultivated fields are to be seen from them, is sufficient to disenchant the ideas of poets and lovers who visit the island to indulge in the recollections of antiquity. Instead of Celadons they will see rough peasants; instead of Venus and the Graces, half wild Greek women; and instead of beautiful lawns enamelled with flowers, naked and rugged rocks or valleys grown over with brushwood. After quitting Cerigo, the kirlanguitch doubled Cape St. Angelo, crossed the extremity of the gulf of Argos, and then passing Spezzia and Hermione, came to anchor in the port of Hydra. Proceeding onward, it coasted the ancient Eubœa; and after two days more stopped at the island of Lesbos.

The country of Sappho, though deprived of its magnificent towns and splendid monuments, is still decorated with the richest charms of nature. Its inhabitants preserve to this day an intuitive taste for poetry and music. They show, with a sort of pride, to the stranger who visits them, the ruins and objects of antiquity which have escaped the ravages of time, and bear testimony to the splendour their island once could boast. It contains even now some interesting towns, though nothing when compared with those of former times; and it is impossible not to

be impressed with the warmest admiration in contemplating its beautiful slopes covered with vines and olive-trees, its valleys shaded with delicious groves of lentiscus and other flourishing trees, its abundant fountains of thermal waters;—a crowd of objects, in short, which render the island in its present state scarcely less deserving of the traveller's attention than it was in those days when all Greece was a scene of wonders. The trade of Lesbos consists in oil, olives, and raisins. There is a breed of horses on the island, very small, called by the Turks Mytilenians, from the modern name of Mytilene, that by which it is now most known.

From Lesbos the kirlanguitch proceeded to Tenedos, where it made the last stop in the Archipelago. Not that the distance from the one island to the other is any thing like a fair day's course; but Tenedos has an object of attraction to offer, which is among the strongest that can be presented to mankind. The reputation of its wines is well known; there is not a Greek or a Turk who does not speak of them with the highest respect: however they may differ on other points, on this they are perfectly agreed, and on their judgement a perfect reliance may be placed. The inhabitants of Tenedos have the reputation of not being at all insensible themselves to the excellence of their wines. It is, however, the national character of the Greeks to place a high value upon the gifts of Bacchus. The inhabitants of Tenedos are for the most part Christians.

I have mentioned the Greek vessel on board of which myself and my companions made our voyage from the Morea to Constantinople, having run aground on entering the Dardanelles: the same thing happened to the kirlanguitch; so that one might almost be tempted to believe it a common practice among the Greek mariners, in preference to casting anchor. In fact, it would be very convenient, as the bottom is a soft sand, if they were not so extremely awkward in towing the vessel off to set it again afloat. Not to lose any opportunity of stopping or visiting a port, the kirlanguitch again made a pause when it arrived at Gallipoli in the Hellespont. This town, which is so well known, and has been so often described by travellers, is the residence of the capudan-pasha when he is not occupied with inspecting the sultan's arsenals. He comes hither for relaxation, after going his annual rounds in the Archipelago. This is the seat of his pashalik, and here he has his palace and harem.

By the time the French officers arrived at Constantinople they were reduced to a most deplorable state. The enemies into whose hands they had fallen, occupied only with humiliating them in every possible way, had left them nearly destitute of even the most common necessaries; and with clothes all in tatters they

were presented to Kutchuk Hussein the capudan-pasha. This officer, like the Turks in general, paid little attention to the costume of the prisoners, but listened to them with the utmost attention. He entered with much apparent interest into the details of their adventures, and finished by ordering them into the house of detention for the French merchants and commissaries at Pera.

It was from this place that I received letters from my friend Bessières and colonel Charbonnel, containing the first intelligence of them that had reached me since our separation, and giving me a general sketch of the succession of remarkable events which had befallen them. I could scarcely at first persuade myself of the truth of intelligence so wholly unexpected; it seemed as if I must be in a dream. I read the letters over and over again, and at length could not doubt of my happiness. They were the hand-writing of the very same Bessières with whom I had made the voyage from Egypt; the same who had repeated to me a thousand times that the friendship in which we were united should be indissoluble: they were, in short, from my companion in misfortune; the man from whom I had been separated, in so extraordinary a manner, off the coast of Calabria, and who was now almost at liberty in the same city where I was still in durance. The character I had heard of Ali-pasha made me consider prisoners who had escaped from his hands almost in the light of persons risen from the dead.

When I learnt the series of adventures that had befallen the officers, and that they owed their present very ameliorated situation to Hussein-pasha, I found myself again in the situation of giving a just tribute of praise to the humanity of a Turk, and exalting him far above the chiefs who commanded at Corfu. Who would not have been tempted, indeed, to rank the latter below barbarous nations, if it were not well known into what frightful sallies passion will sometimes lead the human heart? But those who deliver themselves up in such a way to their resentments, who trample under foot the principles of equity, ought always to bear in mind that every thing is at last known; and that persecutions, though carried on awhile under a veil of the most complete obscurity, at last are blazed abroad, and appear in the face of day in their true colours. The ravages of war in time come to an end, and nations are once more reconciled; but the shame of those who have mingled their private hatred and vengeance with the quarrels of sovereigns can never be effaced. If they have shed the blood of the innocent, let them tremble; it will recoil upon their own heads. If they have oppressed and persecuted others, they are for ever blasted by their victims, whose thundering voices accuse them before the tribunals of kings, and proclaim their guilt in the face of nations.

The French merchants at Pera seeing men among them who had escaped from the vigilance of Ali-pasha, and whom even the walls of the citadel of Corfu could not retain, imagined that their house of detention would be a very feeble barrier if they should be seized with a new desire of liberty. Without reflecting upon the extreme difference there was between the present circumstances of the officers and those in which they were placed under the pasha of Albania, or without attending to their conduct in Corfu, where they devoted themselves to save the hostages, and which was sufficient to show that they were incapable of injuring their own fellow-countrymen, the merchants were the occasion of a measure of security being taken which tended to injure the whole body of prisoners. Selfishness was the great parent of this measure; but it was justly punished.

The officers were, indeed, extremely ill-clothed; they bore about them deep impressions of a protracted captivity: they were clad in a mixture of costumes; their whole appearance evinced a long abode among a people entirely strangers to our manners, and this was sufficient to offend the eyes of persons who do not give themselves the trouble of studying physiognomy. They did not, however, remain many days in this situation, thanks to the politeness and attention of baron Hubschs, who furnished them the means of improving their external appearance. This change, which gave them more consideration in the eyes of their own countrymen, had no less influence upon the hearts of the Turks: the latter soon, indeed, began to show a manifest distinction to them above the former guests in the house. The doors were freely opened to them; they were at liberty to go wherever they chose; to take a ride or walk in the country; to frequent the balls; to live, in short, entirely according to their fancies,—while the calculators were still confined within their own doors, or forced to pay for the privilege of sometimes going out in the evening. Such a situation was to the officers one of great enjoyment; for, after two years and a half spent in a constant state of privation, people commonly cease to be very difficult in the choice of their pleasures: Pera, therefore, appeared to them a charming place. Full of kindness, they constantly endeavoured to reconcile a number of petty quarrels among the *detenus* in the house, revenging themselves for the ill opinion at first conceived of them, by seeking to establish general harmony and concord. In fact, the idea of captivity was from this moment banished; and it might be said, in the end, that it was the least felt in a place where it is considered as supreme.

After a few days passed in recovering from the fatigues they had undergone, and in improving their appearance, the French officers turned their thoughts to-

wards the ambassadors of England and Russia. They remitted to them a detailed account of the long persecution they had experienced, and the dangers to which they had been exposed, entreating their interposition with the Porte to procure them their liberty. The fortunate moment was arrived, and their prayers were heard. Let me pay the tribute due to those who were sensible to the voice of humanity, and record their generous conduct. There is no part of the narrator's work so pleasant as the relation of acts of justice and benevolence. O ye, who have it in your power to practise such acts, never lose the opportunity of doing so! However obscure the individual to whom your generosity is extended, the pleasure derived from the consciousness of having conferred happiness is its own best reward.

Lord Elgin at that time was considered with high distinction at the Ottoman court: he kindly took up the cause of the French officers, and reclaimed them as if they had been English prisoners. His reclamation was instantly granted; and he then put the finishing stroke to his kindness by procuring them passports to return to France. Monsieur Tamara, also, the Russian ambassador, emulous to second the efforts of the English minister, saw the officers several times, and was lavish in his expressions of esteem and respect for them. The leave to depart obtained, they lost no time in preparing for their journey: intending to travel through Turkey to the shores of the Adriatic, and there cross over to Italy, they took all the precautions necessary for following such a route.

The victory of Marengo, and the peace with Germany which was the consequence of it, facilitated this plan. They made an agreement with a tatar, or Turkish courier, to escort them to Ragusa; and, in order to travel with greater security, provided themselves with the same habiliments that he wore. They at the same time purchased arms, and proper equipments for their horses: their caravan, in short, was soon completely organized. It consisted, besides Messieurs Poitevin, Charbonnel, and Bessières, of general Lasalsette, who had been released from the Seven Towers ever since the first of January 1801, and of Monsieur Hotte, who obtained his liberty a month after. To them were to have been added the brave Richemont and Monsieur Beauvais; but as they were not ready at the time when the rest departed, they afterwards took a different route.

The firman permitting the party to travel through the interior of Turkey being remitted to them, Monsieur Bessières wrote to me on the sixth of March to inform me of the welcome news. It was a subject of no small regret to us both, that we could not see each other while he remained at Constantinople. He told

me, at the same time, that he had obtained a promise of my release, and that I might expect to be at liberty in two days: alas! in this both he and I were deceived. He departed, eager to terminate the tempestuous state of existence of which he had now so long been the sport, and burning with desire to set foot once more on his native shores. He wrote to me from Ragusa, giving me an account of his journey; but his letter found me still confined in the Seven Towers. I was indeed one of the last to obtain my dismission from that prison, thanks to the intrigues of certain persons, who, after my protector was gone, chose to give others the preference to me. I was, however, in the end too well recompensed for these little chagrins, not to consider myself obliged to the authors of them.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Departure of the French officers from Constantinople.—Itinerary of their journey over land to Ragusa.—Ponte Piccolo and Ponte Grande, with their lakes.—The ancient wall from the Black Sea to the Propontis.—Adrianople.—They enter Bulgaria.—Philippopolis.—Mount Rhodope.—Mount Scomius.—Mount Orbelus.—Arrival at the foot of Prisrendi.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the eighth of March the caravan mentioned in the last chapter departed from Constantinople under the escort of a janissary tatar, who was to receive for his trouble two hundred and twenty piastres. At half after one they arrived at Ponte Piccolo, where travellers commonly make their first halt in pursuing this route. Here in the time of the Lower Empire was a castle called Rhegium; at present it is nothing more than a cluster of cottages, mingled with some ruins said to be those of a country-house of the emperors. If it was so, they had chosen a very bad place for a habitation, on the shores of a most unwholesome lake. The name of Ponte Piccolo, or Little Sea, has been given to the lake of Rhegium, in opposition to another and larger lake called Ponte Grande. At this the travellers arrived about five in the evening, having passed over a country almost uncultivated, and entirely destitute of trees; and here they passed the night in a very wretched sort of cabin.

It appears, however, as if this place was formerly a Roman station, since it is mentioned under the ancient name of Melanthias, as the end of the first day's journey from Byzantium. The lake is formed by the waters of the Atyras, which is now called by no other name than the river of Ponte Grande. It comes from the forests of Belgrade. The village is poor, and the environs hilly. In both these lakes enormous carps are caught, but they are not held in much esteem: they are probably of the same kind as those of the lakes Stymphalus and Orchomenos, which have been mentioned in treating of the Morea.

After travelling six leagues from Ponte Grande, over a country which offered nothing particularly worthy of remark, the caravan arrived at Silivri. This town, known in ancient times under the name of Selymbria, is at a little distance from the coast, upon the bank of a rivulet not of sufficient consideration to have any name. Silivri stands at the entrance of a vast plain, which extends a day's journey beyond Philippopolis. After a frugal dinner, a thing by no means uncommon in Turkey, the caravan set forwards again for Tchiorlou, a little village seven leagues from Silivri, where they were to pass the night. This place is mentioned in the Roman itineraries under the name of Thurulus.

The wall which in the times of the Lower Empire extended from the Pontus Euxinus to the Propontis, passed between Silivri and Tchiorlou. The emperors, in raising this monument of their weakness, appeared to content themselves with the small portion of land that it inclosed, while their empire was the prey of the barbarians. They were satisfied as long as the wall was untouched, but it could not restrain the crowds that poured down towards the capital from the mountains of Thrace. Its extent was such, that it was impossible to defend every part; and it appears as if this intrenchment was completely destroyed; at least no traces of it now remain. Perhaps, in searching with great care and attention, some parts of the foundation might still be discovered. But to what purpose make such a search?—The very ruins of those times show, that at that period the arts were in as complete a state of decline as every thing else relating both to the moral and physical state of the empire.

The next place at which the caravan stopped was Bourgas, eight leagues further. This seems to be the Bergule mentioned in the Roman itineraries. It stands upon the banks of a little rivulet which joins the river Ergen, known anciently as the Araxes. The latter river joins the Maritza below Adrianople. All this country is level, fertile, and populous. The third day's journey concluded at Eskibaba, seven leagues beyond Bourgas. This place, which appears to be the ancient Bur-

tudisus, stands upon another small river, a branch from the Ergen. Although somewhat fatigued and battered by the rough paces of their horses, the travellers continued their route with as much expedition as possible. Their courage was supported by the reviving appearance of spring, which was now manifested in the constantly increasing verdure.

This day, the eleventh of March, and the fourth of their journey, they passed over a fine rich level country, the varied cultivation of which, its freshness and fertility, rendered it far superior to that about Constantinople. Two hours before they arrived at Adrianople they crossed a branch of the ancient Hebrus, now the Maritza, which divides the last-mentioned town into two parts. Adrianople, well known as one of the largest towns in the Ottoman empire, stands in the midst of a very extensive and perfectly level plain. The grandeur of its mosques and other edifices, the purity of the language spoken there, its great trade, and the amenity of its inhabitants, justly entitle it to the distinction it has obtained.

Monsieur Poitevin, whose health was still very precarious, found himself here obliged to abandon all thoughts of proceeding further in such a mode of travelling, and he engaged to return to Constantinople under the escort of a tatar he met with, who was going thither by very easy days' journeys. From Constantinople he purposed proceeding homeward by the first vessel that might sail for Italy. The rest of the caravan hesitated awhile whether they should not do the same, finding, by making a comparison between what they had done already, and what they had still to do, that they had engaged in a more arduous undertaking than they at first apprehended. However, after consulting together they determined not to be disheartened, and set forward again the next day with renewed courage. The tatars took care, in quitting the fine city of Adrianople, to point out to the travellers the four minarets of the principal mosque, which they said were the highest in all Turkey. They also spoke much in favour of the wines, and even as if they were practically acquainted with them.

During this day the caravan followed pretty constantly the course of the Hebrus, ascending towards its source. They crossed it at length at the little town of Hebidgé, and proceeded to a village two leagues further for the night. The travellers were advised to take this route, in order to avoid the haïdouts or banditti of Romelia, who carry desolation over the countries where their incursions are made, and who were now committing their last ravages, previous to retiring into their mountains for the summer. Traces of the disorders committed by them were left in the village where the caravan halted for the night, as it had been

visited by these marauders only the night before. The streets were choked with an immense number of heads of oxen, cows, sheep, and goats, which they had killed to regale themselves. The number of heads could scarcely be computed at less than fifteen thousand. Notwithstanding that they were then encamped at only a league and a half from the village, the French officers slept tranquilly, and the caravan had the good fortune to escape being seen by them or any of their scouts.

If the travellers had been impressed with horror at what they saw in this village, with how much greater horror were they impressed the next day, in contemplating a district of fourteen leagues, in which reigned the silence of the tombs! which was strewed over with dead bodies, and where cottages that had been consigned as a prey to the merciless flames were continually presented to their eyes! The hopes of the labourer in the fruits of the earth, which had just begun to spring up, were destroyed; the inhabitants had fled; consternation reigned every where; industry and population seemed to have received a mortal wound. All the youth capable of bearing arms had been forced away to recruit these bands; and if they had any sense of good morals, any virtuous propensities, could it be expected that they would return back with the same sentiments? Could they, indeed, be expected ever to think of fixing themselves again upon a spot which no longer offered them an asylum, or the means of subsistence?

'Tis thus that Turkey drains and exhausts herself, and approaches every day more and more rapidly towards her final ruin. The inhabitants of half the empire, accustomed to lives of licentiousness and anarchy, but endowed with a ferocious courage, involve the future in darkness, and throw a shade over the events with which a peace might be accompanied. Nothing but the sword of an active, a powerful-minded, a resolute sultan could re-establish order. And where is such a man to be found?

The fourteen leagues of desolated country above mentioned were passed without stopping, and the night of this day was spent under the humble roof of a shepherd whose hut had escaped the ravages of the banditti. Here the travellers found fruits and milk, with a hospitable reception; nor was their repose during the night interrupted by any alarms. The next day they entered Bulgaria.

This province, in the time of the Lower Empire, was inhabited by a warlike nation, who often held the troops of the emperors in check; nor have the Bulgarians in succeeding periods, since the country became subjected to the dominion of the Turks, deviated from the spirit of their ancestors: they have always pre-

served a spirit of independence. Intrenched in their mountains, they seldom quit them unless when parties occasionally unite themselves with the rebels, and in concert with them sometimes make Constantinople itself tremble; or else when in the spring they repair to the principal towns in Turkey, and engage in the service of the pashas or other great people, to take care of their horses while they are at grass. All who are not thus engaged lead a wholly pastoral life. The garments of these people strongly speak the humble manner in which they live: they have only a waistcoat or jacket made of a sheep-skin with the woolly side turned inwards, and large breeches of coarse linen cloth. On their heads they wear a cap of lamb-skin; and their shoes and stockings are made of the undressed hide of a wild boar. They do not wear their beards, but have mustachios, which however are thin and scanty. The hue of their skin is a sort of olive. The skin itself is very flabby, and the abdominal system is in most of them extremely protuberant. They are of a good height, but without any thing dignified or commanding in the figure. The countenance is frank and open; the eyes small, the forehead projecting, forming a more marked characteristic than even the extreme ruggedness of their manners.

Great lovers of music and dancing, they never stir without a pipe. They draw shrill tones from it, at the sound of which all present, even the musician himself, begin to move in cadence. They perform the pyrrhic dance, and some others not very decent. These they often exhibit in the streets of Constantinople, after their spring-excursions above mentioned, when they are about to return home. For the rest, they are sober, brave, industrious, but ignorant to a degree scarcely credible. The women ase particularly handsome, and unite with regularity of features a lofty stature, and great dignity of carriage. It is among them, rather than among the Circassians, that the voluptuous monarchs of the East should seek the roses which are to embellish their harems.

But to return to the travellers. Eight leagues after entering Bulgaria they arrived at Philippopolis, well known in ancient times as having been founded by Philip, father to Alexander the Great. He gave it the name of Poneropolis, or town of the *Vauriens*, because he peopled it with the sacrilegious Phocæans who had pillaged the temple at Delphos. But time, which obliterates the strongest impressions, and probably the altered manners of the inhabitants, who could not in justice be eternally stigmatized with the faults of their ancestors, delivered it from its original name, and that of its founder was given in its place. This it has ever since retained, though every thing around has undergone a change, and new

names have been given even to the neighbouring mountains. The town stands in a fine situation, in part upon a slope which extends towards the south. The regularity of the streets, the neatness of the buildings, the whole *coup-d'œil*, in short, entitle it to be considered as one of the handsomest towns in Turkey. Its inhabitants have the reputation of being industrious, frank, and hospitable. Among them are many Christians of the Greek church.

From Philippopolis the caravan proceeded to Bazardgik, the ancient Bessapara. This town is governed by a bey, whose dominions extend over a part of the valley that reaches to the sources of the Hebrus. It is one of the principal places of Bulgaria. The women are handsome, and the men very brave. From hence are seen the summits of Balkan, the ancient Mount Hæmus, which are never in any part of the year free from snow. This chain is properly only a projection from Scomius. In observing the course of the mountains here, the regularity of the chains will be found very striking, and contrasts strongly with the irregularity of those in the Peloponnesus. The eye wanders with delight over the slopes about Bazardgik and the course of the Hebrus; while memory cannot refrain from pronouncing the name of Eurydice, and adverting to the idea of this stream bearing along with it the bloody head of that Orpheus who first civilized the nations inhabiting its banks.

On the fifteenth of March the travellers arrived at Bana, eight leagues from Bazardgik, the town that is called in the Roman itineraries Bagni. It contains nothing worthy of remark but some fountains of thermal waters. The Hebrus rises not far from hence, in Mount Scomius, which lies to the west of the town. This river has a north-westerly direction as far as Philippopolis; but there joining another branch which rises in one of the projections of Scomius, it turns its course eastward, fertilizing the immense plain in which stands Adrianople. Become impetuous, and enriched by streams without end flowing from the mountains of Thrace, it empties itself at last by two mouths into the gulf of Enos.

Hitherto the roads had been as good as could be expected in a country where no such things as made roads exist: but from hence all the way to Scutari in Albania the route lies over rugged and arid mountains, without any thing like a regular road. Nature has everywhere a wild and dreary aspect: it bears the same character as the inhabitants; is like them savage and ferocious. No more meadows, no more rich plains, or smiling valleys. Immediately on quitting Bana the mountains of Rhodope begin; and the route lies among rocks, often upon the edge of a precipice, with only here and there a clump of pines or larches. Through

this kind of country the caravan travelled for six leagues from Bana to Sarmako, where they were to pass the night. This place does not appear to have been known in the time of the Lower Empire. It is a village inhabited entirely by Bulgarians, who are all shepherds. Their country, bristled with mountains, offers but few resources; it is not even in the way of a good market for the wool, which is almost their only object of trade.

The next day, the sixteenth of March, the caravan arrived about noon at Dubnitza, a little town among the mountains of Rhodope, ten leagues from Sarmako: above this town Scomius rears its pyramidal head with all the majesty of a sovereign. In the environs of Dubnitza this chain divides into two branches, the most northern of which is Mount Hæmus, or Balkan, while the southern accompanies the Strymon in all its meanderings till it arrives at the plain of Amphipolis.

On the following day the caravan arrived about noon at Kiustendil, seven leagues from Dubnitza. This place was, under the Lower Empire, known by the name of Justiniana, and was so called from being the birth-place of the emperor Justinian: before that time it was called Tauresium. At present it has fallen again into the state of mediocrity in which it had rested, till its connection with the celebrated emperor above named drew it somewhat from obscurity. Near it are some ruins, which are considered as a part of the ancient Ulpia Pautalia, a town much in favour with Trajan.

From Kiustendil the travellers proceeded to Palanka, another town among the mountains of Scomius, seven leagues further. The way between these two places is over lofty heights, which present nothing but frightful precipices, points of rock, or small levels of granite, upon which the horses can with difficulty get on. Although the mind becomes insensibly familiarized with dangers in travelling through a mountainous country, it is difficult to resist at all times the impression make by rocks which hang over, and seem ready at every moment to fall and crush the traveller, and by precipices, the bottom of which the eye endeavours in vain to reach, which seem to descend to the very bowels of the earth. When to these sublime horrors is added the wretchedness of the places at which the traveller is obliged to stop, and the almost savage state of the Bulgarians, who run after a stranger as an object of curiosity, of a different race of beings from themselves;—when all these things are considered, a sufficient idea may be formed of the pleasures attending a journey through the mountains of Bulgaria.

Though on the eighteenth of March the caravan had only a journey of ten leagues to perform, from Palanka to Koumanova; yet such was the nature of the

ground that they got through it with difficulty. They had ascended insensibly to a great height in following the chain of Mount Scomius, and were now approaching the foot of Orbelus. They here saw several very large eagles hovering at but a little distance above their heads, which showed plainly that they were at a pretty considerable elevation. Orbelus may be considered as the kernel of the mountains of Macedonia: from thence the several chains branch off that border the principal valleys. Two branches first strike to the east and west, which form Scomius, Rhodope, and Hæmus, in the first direction, while the western branch forms Scardus or Prisrendi, and the minor chains that extend southward. It is the highest point among the mountains of Turkey in Europe, and it would be worthy the attention of travellers to fix its elevation above the sea.

The town of Koumanova stands in a fertile spot near some torrents that fall from the mountains. The season was not sufficiently advanced in these cold regions to present the eye with any very pleasing objects. On the southern fronts of some of the lower mountains were here and there a few olive-trees. At all times it must be a poor and barren country: its inhabitants, with their skin clothing, appear old from the effect of misery, even before they are young: their constitutions are early exhausted, from the inclemency of the heavens under which they live: they have not the healthy and vigorous appearance of those mountaineers who live in a state of independence.

Uskiub, among the mountains of Scardus, seven leagues from Koumanova, was the next place where the travellers halted. During their dinner they were visited by a company of Tchinguenets or wandering Bohemians, who came to entertain them with a concert and dance. Parties of these people are to be found all over the Turkish empire, even in this wild country, where it might be supposed that their talents would find very poor encouragement. Uskiub is considered as the ancient Scupi. It stands near the sources of the Axius or Vardar. This river has its course southwards, and after washing the walls of Bilazora, and the ruins of that Pella which was rendered illustrious by being the birth-place of Alexander, runs into the sea in the Thermaic gulf. Uskiub is celebrated for its manufacture of morocco leather: its inhabitants are a more civilised race than those of most of the towns among these mountains. From hence the travellers proceeded to Kalkandeluk, ten long leagues further, which made this the most fatiguing day of their whole journey. To crown all, when arrived at their resting-place for the night, they found a wretched khan where there was nothing to eat, and only mats spread upon the ground as a substitute for beds. All this part of

Servia and Bulgaria is thinly peopled: there are very few villages, and scarcely any land cultivated: in some ravines, and upon the borders of the rivulets and torrents, a little corn is grown, barely sufficient for the wants of the scanty population.

The travellers were warned that they would have very high mountains to pass the next day. For four leagues the way would be constantly over lofty summits at the edge of deep precipices; then would follow the snowy regions, which presented new dangers; the latter were so much the greater at this season of the year, as the winter was not entirely over: they were informed, in short, that no travellers had yet thought the season sufficiently advanced to venture on taking that road; they had gone by the other. To follow this other, however, our travellers must have traced back their steps the whole of their last day's journey, then have followed the course of the Vardar as far as Bilazora, and taken the defile of Mount Boras, which would have led them at length to the valley of the Drino. But besides the delay it would now occasion to take this route, other inconveniences might very possibly arise: there were many streams to cross, over which there were no bridges; and they might not improbably be swelled by the snows from the mountains, so that the passage might be dangerous, or even impracticable. It was therefore determined after some consultation that they would continue their present route, and run the hazard of passing Mount Prisrendi. Preparations were made for it accordingly: the travellers provided themselves with whatever they could collect, though, in so desolate a country, that amounted to very little.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The travellers pass Mount Prisrendi.—Some of them are affected dangerously by the cold.—The town of Prisrendi.—Desert between that place and Scutari.—The valley of the Drino.—Arrival at Scutari, and description of the town.—The lake of Labeatis or Iscoudar.—Dissertation on the mountains, valleys, and rivers of Greece.

The poor little town of Kalkandeluk was however a place of delights, compared with the regions over which the caravan was now to travel. Hitherto their principal subject of complaint had been the ruggedness of the country; but among the mountains of Prisrendi, and in Illyria, scarcely any traces of civilization appeared.

These mountains form the natural limits of Bulgaria, Servia, and Illyria. The northern and western branches may be considered as the lines of demarcation of those countries: the former, after continuing its course for some way, ultimately joins the mountains of Bosnia. Nature presents round the base of Prisrendi a barren, uncultivated, and uniform surface, or varied only with some forests of pines. The eye is never delighted with those charming ravines which are to be found about the Alps; but, on the contrary, the rugged sides and lofty summits here to be seen, offer no other ideas, in contemplating them, but of fatigue both to the mind and body. The travellers however, notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, notwithstanding the fatigues they had hitherto gone through, and the bad cheer and lodging of the night before, proceeded to their arduous undertaking full of health and spirits, considering all their difficulties as surmounted when these regions should be passed.

For four hours they continued ascending by rugged paths, when at length they arrived at the snowy regions. Here Monsieur Hotte was seized with a violent hæmorrhage at the nose: the aërial fluid being too much rarefied, the pressure upon the sanguinary vessels was so much diminished as to occasion this flow of blood; it was accompanied with vertigoes in the head and a humming in the ears, so that he was in a state approaching to the comatose affection. The young Amoureux, another of the party, at the same time threw himself upon the snow,

saying he could not go on: the cold, after having acted upon the epigastric centre, began to benumb his limbs; he complained of hunger; he was soon after all over in a gentle perspiration, and had an irresistible inclination to sleep. The whole company were more or less affected, and they determined as their only resource to dismount from their horses and walk. They roused and stimulated young Amoureux, forcing him along, and by this violence saved his life; for the circulation of the blood had begun to be very feeble, and to fly the extremities. For three leagues they continued their route in the midst of snow, there was no road tracked, the way was only marked by stakes driven into the ground at certain distances. The horses had the utmost difficulty to keep at all upon their legs; some could not be got on, and were of necessity left to their fate; of this number was the one that carried Colonel Charbonnel's effects. At length the party arrived at the end of this snowy region, and began to breathe more freely: those who had been the most incommoded soon ceased to suffer, they seemed even to feel renewed vigour. After descending for five leagues, they arrived in safety at the little town of Prisrendi: this was not however till three hours after the night had closed in.

This town appears to be the same mentioned in several maps, particularly in that of Monsieur d'Anville, under the name of Therendassi. The inhabitants, partly Christians, partly Mussulmans, speak only the Sclavonian language: they are governed by a bey subject to the jurisdiction of the pasha of Ochrida. The news of the arrival of some Frenchmen flew like lightning about the town: people flocked from all parts to see them, and were so troublesome, that the travellers began to complain: immediately what at first seemed admiration was turned into insult, and they found themselves pelted on all sides with mud and stones. In this however the people of Prisrendi were perhaps only like all others who see but few strangers, and among whom ignorance, the mother of cruelty and fanaticism, encourages a hatred for every one not of their own nation: nay, it must even be said, to the reproach of human nature, that this national antipathy is by no means confined to people equally uncivilised with those that inhabit these mountains. In extenuation of their offence, it must be confessed that there was something rather grotesque in the appearance of the French officers, they having under their tatar exterior some remains of European vestments; and it was perhaps this, as much as their being Christians, that excited the curiosity first, and afterwards the insolence, of the people.

Prisrendi is little frequented even by couriers coming from Constantinople, as the passage of the mountains at the most favourable moments is by no means

unattended with danger. Though not obstructed with snow during the middle of summer as it was at this period, a well-known phænomenon to which Mount Cenis is liable is observed equally to occur here: whirlwinds, appearing to issue at the same moment from points directly opposite to each other, have more than once carried away a whole caravan, hurling them from the tops of the rocks down to the precipices below.

The travellers were here informed, that it was necessary before they quitted the town to furnish themselves with a sufficient quantity of provisions, to sustain both themselves and their horses the rest of the way to Scutari, a distance of thirty leagues. In all this space not a town or village is to be found; and at the stations nothing can be procured for travellers but bread not half baked, and only a little straw for their animals. The Almighty seems to have placed this desert in the midst of the warlike nations that inhabit the deep valleys which run among the lower chains of these mountains, to separate them effectually, and thereby put the only possible curb upon their animosities towards each other. Nature offers nothing here but the image of chaos, the impression of mighty convulsions. If at intervals some detached mountains wear a hue of green, naked rocks blackened by time, or reft by the fires of heaven, soon interrupt the pleasing hues on which the eye was beginning to rest. No more smiling valleys, where murmuring streams flow beneath verdant arches, are here to be seen, no feathered songsters are here awakened by the lovely dawn; the tears of Aurora fall only on impermeable blocks of granite, on which they dry immediately, or form a surface of ice, according to the season. Never does Echo reply to the sweet strains of the nightingale; she reverberates only the fatal screeching of the owl, or the shrill and piercing cries of the eagle. The only inhabitants of the vast cavities with which the region abounds are tortoises, reptiles, bats, savage wolves who pursue the poor chamois, and a few jackals. Yet all these combined horrors cannot stop the vagabond: he lurks about to fall upon the traveller, as the nomades of Arabia and Africa lie in ambush to plunder the peaceable caravans.

After stopping a day at Prisrendi to recover themselves from the fatigues experienced in crossing the mountain, on the twenty-second of March the travellers again proceeded on their way. The night was passed at a khan, which was intrenched and surrounded with a palisade to defend it against the marauders by whom the country is infested. These people, who are properly speaking its only inhabitants, live in wretched isolated huts scattered about, and are in no part collected together into any thing like a town or village. The love of rapine alone ever

assembles any number of them together; and that object accomplished they disperse to their respective habitations, there to wait till a similar object calls them together again. Their state is that of all nations not yet formed into a society, or living under the influence of inclement skies, of those who dwell in the nearest habitable regions to the pole. They come at certain epochs to the great fairs of Casova, of Monastir, and Prisrendi, to exchange certain commodities for powder and arms.

The second night from Prisrendi was passed at another station twelve leagues from the former, and the travellers reflected with no small satisfaction that it was the last of their journey over so deplorable a country. The next day, the sixteenth since their departure from Constantinople, they rose before the dawn, every thing was soon made ready, the tatars for once had no occasion to drink before they set off, and the rising sun found them already on their route, delighted with the idea that they were to repose in peace at night within the walls of Scutari.

The first part of the way was still over the same arid country, the eye still wandered over mountains varied only by occasional groves of pines. It was all however very perceptibly upon the descent, and more gentle slopes succeeded to the rugged paths so long traversed: after awhile considerable tracts of pasture appeared, several torrents were crossed, and at length at noon the travellers arrived upon the edge of an extensive plain. At the sight of this picture, really beautiful in itself, and rendered much more so by the circumstances under which it was contemplated, they felt their hearts expand with delight, above all when far off at the western extremity of the plain they discovered the town of Scutari itself. This magnificent basin, along which they travelled for the remaining four hours of their journey, is surrounded on three sides by fertile slopes, which may be called the lower bases of Scodrus: as these slopes approach Scutari they are covered with gardens, with vines, and with fruit-trees. Through the midst of the plain flows a river which abounds with fish, and every part is watered by a vast number of springs and fountains, fertilizing the lands and preserving them in a constant verdure.

Somewhat more to the north the valley is watered by the Drino, the largest river of Illyria. It has two principal sources, distinguished by the names of the Black and the White Drino: the former, which is the most considerable, rises on the northern side of the mountains of Sagori, whence running northwards it forms, at the distance of eight leagues, the lake of Lychnidus or Ochrida: ten leagues further it joins the branch called the White Drino, which rises in Mount Boras,

and both flow together for some way to the north-west. Afterwards taking a different direction the stream runs southward, and, making a great circle about Scutari, discharges itself at length into the Adriatic sea: its course separates Albania from Dalmatia and Illyria. There were formerly upon its banks many towns of considerable note, which are now fallen into obscurity: there are however some still remaining very populous, and where considerable fairs are held. A great part of the countries watered by the Drino are subject to the pasha of Ochrida.

This country was the great theatre of the exploits of Scanderbeg, who kept the Ottoman power so long in check. It afterwards underwent many revolutions, passing under the dominion of several princes who at different times raised the standard of insurrection. The inhabitants are naturally proud and warlike: Christians and Mussulmans are alike scarcely ever to be seen without arms in their hands. They have at no period been wholly subdued, and, full of ideas of independence, will never submit voluntarily to any laws imposed upon them: they know nothing but themselves, and think nothing of any value compared with what they possess: they are equally shepherds and soldiers. The country is rich in flocks, in fruit, in oil, and in honey. The numerous rivulets which discharge themselves into the Drino, on the side of the Upper Ochrida, cherish a multitude of flowers, the honey from which is extracted by innumerable swarms of bees. It is said that there are in these parts many ruins of temples and marble monuments with Greek and Latin inscriptions, which belonged to the times of the Roman emperors. Though this appears very probable; yet, as the fact has never been established, I give it only as report, and with a wish to awaken the curiosity of future travellers. It is a country which indeed appears well worthy of investigation, and yet, though at the gates of Europe, is almost unknown.

The language spoken here is principally the Selavonian, but mixed somewhat with the Illyrian and Bulgarian. The softness of it surprises, particularly in the parts near the sea. The Montenegrins, who inhabit the districts about the mouths of the Cattaro and the mountains between those parts and Ragusa, are the only tribes who keep up a regular intercourse with the people in the neighbourhood of Ochrida and the Drino: these cantons are otherwise very little frequented. The country would, however, probably be a very interesting one to study, and such an undertaking could not receive too much encouragement. There are vast forests to inspect, lofty mountains to examine, as well with regard to their directions as to the numerous fossils and petrifactions they must undoubt-

edly contain: nor are any obstacles presented to such researches that appear at all invincible. This country has, besides, the great advantage of being the way of communication from Sclavonia and Albania to Bulgaria and Bosnia, and the route by which the Montenegrins had recently purposed effecting their junction with the Servians.

Scutari was at this time governed by Ibrahim-pasha. No sooner was he informed of the arrival of the French officers than he sent a message of compliment to them, desiring that they would take up their quarters in one of his *conaks* or houses: he likewise gave orders that they should be magnificently treated. In this manner did he testify the pleasure he received in seeing the ancient allies of the Turkish empire, and his wishes for the re-establishment of peace with them: the enlargement of the prisoners gave him hopes that this might be an event not very far distant. It seemed indeed his uniform endeavour to prove, by the attentions he showed the officers, how much and how sincerely he had always been the friend of our nation.

Scutari is a town of very great antiquity. Under its original name of Scodra, it was a place of note at the time when Pyrrhus engaged in a contest with the *people king*. History relates how it was burnt by the prætor Antius, and afterwards ravaged by the barbarians, when the monuments it possessed were entirely destroyed. After having been a Roman colony, it passed in more modern times under the dominion of Georges, Strachim, and Balda, of the royal family of the Balsiches*, a descendant of whom, also by name Georges, who was lord of Scutari, Lissa, Drivasta, and Antibarus, transferred his property to Amurath the First. He soon however resumed it in exchange for a young daughter, whom he gave up to the sultan upon that condition. At length this fickle prince made over the town and its dependencies to the Senate of Venice: they were however afterwards deprived of it in their wars against the Turks.

Scutari stands upon the lake Labeatis or Iscoudar, seven leagues from the sea, and five from the river Drino. This river is said to have quitted a bed much nearer to the town, and made itself a new one where it now runs. The country about has been already mentioned as particularly rich and fertile. Lake Labeatis is three leagues in length, and about half that breadth: it is formed by the waters of the Boïana. This river rushes out from the midst of the mountains, having in the course of ages mined itself a way through those lower parts that come almost

* See the history of Georges Castriot, or Scanderbeg, by Lavardin.

to Scutari. From the lake it runs awhile eastward; then takes a turn, and, directing its course to the west, discharges itself at length into the gulf of the Drino. The lake abounds with excellent fish, which the inhabitants of Scutari esteem very much; and the river Boïana, running through the lake, enjoys the same advantage.

To the town, as well as to the lake by which it is washed, the name of Iscoudar is given by the Turks. The town stands partly on the top, partly on the declivity of a gentle slope. On its highest point is a little castle built upon the solid rock: it has four suburbs, but they are included under the general name of Scutari. It is the seat of a pashalik, which may be considered as the rival in power and extent with that of Albania, comprehending the greatest part of the country watered by the Drino, all Illyria properly so called, with the mouths of the Cattaro, quite to the limits of Ragusa and the newly arranged frontiers of Germany. Along the sea-shore it extends to the neighbourhood of Durazzo, within a line drawn from this point to the mountains that rise above Tebeleni. The population of Scutari is estimated at more than twelve thousand: the people are partly Mussulmans, partly Christians both of the Greek and Latin churches. Those of the Greek church have a bishop in the place; those of the Latin receive their spiritual instruction from certain pious missionaries sent thither by the court of Rome.

Such is Scutari, and such the *coup-d'œil* of the countries over which the French officers travelled from Constantinople thither. I could have wished to give more variety and interest to the pictures I have sketched, by the geographical, botanical, and geological details which every part of these countries would amply furnish, and which would be so much the more important as they are very little known. Almost every thing, indeed, relating to the geography of these parts is erroneously laid down in the existing maps. Those who come after me, guided by the clue here given, will doubtless improve upon the imperfect sketches, and add many other cantons to the principal points which I have indicated. Before however I take my final leave of Turkey in Europe, before I quit the country of king Glaucias, who is said to have reigned at Scodra, I wish once more to call the attention of the reader to the subject of the mountains, one which appears to me of great interest; and I will hope that the precision and rapidity of my observations will plead my excuse for indulging myself in such a digression.

The whole surface of Greece, under which name I include Peloponnesus, Attica, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, and Epirus, is spread over with mountains, some

of which are covered with a vegetative soil, while others are bare and arid: some are covered with snows which never entirely dissolve. A small portion of them are of granite; some are schistous; but the greater part are calcareous. Evidence of having been volcanoes is manifest upon many of them; others are mined by immense caverns: a few alone seem immoveably fixed, as it were, upon the centre of the globe. Their nature appears subordinate to one general system, which I leave for geologists to define; I mean to content myself only with marking their directions.

I have said that Mount Orbelus seems to be the kernel, the central point of the mountains of Macedonia; and that Scardus or Prisrendi, Scomius or Despotodag, Hæmus or Balkan, are but ramifications from it. This giant, however, who spreads around his branches to so great an extent, appears himself to be but an irradiation from the great Alpine chain. It is from those elevated regions known under the name of the Norican Alps that we must depart to follow the general system of the mountains; and in examining the summits through this great extent of country we shall trace their connection with Orbelus.

This mountain is covered with snow the whole year round. Its centre is granite: as far as its middle region it is covered with vegetative soil. Its rocks are the abodes of eagles; from its sides flow an infinite number of springs, which are the principles of the rivers that run into the Mediterranean. Besides the leading chains I have mentioned, the inferior branches of Orbelus inclose the valleys of Thrace, through which flows the Hebrus; they form the defiles of Macedonia, and surround the vast basin of Thessaly. Some run by steep descents down to the sea; others slope gradually to the plains. Olympus, Ossa, the mountains of Attica, Parnassus, Helicon, are all but secondary chains and dependencies upon Orbelus. But here we stop, nor follow them into Peloponnesus by the isthmus of Corinth. The mountains in this peninsula differ essentially from the first chain: in some are found quarries of the finest marble, in others all the productions common to volcanoes. The mountains of Bœotia are of this nature: that in which is the cave of Trophonius for a long time exhaled the bituminous vapours of subterraneous fires; and the prophetic spirit was undoubtedly nothing but the vertigoes which such exhalations naturally produce. The person affected was inspired by the god; the earth trembled under his feet, and the forests seemed to descend from the hills.

But Pindus and the other mountains of Epirus form a part of the system of Orbelus. Pindus will be found to communicate with the mountains of Dalmatia:

its branches form the Sagorian mountains, as well as those of Tamarus and the Acroceraunians, while little Pindus gives birth to the granito-calcareous mountains of Souli. The chain that coasts the Arethon ascends to the neighbouring chain above the Acheloüs. The arid mountains of Ætolia, those that border the gulf of Corinth, or that bristle Acarnania, are ramifications of Pindus. The Acarnanian mountains may, however, justly be considered as of a volcanic nature, because they inclose deep tunnels without any order, without any regular branches or projections. They present nothing but a confused heap of narrow valleys, of summits, and points generally covered with vegetative soil. At their base are thermal springs, and they are frequently shaken by earthquakes.

Peloponnesus presents a system peculiar to herself in the nature and direction of her mountains. They do not appear dependent upon the Alps, unless Pholoë may be connected with them by means of some submarine ramification. The connection would then be through Mount Tricara, which rises between Sicyon and Vostitza; for I adhere to my opinion, that the ishmus of Corinth is not the point of communication. Down the northern side of Mount Tricara, which slopes rapidly to the gulf of Lepanto, run an infinite number of torrents, which in rainy seasons are sometimes so considerable that they cannot be crossed without danger. From this mountain a branch proceeds westward on the side of Calavrita, the basements of which form the valleys of Achaia. This branch, after rising again, assumes the name of Vodi, and thence begins Pholoë. The last-named mountain sends out a branch in the centre of the Morea, which forms Mount Menale or Roïno, running from north to south: it is connected by different branches with Boreas and Chelmos, with Taygetes and Vourcano, the latter of which encompasses Messenia. From the same Tricara branch off the groupes of Argos, Artemisius, Parthenius, and Tornika. A third branch forms the eastern side of the valley of Argos, as well as the mountains of Trœzene and Hermione.

This division, and this connection, which is the least objectionable that can be offered, has however often embarrassed me, even when, with the mountains of the Morea before my eyes, I endeavoured to arrange and methodize the chaos. I was surprised to find traces of volcanoes in Taygetes, and to perceive Chelmos inclined to granite. In short, these confused heaps of rocks often confounded the ideas of order and regularity which I was desirous of applying to them. Above all things, I could not connect the highest mountains with any of the exterior chains; they seemed to be but unconnected and isolated points. If I cast my eyes below Mount Tricara, I perceived nothing but deep chasms; and Taygetes, notwith-

standing its numerous breaks, appeared to stand alone, to be a regular mountain in itself. I followed it in its direction to to Cape Matapan, where it terminates by an infinite number of rocks, prolonged to a great distance beneath the water.

I made then an observation which I have since frequently had occasion to verify, that the secondary branches of mountains are much more subject to earthquakes and volcanic shocks than the greater masses. There are, however, instances sufficiently ascertained, which prove that Pindus, the Acroceraunian mountains, Taygetes, and the chains of Balkan, have trembled upon their bases; but always in autumn, and in the night *. The commotions which I myself experienced took place some hours before sun-rise. But from these detached phænomena I do not pretend to draw any regular inductions; I would even abandon my system entirely, if I had not in my favour observations which have been invariably attended with the same results.

There can be no doubt, but that the greater part of the valleys of Greece were formerly lakes. This hypothesis, which would be rendered incontestable by a strict and regular examination of them, must invalidate very much the opinion of travellers who are prone to find every where traces of deluges. It would, at the same time, agree with the silence of the most celebrated authors who have never hinted at such phænomena; and if they ever had existed, sufficient records of them would have been handed down to posterity equally by the pen of the poet, the pencil of the painter, and the chisel of the sculptor. Is it to be believed that Homer, who has given us every picture of nature, not only that ever existed, but almost that imagination could suggest, would have omitted the deluge of Deucalion if such an event had ever happened? Could Herodotus, who informs us that the path of the ecliptic was parallel with the equator, who has examined scrupulously even the most ancient fables of mythology, have forgotten a deluge?—Certainly not. It is only since the time of Ovid that we have heard of general submersions; that we have been presented with pictures of inundations which have swallowed up the universe.

If such an awful catastrophe did once occur, as we are assured on divine authority, I am yet very much disposed to doubt whether we are to refer to

* Pliny says, "I have observed that the Alps and the Appennines frequently tremble; that the time when the earth is shaken is always in spring or autumn, and that the shocks occur more frequently in the night than in the day. I have also observed that the greatest earthquakes happen early in the morning or in the evening; and that they take place commonly at eclipses of the sun or moon, for the winds are then still. They also happen when great heats succeed to heavy rains, or when heavy rains succeed to great heats."

that for the origin of the petrifactions continually presented to us in every part of the globe. These wonders of nature may be accounted for in a different manner; but such a dissertation belongs rather to those who write professedly as theorists, than to the traveller, whose business is principally to relate what he has seen.

I know not whether all Thessaly, as Lucan and many other ancient authors inform us, was once a vast lake; but in examining the course of the Salembria, or Peneus, the manner in which it is confined in the valley of Tempe, and the direction of the mountains through which the waters seem to have broken themselves a channel, it seems beyond a dispute that this basin must have been once a lake. The same thing might be concluded of many levels among mountains which have only a small issue whence the waters pour down in cascades. The greater part of such embrasures evidently proceed from the action of the waters, which, constantly wearing away the calcareous or schistous substances that formed their beds, at last deprived them of the power of resistance, and forced a way through them.

Nature, however, does not uniformly in this operation attack the side which declines the most, the effort of the fluid is sometimes directed to the bottom of the basin. About a quarter of a league above Delphos is a fertile level, and from the foot of the rocks that crown it to the west rushes out a cold and limpid stream of water: this would soon inundate the basin through which it flows, and transform it into a lake, if the water did not find an issue by a subterranean chasm through which it descends into the cavern of Corycius, forming a cascade falling with a noise almost like thunder. From this cavern the waters issue again in a stream well known as the river Plystus, which runs through a very deep ravine. There can be no doubt, then, that the waters have worn away the vault of the cavern, so as at length to have burst through and poured down ever since in the manner described.

The mountains above the valley of Cephisus have only fluviatic productions among their petrifications; nothing is to be found there which belongs exclusively to the sea. Lake Copais, and the marshes of Marathon, have issues and drains by which their waters escape. In short, whether we turn towards Locris, or consider the face of Macedonia, every where in the direction of the valleys, and the projections of the mountains, we see the types of ancient lakes. Now dried by a course of ages, and ornamented with all that nature can present the most varied and the most enchanting, they offer on every side scenes of treasure and delight to man-

kind. Colonna presents several delicious valleys, where the nightingale warbles her enchanting strains; Thessaly spreads out her rich plains, and Cephisus is ornamented with beautiful villages.

If I turn to the dried lakes of Peloponnesus, I see that the most modern is that of Argos. The nature of the marshes, the lands adapted to the cultivation of rice, the stagnant waters near Mycene, all confirm my opinion. The issue of the waters must have been by the Erasinus, for the neighbouring shores of Thyrintus are too high. I do not, however, believe it to be since this evacuation that the surrounding heights have become barren. The country about Argos must always have been dry and sterile, excepting on the side of Nemea: in all these parts there are vine-grounds. The mountains running parallel to them, which border the gulf of Saronica, are verdant, and covered with olive-trees: they rise by amphitheatres which run south and north from Mount Polyphengos to Corinth. The part of the isthmus known by the name of Romania presents nothing but tunnels, and the appearance of a volcanized soil, indicating subterranean fires.

The basin of Laconia must have been covered with water for a very long time. The cataracts in the Eurotas below Amyclea, and that nearer to its mouth below Apidana, attest the action of the waters upon the barriers that opposed their course. I know not whether this valley may be considered as the crater of a volcano; but if ever it was so, it must have been subsequently for a long time inundated entirely by the Eurotas: this stream, indeed, rather ought to be called a torrent than a river. Messenia and Elis were always open countries. The valley of Calamatte is not bordered by mountains on the side towards the sea; Elis inclines downwards in a southern direction, so that from Andritsena and the villages bordering the Alpheus the sea is seen: it closes the horizon to the south in almost every part of these valleys.

The valley of Erymanthus, above all others, appears once to have been submerged in the parts between the Dimizana and the mountains whence that river issues. The river falls by a cascade from a much higher level, which it no doubt once covered with its waters: after this eruption it spread itself over a second level, and it issues from a third to water the valley. Nothing can be more striking than the view now presented by the valleys through which the Erymanthus flows, flourishing as they are with a delightful verdure, and varied with beautiful woods. The ravines of Calavrita, and the plain of Mantinea, have gulfs which receive the waters: had they not excavated for themselves these issues, they would spread entirely over the plains.

The plain of Tripolitza, which is the most elevated of all the valleys in the Morea, was most probably a lake communicating with that of Mantinea. During winter there are now pools of water, which are insensibly lost at the return of summer, not by evaporation as might be supposed, but evidently in subterranean receptacles; for the existence of such things is attested by the nature of the soil. The gulfs of the Alpheus at the fooot of Mount Boreas, although encumbered with mud and slime, preserve the plain from inundation on that side by affording an issue to the waters. In Albania the same appearance of dried lakes is obvious at every step; and without the Acheron the Elysian Fields would present nothing but a watery surface. Doubtless this gulf owes its origin to the subterranean fires existing beneath the lake, the shocks of which make all this part of Greece tremble. It is very possible that the Acheron once exhaled a sulphureous vapour, since it owes its aperture to the shocks of a volcano, which has hollowed vast caverns in the bowels of the earth. But when the Acheron had filled these cavities, the waters forced themselves other issues: I say issues; for, the river of Velistri not supplying a quantity equal to that ingulfed, other issues may justly be supposed to exist, which carry the waters directly to the gulf of Ambracia.

It would not be difficult to ascertain where the waters issue from the lake Acherusia, but this I only offer as a hint to future travellers who may visit Albania. Some light substances, but in a very great quantity, cast into the Aornus might serve as a means of coming at the knowledge of this point. I know that many substances are said to have been found at Velistri, which exist only in the Acheron: but, besides that those who have seen this phænomenon are not in the habit of observing with particular accuracy, it must be presumed that there are many issues. This might be established by the simple and easy process that I have suggested. It would be equally desirable to determine the height of the Elysian Fields above the level of the sea, and their comparative height with Velistri. Finally, with respect to the Cocytus, the connections of Pindus with Acherusia must be examined, and a number of experiments made, which would require time, patience, and talents.

The caverns of Greece have long ceased to exhale prophetic inspirations; the tripod of Delphos and the Pythia had even ceased to deal out their oracles long before the worship of the Grecian gods was abolished. Or, to drop the language of fable, and speak that of science, volcanic exhalations no longer issue from those caverns which they formerly rendered so celebrated. Of these caverns there were a great number; nor can any doubt be entertained that they presented the phæ-

nomena recorded of them. The miracles effected were everywhere talked of; the decrees issued from them were everywhere proclaimed. The cave of Corycius had its gods, but it had ceased to send forth exhalations long before many of the other caverns of Greece. It owed its renown principally to having served as an asylum to the inhabitants of Delphos, at the time when Greece was invaded by Xerxes. I have said that the waters from a basin above descend into it; and from its coolness, from the freshness of the air breathed there, from the half light so favourable to mysteries, it might still deserve to be called the cavern of the nymphs. In the neighbourhood were many other grottoes, in which the Greeks had raised altars to different gods; and these sacred places still exist, or are only lost from the grottoes being obstructed by accumulations of earth.

Plutarch, as accurate an observer as he was a distinguished geographer, informs us that in his time all the oracles of Bœotia had ceased, excepting that from the cave of Trophonius. This is to say, in other words, that the subterranean fires beneath the caverns were extinguished, and no more exhaled their intoxicating vapours. But Trophonius still retained this prerogative, and Pausanias made an experiment of it upon himself*. This cave was seen in our days by Monsieur Fauvel, but we have no good description of it. We may be well assured, however, that it is mute, and that the oracle which predicted the misfortune at Pharsalia was the last thundered forth from beneath its mighty vaults.

There are a number of caverns in the Morea, particularly in the forest of Nemea. Large bands of the Laliotes often conceal themselves in the recesses among the rocks of Mount Pholoë. In Mount Menale, though calcareous, there are many caverns through which the water constantly filters. The thunder only rolls over Taygetes with such long and protracted reverberations, because of the vast hollows within its entrails, from the deep recesses of which the echoes answer to the commotions of the heavens. Finally, about Cape Tenarus, in the country of the Cacovouniotes, there are a number of caverns exceeding all idea: part of them serve as places of retreat to the wretches who inhabit this inhospitable coast, and some are employed as cisterns; others run to such a depth underground, that it has never been found possible to explore them.

These places, just emblems of the abodes of phantoms, made the ancients consider Cape Tenarus as the entrance to the infernal regions. It was through these caverns, they said, that Hercules pursued his way when he penetrated to the

* See Pausanias, lib. xi.

dark abodes where reigns an eternal night; and they related the prodigies of which he was a witness, with the dangers to which he was exposed. In modern days similar ideas subsist, but with different names. 'Tis through these caves, say the Cacovouniotes, that St. Michael descends to withdraw the just souls from the power of the prince of darkness. Whenever Satan dares to show himself, the flaming sword of the archangel compels him to retire again into his den. Such is the existing prejudice: if the religionist should not be inclined to extend his faith so far as to assent implicitly to such a dogma, the naturalist will at least cleave to it as a proof that the caverns exist, and that they are deserving of an assiduous examination. Nor would the examining them be a difficult undertaking, as far as the moral state of the country is concerned; for though the people are inhospitable, with a little circumspection it may be travelled over in safety. How far it may be possible to penetrate into the inmost recesses of the caves when the apertures are reached, remains for experience to determine.

Nothing is said of the cavern of Styx, or rather I could not learn the opinion of the Laliotes with regard to its existence. There are many caverns in Albania, particularly in the Acroceraunian mountains; and the spring of royal water mentioned by Pliny is still to be seen there.

CHAPTER XL.

Departure of the French officers from Scutari.—Antivari.—Dulcigno.—The Montenegrins.—The mouths of the Cattaro.—Arrival at Ragusa.—The officers are put into quarantine.—Description of Ragusa.—Sketch of its government and commerce.—Departure of the French officers from thence, and their arrival at Ancona.

After remaining two days at Scutari, the French officers obtained permission of Ibrahim-pasha to proceed on their route. They had every reason to be pleased with the civilities they had received from him, and he sent orders to Antivari, that a vessel should be provided for them at that port, whence they were to embark for Ragusa. Accordingly, on the twenty-seventh of March they departed from Scu-

tari, and crossing the remainder of the plain in which the town stands, coasting the southern foot of the mountains that border the country of Monte-Negro, arrived in four hours at Antivari.

This town stands upon a steep hill, a league and a half from the shore, and is the last place of Turkish Albania. The name of Antibari, which the Greeks pronounce Antivari, was given to it from its lying directly opposite to Bari on the Italian shore of the Adriatic. The town, from its elevated and picturesque situation, may be seen at a great distance: it appears almost as if suspended in the air. It is inhabited entirely by Turks; but the people of the villages along the coast, which are very numerous, are Christians of both the Latin and Greek churches: the whole coast, from Ragusa to the mountains of Chimera, is very much inhabited by Roman Catholic Christians. Some traces may even still be found of the Catalans, who it is well known were in possession of these shores under the Palæologi when that family governed the Eastern Empire. These people often quit their country to enlist under the Neapolitan standard. Antivari is the port to Scutari, and the *entrepôt* of all the commodities furnished by the valley of the Drino. Besides those that are common to other parts of Greece, a considerable trade is carried on here in goat-skins, which are tanned at Scutari and sold under the name of Morocco leather.

The officers, after making the arrangements they judged expedient, having their tatar still with them, set sail the same day. They quitted the gulf of the Drino, and leaving behind them the Nymphæan promontory, the ruins of the ancient Lissa, and Olcinium, now called Dulcigno, steered their course for Ragusa. The town of Dulcigno, where, for the greater security of the coast, it would be very desirable to see the standard of Germany floating, is inhabited by six thousand pirates*, calling themselves merchants, who live like those of Algiers on robbery and plunder. The stranger does not venture to approach their port; and the mariner who finds himself in these latitudes must keep constantly upon his guard, for when night comes on the Dulcignotes go forth in little barks to look out for and surprise any vessel that rests in a fatal security. It is well known that no quarter is ever given by these barbarians. Nothing can therefore be more natural than for a general prayer to be offered up, that the polished nation now in possession of Dalmatia may one day clear the soil of Olcinium of the wretches by whose misdeeds it is degraded.

* It will be recollected that the corsair Orouchs, by whom we were captured, was a Dulcignote.

Further on along this coast the navigator is presented with a spectacle, single probably in its kind, namely, such a port as the bay of Rhizonica, better known at present under the appellation of the mouths of the Cattaro. Let the imagination figure to itself three vast basins running very far within the land, communicating with each other only by narrow passes susceptible of being regularly defended, and a tolerable idea will be formed of the mouths of the Cattaro. Large fleets would find the most secure shelter in these deep valleys ingulfed by the sea, for such they may truly be called; and from among the projections of rugged mountains, where nothing but forests and pastures might be supposed to exist, large squadrons might be seen sailing out with all the pomp of war. Sublime declivities surround these basins, and the levels above are inhabited by a hardy and intrepid race. Nature in every way assumes here a commanding aspect, an air of grandeur unaccompanied with any imperfections. The mouths of the Cattaro may in short be considered as the most important port in the Adriatic; and it would be entirely the fault of any power that has possession of this port, if that sea were not soon completely under its dominion.

To the east of the mouths of the Cattaro are the mountains inhabited by the Montenegrins, a proud and courageous people breathing nothing but war. The half wild state in which they live, the aspect of their mountains, and of the sea breaking with such violence upon the rugged shores of Dalmatia, the tumults of the elements, in short, are to them so many subjects of delight. The unaltered remains of the ancient Illyrians, the greater part of them profess Christianity, but may almost be said only to worship independence. They, notwithstanding, sometimes forsake their native country to engage in the service of the emperor of Russia; but they find such a change of climate ill-suited to their constitutions, and the greater part perish, though better fed and better treated than in the bosoms of their own families.

It is an established truth, that mountaineers, and men who by their habits live nearly in a state of nature, can with great difficulty accustom themselves to a change of climate: the Laplander cannot live out of his own country. The inhabitants of mountains are subject to nostalgia; and the Savoyards commonly have very serious illnesses when they first come into our towns, though they live much better than at home. People accustomed to a town habituate themselves far more readily to the country, than the inhabitants of the country to a town: man can likewise with greater facility pass from a life of inactivity to one of exertion, than from a life of activity to one of complete repose. 'Tis thus that the Mon-

tenegrin, engaging in the service of Russia, notwithstanding the advantageous change experienced with regard to his food, pines away because he is reduced to the monotonous life led in barracks. He looks around him, he thinks of his country, he no longer sees his flocks or his native cottage, and the feverish longing for them with which he is seized soon carries him to the grave. If he could again touch those shores so injudiciously quitted, he would soon recover. The Greek who expatriates himself pays an equally fatal tribute, and Russia may be regarded for these people what the Antilles are for many other European nations. I am credibly informed by one who has investigated this matter pretty closely, that a fifth at least of those who migrate into Russia perish during the first six years of their emigration.

The Adriatic, at the time when our travellers were navigating it, was free from the tempests by which it is frequently agitated. Judging by the great number of vessels they met carrying the Imperial flag, it appeared that Austria had derived great advantages from the concessions recently made to her. The Sclavonian vessels, now better protected than they had been under the feeble government of Venice, seemed to forget the Lion of St. Mark, and every thing promised that a navy might one day issue from this gulf capable of proclaiming and defending the freedom of the Mediterranean. The second day after their departure from Scutari the travellers arrived at Ragusa, and were lodged in the lazaretto, conformably to the laws of quarantine wisely established in this port. The next day they dismissed their tatar, who returning to Constantinople brought me a letter from Monsieur Bessières, containing a part of the details of his journey.

Ragusa is a port in the Adriatic, upon the coast of Dalmatia, lying between the forty-second and forty-third degrees of northern latitude. It is said to have owed its origin to the destruction of the town of Epidaura, which was overthrown by the Goths under the reign of the emperor Valerian. It rose very much three centuries after upon the ruin of Salone, which was then sacked by the Sclavonians. This place, such as it now exists, stands at the foot of mount Bargat, by which it is protected from the west and north-west winds. Its form is a square, and it is inclosed by a wall flanked with towers and pierced with embrasures and loop-holes: the eastern gate only is fortified. The streets are clean, but narrow, the principal one excepted, which is broad and handsome: it crosses the town entirely from north to south. The houses in this street, as well as in most other parts, are a mixture of Italian and Oriental architecture. There are some public edifices, of which the palace is the principal; it is a vast Gothic

building. Next to this the churches are most worthy of remark, particularly St. Blaise, the cathedral, St. Mark, St. Peter, St. Laurence, and St. Andrew, as well as that of the Jesuits, now occupied by the Dominicans.

The population of Ragusa is estimated at about fifteen thousand. Its government resembles in some sort that of ancient Venice, with this difference, that the nobles are but a caricature of those whom they imitate. There is a senate composed of all the Ragusan nobles above twenty years of age, whose names are inscribed in a register called *Il Specchio*, The Mirror. This senate assembles every year on the first of December, to proceed to the election of magistrates for the republic, under the presidency of the rector, who is the chief of the executive power. Every one takes his seat according to his age, without any other distinction. Whoever draws a golden ball from an urn prepared for the purpose, has a right to vote at the election: they who draw black balls are set aside. The election is decided by the majority of votes. The great council sanctions the laws made by the government: it can pardon murderers, or recall those who are banished: it takes cognisance of the national finances, and decides upon peace and war.

There is besides an administrative council called the council of the *pregati*. This is composed of the rector, the eleven members of the little council, the five *proveditori* of the town, the twelve judges civil and criminal, three members of the council for the woollen manufactories, and twenty-nine counsellors or *pregati*. This council determines the taxes, appoints the ambassadors, the military commanders, the guards of the arsenal, and the treasurers and receivers of the public money: it is also a tribunal of appeal in all matters both civil and criminal. It assembles four times in the week. The little council mentioned above is composed of the rector and eleven counsellors, persons advanced in years and of the best families among the nobles. It receives the foreign ambassadors, and gives audience to those who have any reclamations to make, or any business to transact with the republic. It judges suits relative to the public revenue, but is obliged to refer the most important business to the great council.

The chief of the government is called the rector or count: since the year 1358 the first title has been the prevailing one. Formerly the authority of this magistrate was very great; but some of the rectors having made an ill use of the power delegated to them, the people and senate combined to restrain it. At present it only extends to presiding in the senate, and the great and little councils; to affixing the seal to all public decrees, to keeping the keys of the town, and to

being the guardian of the fortresses and castles of the republic. The rector convenes the senate and the great council, but he has only a single vote in either. His costume of ceremony is similar to that of the Venetian senators; when he appears in public he is preceded by four-and-twenty huissiers and twelve musicians, and is followed by all the secretaries and officers of the palace. In case of sickness, absence, or any other legal impediment, the senior member of the little council acts in his place. At his death the gates of the town are shut, and persons of the first families carry him upon their shoulders to the place of interment.

Five *proveditori* are charged with the maintenance of the laws and edicts, and with the preservation of the charters of the republic. They also superintend the execution of wills. This employment is annual, and those who have served it enjoy the privilege of being immediately eligible to the rectory, while other magistrates cannot be elected to that office till two years after the expiration of their former magistracy. In public processions, and in the council, the *proveditori* follow immediately after the rector and the little council. These are the principal magistrates of the republic, but there are besides a great variety of inferior ones. A company of a hundred soldiers are charged with guarding the palace of the government, and the city gates.

The territory of the republic comprises about fifty square leagues. It is divided into seven counties, the chiefs of which are appointed from the great council. They retain their office two years, one year, or half a year, according to the importance of their governments: they cannot be re-elected till after an interval of two years. They administer the government with a wisdom and œconomy that can only be compared with the ancient administration of Holland. The two principal towns of the territory after Ragusa are Gravosa and Stagno. Besides the domains on the terra-firma, five small islands in the gulf belong to the republic, the principal of which are Lagosta and Maleda.

The nobles of Ragusa consist of about forty families, some of whom are very ancient. The flag of the republic is white with a Saint Blaise in the centre; in the great banner is the word *Libertas* surrounded with a wreath of oak. Nothing can be more singular than the *coup-d'œil* presented by Ragusa from morning till night, except on festival days. Magistrates, secretaries, scribes, clerks, all clothed in long black gowns fastened round them with a girdle; a long band attached to a sort of collar lies upon their breast, and they wear a large wig, in which is constantly stuck one or more pens: this is done to give themselves the air of being people in the law. They hold in their hands a sort of cap, in which

they carry a handkerchief and snuff-box. This costume is indispensable, nobody can appear without it; even young nobles not above fifteen or sixteen years of age are thus caparisoned: their faces are sometimes nearly lost amidst the immense bush of hair of which the wig is composed. Nothing in short can be more grotesque in the eyes of a stranger than such a costume. The number of persons always appearing in it may amount to between two and three hundred. In so small a town as Ragusa it will be easily imagined how strange an effect this must produce.

The Turks of Bosnia and of the pashalik of Scutari frequent Ragusa very much, carrying on a considerable trade with it in hides and tallow. These Turks are only put into quarantine to comply with the form, since without it they could not be admitted into the town. They are amenable, in case of disputes, before a consul, or commissary of commercial relations, sent hither every year by the pasha of Scutari. He lodges without the town in a part of the lazaretto, and gives audience seated upon a bench placed just without the door of his apartments. He has under his orders three or four *sbirri,* half naked and half perishing with hunger; they are equally his domestic servants and officers to execute his judiciary commands. His manner of proceeding in his judical capacity is very summary. He hears the contending parties; if both are of his own nation, he awards them an equal portion of the bastinado; if the question lie between a Turk and a Christian, he bastinadoes the former, and sends the latter to be judged by his own magistrates. Right or wrong, such and such only is the process.

The port of Ragusa is very small, and will not admit any thing except boats: but half a league north-west of the town is the fine road of St. Croix, where all the vessels of the republic might anchor. It is a very large basin, and one of the finest ports in Dalmatia. The plain which surrounds it is well watered, and covered with country-houses; in these the principal inhabitants of Ragusa commonly spend the summer months. The language generally spoken is the Sclavonian, notwithstanding which the better sort of people speak very good Italian. The greater part of the Ragusans are mariners, and it is well known that the Mediterranean is covered with the vessels of this little town. The government being so analogous to that of Venice, and the citizens in point of industry resembling the Dutch very strongly, it has been said of Ragusa that it is a Venice and a Holland in miniature.

The Ragusans are very modest; and when accused of being as great rogues as the Jews, and as rapacious as the Turks, they humbly answer, that they are neither

Turks nor Jews, but poor Ragusans. Their trade had increased exceedingly during the last war between Turkey and France, and the number of their trading vessels according to the most accurate information could not amount to less than two hundred: since that time they have been exceedingly annoyed by the Barbary corsairs. Ragusa pays a tribute to the Grand Signor, to the Emperor, and to the Pope; to the two first from fear, to the last from love. They are however very trifling, and have nothing degrading in them, except that they are signs of ancient vassalage.

The time of quarantine being expired, and all the forms exactly complied with, the French officers embarked for Italy, to which they had a very prosperous voyage, and soon, to their no small delight, arrived in excellent health at Ancona. They found the standards of their country waving there, and learnt the new glory acquired by their countrymen in the fields of Italy. In returning to France they passed over the theatre of these exploits, rejoicing in the hope that they would pave the way to an event ardently wished for by every rational mind,—a general peace.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

N° I.

Firman of the Capudan-Pasha to the people of Maïna, appointing Zanetachi their bey.

Gazi Hassan-Pasha, by the grace of God vizier and capudan-pasha.

THE most distinguished of the sectaries of Jesus, the most faithful of the most faithful subjects of our very powerful king, may the great God increase your submission and fidelity! And you captains and primates of Maïna, may he increase your submission in seeing the present we make you, glorious and powerful Order! Know that our powerful, mighty, and thundering Porte has chosen and appointed Zanetachi-Bey chief and commander of all Maïna: therefore you all, captains and grandees, cherish the proper readiness to serve him, and the submission due to him; obey all his just and reasonable orders. Command and govern with wisdom and submission, to the end that you may repose and be nourished under the shadow of the golden wings of our powerful majesty, with the privileges that we have granted to the very high and very respectable cadi Coumagios. Whoever among the captains or great shall dare to show themselves rebellious to our orders, and to those of Zanetachi, you, the people, unite yourselves with Zanetachi till we shall arrive with our powerful army, to march against the rebel and punish him. Do thus as we have ordered, and no otherwise.

Firman addressed to Zanetachi, appointing him bey.

Gazi Hassan-Pasha, by the grace of God vizier and capudan-pasha.

Honourable Zanetachi, with our present glorious and powerful order we make known to you, that we have humbly reported to our very powerful king your respectful and humble services, and your great submission: that you have entered into the number of his subjects; that you preserve always the same sentiments, and your good resolutions, together with the other inhabitants, as faithful subjects. He has made his firman, changing his anger into compassion, and his vengeance into clemency; and has raised you to be bey-boïouk, that is to say, commander-in-chief of all Maïna, of which you are assured by the firman of his most powerful majesty, which will be indissoluble for all ages. We address it to you; and, receiving it with respect, take possession of the command and of all authority in Maïna; that is to say, be bey-boïouk: offer prayers for the prolongation of the days of our very powerful and very humane king, who has had pity upon your country, and has pardoned all your faults hitherto and for ever. Conduct yourself with wisdom, with prudence and submission, like the other subjects of Maïna. Carry on trade with all freedom, and without fear, in all our ports: we take you under our protection, and will assist you in all emergencies. Our arm will never fail to grant you the favours you ask, knowing them to be of

utility and advantage. We order at the same time, by our present glorious and brilliant commands, to all the chiefs and other inhabitants of Maïna, as also to all captains, to obey and be submissive to you, because our very powerful king has raised you to be bey-boïouk, that is to say, chief and commander of all Maïna, by his respectable firman. Do thus, and no otherwise.

N° II.

[For the English versifications of the following pieces of Greek poetry, the Translator is indebted to the elegant pen of the Rev. Francis Wrangham.]

GREEK RONDO.

1.
Κόρη Μαλαματενιαμου
Και Μαγριταρενιαμου.

2.
Κάμνεις τοὶς νέους και χαίρουνται
Τοὺς γέρους και τρελενουνται.

3.
Κάμνεις και μὲ τὸν ὀρφανὸν
Πιανω μαχαίρι νὰ σφαγῶ.

4.
Σῶπ' ὀρφανὲ μή σφάζεσαι
Κὶ ἀπ' ὁμορφιαῖς μη νοιάζεσαι.

5.
Κ' ἐμεῖς νὰ ζοῦ τὴν φέρομεν
Τήν κόρην ὁπῦ ξεύρομεν.

TRANSLATION.

Treasure of maidens! girl of gold!
Pearl of this beating bosom! Thee
Raptured the youth of Greece behold,
And age is thrill'd to ecstasy.

I too, a wretch most melancholy,
Aye destin'd to despair and dote,
In some rash hour of frantic folly
Shall snatch a knife and cut my throat.

—" Hush, wretch, nor dare such desperate deed!
" Let no coy nymph awake despair:
" And from our sly recess we'll lead
" To soothe thy woes, a kinder fair."

GREEK STANZAS.

1.
Ἀγάπη δὲν ἐσαθη ποτε χωρὶς καϊμους.
Μὲ βάσανα καὶ πάθη καὶ ἀνασεναγμούς
Βραδειάζει, ξημερώνει δὲν εἶναι βολετὸ
Ἂν δέν ανασενάξω τὸ ἄχάν δεν τό πῶ.

2.
Γνωσὶζω ὅτι εἶμαι πλέον διὰ νὰ χαθῶ.
Φὶλον πισόν δὲν ἔχω, τὸν πόνον μου νὰ εἰπῶ
Δέν ἔλπιζα νὰ ἦιαι τόσον φαρμάκερα
Τοῦ ἔρωτος τὰ βέλη καὶ τόσον φλογερά.

3.
Ἐλεύθερα πελάκια μην μπῆτε σο κλεδὶ
Στὲ ἔρωτος τήν πλάνην καὶ σὴν ἐπιβελή
Ζητᾶ νὰ βασανὶση ν'α καιητὰις καρδιαῖς
Ὁ ἔρωτας ὁ ψεύσης μὲ ταὶς ἐπιβελαῖς.

4.
Ἢ μεν ἐνα πελάκι χωρὶς συλλογισμές,
Σὲ ζευσκια μαθημὲνο καὶ ὄχι σὲ καϊμους.
Θαρὶῶντας ν'απολάυσω καλλίτερην χαρά
Ἐπιασηκα σ'ἀγάτη, καὶ καὶομαι σκληρὰ.

TRANSLATION.

1.
Never was love without its woes,
Its bitter pangs, its bursting sighs:
With morn's first blush, with evening's close,
Sighs heave my heart, tears fill mine eyes.

2.
I feel, alas! I sink, I die,
No sympathy my sorrows find;
Ne'er dreamt I shaft of Love could fly,
And leave such venom'd glow behind.

3.
Oh! shun his charm'd insidious snare,
Light birds who free thro' æther rove!
'Tis his the heart to thrill, to tear—
That vagabond, that traitor Love!

4.
A happy bird, in life's young hour
I once nor care nor sorrow knew:
I wish'd for more—when Love, stern Power!
His flaming mask around me threw.

5.

Ἴσως δὲν μὲ πιστεύουν ἐκεῖνοι ὁπού ποτές
Δὲν ἔκαμαν ἀγάπην, οὔτ' ἔχασαν ποτὲς.
Καϊμὲν μεγάλον ἔχω, ποιὸν να τὸν εἰπῶ;
Πᾶ μ' ἐχεν κακιομένο τὰ μάτια π' ἀγαπῶ.

6.

Λιοπὸν ἐγὼ θαρρωθθας σένα διὰ νὰ χαρῶ,
Κάι τώρα τὶ νά λέγω θαυμάζω κάι ἀποροῦ.
Μαραίνομαι σὰν ἄνθι, λειόνω σὰν τό κερί,
Κανεὶς τὴν ἀρρωστιαν μὲ νὰ μάθῃ δὲν μπορεῖ.

7.

Νά καταλάβω, φῶς μὲ, πλέον δὲν ἠμπορῶ,
Πῶς μ' ἔχεις κακιωμένο τώρα τόσον καιρόν.
Ξεχωρισή ἀγάπη, ἐρωτικὸ πελί,
Δεν ἔλπιζα σ' ἐσένα νὰ ἴδω μεταβολή.

8.

Χύσετε μάτια δάκρυα, καὶ πῖτε ποταμους.
Ποῖος ἄλλος εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἔχει τόσους καϊμες;
Σπλαγχνίσον με πελὶ μὲ, καὶ μὴ μὲ τυραννῆς.
Τὸν πόνον με ἰατρεύεις, ὁπότε με μιλεῖς.

9.

Τὸ αἷμα μον θολώνει καὶ ὁ νοῦς με ἀπορεῖ,
Ἡ γλῶσσα νά μιλήσῃ τίποτις δὲν μπορεῖ.
Ὑπομονὴ τήν ἔχω σ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀδικία,
Ἡ μιὰ καρδία νὰ χαίρεται κ' ἡ ἄλλη νά κτικιᾶ.

10.

Φαρμάκι πότισὲ με καὶ κάμε ψυχικό,
Καὶ μὴ φοβᾶσαι φῶς με, δεν καμνεις φονικό.
Χίλιαις φοραῖς τὸ εἶπα μήν εἶχα γεννηθῶ,
Στήν ἀδικη σε ἀγαπη μήν ενἶχα μπερδευθῶ.

11.

Ψυχή με πληγομένη, καρδιὰ με ταπεινή,
Κορμὶ τυραννισμένο, ἔχε ὑπομονή.
Ὡς τόσο τὸ γνορίζω, τὸ βλέπω φανερὰ,
Ποτέ χωρὶς τὴν λύπην δὲν ἔρχεται χαρά.

GREEK COTSAKIAS.

1.

Τὸν οὐρανὸν κάμνω χαρτὶ,
Τὴν θάλασσαν μελάνι,
Νὰ γράψω τά πισμάτικά
Κί παλαι δὲν μὲ φθάνει.

2.

Ἴσως θαρρεῖς κ' ἂν μ' ἀρνηθῇς
Πῶς ξενά κιτρινίσω
Γαρο φαλάκι θαγενώ
Δια νὰ σέ δαιμονίσω.

3.

Κυπαρίσσακι με ὑψηλὸ
Σκυψε νὰ σὲ λαλήσω,
Ἔχω δύο λόγια νὰ σέ πῶ,
Κί ἀπὲ νὰ ξεψυχήσω.

5.

Ah! little will they heed my tale,
To whom no love nor loss is known:
I burn—no friends the pang bewail,
Sprung from her loved eye's angry frown.

6.

Firmly I trusted thou wert mine;
How thoughts perplex'd within me roll!
Like wax I melt, like flowers decline,
None knows the sickness of my soul.

7.

Thy long, long anger's cause to trace,
In vain my anxious musings range:
Ne'er this fond heart to tears gave place,
Sweet bird, that ever thine could change!

8.

Pour then, mine eyes, your torrents pour—
Does aught on earth so wretched stray?
Thy wrath, in mercy, wreak no more;
One soft breath wafts my woes away.

9.

My blood, my brain, with anguish burn:
No tone my tongue's lost powers combine.
To view such partial doom I mourn—
Thy heart so brisk, so blighted mine!

10.

Give the drugg'd bowl, in pity give,
Nor dread lest thou a murd'ress prove!
Ever I wail my lot to live
Thus struggling with a hopeless love.

11.

Yet, wounded soul! yet, heart of woe!
With patience bear this tyranny:
At length the painful truth I know—
The smile ne'er comes without the sigh.

TRANSLATION.

1.

Were you a paper, sky above,
And ocean one vast inky flood;
Still insufficient these would prove
To tell the flame which fires my blood.

2.

Perchance you hope from slighted vows
Your swain the citron's hue will wear:
But I, your jealous spleen to rouse,
Will bloom a pink,—no pink so fair.

3.

Stoop thee, my lofty cypress tree!
I wish to breathe an amorous sigh:
Two words would I address to thee,
Then lay me down resign'd—and die.

N° III.

TABLE OF THE TERRITORIAL

NAMES of the TOWNS AND CANTONS where the Commodities are produced.	RAISINS OF CORINTH. 44 ocques to the quintal. 15 piastres the quintal.	OIL. 48 ocques to the barrel. 20 piastres the barrel.	WINE AND BRANDY. 50 ocques to the barrel. 3 piastres the barrel.	WHEAT. 22 ocques to the kilo. $2\frac{1}{2}$ piastres the kilo.	BARLEY. 22 ocques to the kilo. $1\frac{1}{2}$ piastre the kilo.	LARGE AND SMALL MILLET. 22 ocques to the kilo. $1\frac{1}{2}$ piastre kilo.	PULSE. 22 ocques to the kilo. 2 piastres the kilo.	CALEMBOCH. 22 ocques to the kilo. $1\frac{1}{2}$ piastre the kilo.	LINSEED. 400 drachms to the ocque. 10 parats the ocque.	VERMILION. 100 drachms to the ocque. 8 piastres the ocque.
Patras.....	34,000	1,500	300	10,000	8,000	9,000	1,500	.....	.....	1,000
Vostitza and Calavrita.	8,500	1,000	10,000	30,000	.....	3,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Corinth.....	.....	3,000	.....	80,000	30,000	.....	6,000	.....	.....	2,000
Nauplia di Romania.	.....	500	.....	60,000	25,000	.....	6,000	.....	.....	3,000
Tripolitza and Laconia.	.....	.....	10,000	100,000	40,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,000
Nauplia di Malvoisie.	.....	1,200	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,000
Mistra.....	.....	3,000	4,000	10,000	6,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maïna from Cape Matapan to Citriés.....	.....	8,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,000	.....	.....	4,000
Calamatte, Andreossa, Nisi.....	.....	4,000	6,000	20,000	.....	.....	.....	30,000	.....	3,000
Coron.....	.....	10,000	.....	10,000	.....	.....	2,000	20,000	.....	.....
Modon.....	.....	3,000	.....	10,000	.....	.....	.....	5,000	.....	1,000
Navarin.....	.....	1,000	.....	4,000	3,000	5,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arcadia.....	.....	6,000	.....	8,000	4,000	.....	1,000	.....	.....	1,000
Gastouni and Pyrgos...	.....	.....	2,000	100,000	20,000	100,000	.....	20,000	4,000	.....
	42,500	42,200	32,300	442,000	136,000	117,000	22,500	75,000	4,000	22,000

To the above may be added:

250,000 ocques of salted butter, exported every year to Constantinople and Smyrna.

40,000 quintals of dried figs, exported from Calamatte to the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea.

A small quantity of seeds of Avignon for dyeing.

RODUCTIONS OF THE MOREA.

HEESE. cques to quintal. astres the uintal.	GUM ADRAGANT. 400 drachms to the ocque. 70 parats the ocque.	PITCH. 44 ocques to the quintal. 5 piastres the quintal.	SILK. 400 drachms to the ocque. various prices.	WOOL. 44 ocques to the quintal. 15 piastres the quintal.	COTTON. 400 drachms to the ocque. 1½ piastre the ocque.	MOROCCO LEATHERS AND GOAT-SKINS. 1½ piastre.	VALLONY. 43 ocques to the quintal. 2½ piastres the quintal.	YELLOW WAX. 400 drachms the ocque. 2½ piastres the ocque.	HARE SKINS. 5 parats each.	TOTAL PRODUCT of EACH TOWN in PIASTRES.
2,000	3,000	.....	1,000	1,000	20,000	9,000	8,500	1,000	.....	696,062
.....	1,006	.....	8,000	1,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	504,250
5,000	.....	2,000	.....	2,000	.....	.....	.....	3,000	8,000	486,500
0,000	.....	.....	.....	3,000	10,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	568,500
6,000	.....	.....	1,500	1,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	494,500
1,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50,500
.....	.....	.....	50,000	.....	.....	24,000	.....	.....	.....	875,000
.....	.....	.....	4,000	.....	.....	.....	6,000	2,000	.....	272,000
4,000	.....	.....	8,000	1,000	.....	6,000	.....	4,000	.....	399,000
1,000	.....	.....	2,500	300	.....	2,000	.....	1,000	.....	306,000
1,000	.....	.....	1,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	119,500
2,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,000	.....	.....	.....	59,600
6,000	.....	.....	3,000	1,000	4,000	6,000	1,500	1,000	6,000	275,250
8,000	.....	1,000	.....	1,500	25,000	.....	.....	2,000	6,000	597,750
6,500	4,006	3,000	79,000	12,800	59,000	49,000	16,000	14,000	20,000	PIASTRES. 5,706,812

Eight-tenths of the raisins of Corinth.

Eight ladings of wheat for Trieste, Venice, and Ancona.

Two ladings of wool, one for Marseilles, the other for Leghorn.

A considerable quantity of timber for the marine might also be exported.

N° IV.

The following documents relative to the trade of Maïna, which came into my hands fifteen years after the time that they are dated, support the facts I have brought forward upon the subject, and in that point of view it is hoped that they will not be unacceptable to the reader. They are dated in the month of April, 1785.

Documents relative to the Trade and Navigation of Maïna.

Question I.—How many villages are there in Maïna? and what is the population of the country?

Answer by a captain of Maïna.—Maïna contains seventy villages, comprising seven thousand houses, and ten thousand men grown. The whole population is thirty thousand.

Answer by Zanetachi, formerly bey of Maïna.—Maïna contains about a hundred villages great and small. The population is about forty thousand.

Quest. II.—What powers have consuls and vice-consuls at Maïna?

Answer by the captain.—There are no foreign consuls or vice-consuls at Maïna. The consul general of Venice, who has the greater part of Peloponnesus, sends an agent with full powers to receive the customs under the Venetian flag. Maïna is not far from the island of Zante, and the other islands subject to Venice: the flag of the Grand Signor and the Venetian flag are those that carry on the trade of Maïna. The same respect is shown to the Venetian agent as to a consul-general.

Answer by Zanetachi.—There never were any consuls or vice-consuls at Maïna. In the year 1776, when I went to pay my respects to the very high and mighty capudan-pasha at Rhodes, and sent persons to the court of Constantinople, when Maïna was separated from the government of the Morea and placed under the orders of the Grand Signor, like the islands of the Levant, the consul-general of Venice in the Morea established, as vice-consul at Maïna, a Maïnote to whom the utmost respect was shown.

Quest. III.—What ought these consuls to do to be in safety, and to make themselves, as well as the nations to which they belong, respected?

Answer by the captain.—The Maïnotti behave towards strangers with kindness and generosity: they are affable and liberal towards them: they are always ready to serve them more for honour than interest, particularly merchants with whom they wish to become partners. I do not say this of all, there are some exceptions. The great families of Maïna, who are primates and reside in the ports, are wealthy and enjoy all the conveniences of life, especially the family of Mavromathi residing at Porto-Vitilon. The chief of this family is captain Pierre, an excellent man, endowed with the most honourable and noble qualities. Never could one even among the very lowest of the people complain of being wronged by this family. Porto-Vitilon is equally eligible for exportations and importations, being a safe port and in the centre of Maïna.

Answer by Zanetachi.—They ought to live on good terms with the commandant of Maïna, to endeavour to gain his friendship. Probity and good faith ought to direct all their actions.

Quest. IV.—Are there any foreign merchants established in Maïna? how many are there, and of what nations?

Answer by the captain.—Many foreign merchants come to Maïna from different countries, but merely for a time; they never reside there. At present, since the war of the great kings, a few Greeks from the port of Peloponnesus, nearest to Maïna, have settled there; they carry on some trade, but to no great extent, wanting the means to engage in large concerns. The inhabitants of the country also carry on a little trade, each in proportion to the means he possesses.

Answer by Zanetachi.—There are no foreign merchants established at Maïna; they only come thither at the time of the several harvests: when their business is finished, they quit the place. The greatest part of the oil is bought by the Sclavonians for Trieste. The oil is dearer than that of the Morea, on account of its superior quality: the vallony and the galls are bought by many different people: they are commonly freighted on board Venetian vessels. The people of the Morea buy up the silk for Tunis. All other merchandise is bought according to the pleasure of the purchasers.

Quest. V.—What inhabitants of Maïna engage in commerce, buying up the merchandise of their country suited to exportation?

Answer by Zanetachi.—No Maïnote engages in such a commerce, for two reasons: in the first place, they have not capital sufficient; in the second, they are unacquainted with trade. It belongs to the commandant of Maïna alone to sell the merchandise of the country. Without his permission no Maïnote can sell, and no foreigner buy; that is to say, oil, silk, and vallony: other merchandise is bought and sold at the pleasure of each individual.

Quest. VI.—How much is a Maïnote paid for dealing in objects of merchandise useful to Maïna, and for trafficking in the commodities of the country?

Answer by the captain.—He is paid according to the laws of commerce, and according to the agreement made by his employers.

Answer by Zanetachi.—This is a thing never done. It is sufficient that the merchant makes his agreement with the commandant of Maïna; he need not be at any other expense.

Quest. VII.—What steps must a foreign merchant take to secure himself against being cheated of his profits by the Maïnotti, and to obviate running any risk in the money he advances?

Answer by the captain.—No merchant who pays his money beforehand, or who accepts bills, can run any risk, since the house on whom the bill is drawn is answerable for the money.

Answer by Zanetachi.—We have answered this question above. To place the merchant in security under all circumstances, he has only to transact all his business with the commandant named by the most mighty Ottoman Porte. Acting thus, he will be safe in every thing.

Quest. VIII.—What is the state of justice and of the police in Maïna? Are they administered with so much attention that neither the person nor property of a stranger runs any risk?

Answer by Zanetachi.—Both the administration of justice and of the police depend entirely upon the commandant. Every merchant who trusts to him in his concerns is free from risk.

Quest. IX.—Can the pasha of the Morea command the execution of his orders in Maïna, or punish aggressors?

Answer by the captain.—Maïna depends entirely upon the government of the capudan-pasha, who can do whatever he wills and pleases.

Answer by Zanetachi.—The pasha of the Morea formerly commanded in Maïna. But, since the year 1770, when this province was detached from the government of the Morea, and was placed under the naval jurisdiction of the Grand Signor, the pasha of the Morea has no command there. It is entirely under the orders of the capudan-pasha.

Quest. X.—Can the pasha oblige the captains of the different quarters to watch over the good conduct of the people? and can he render the captains responsible for any offences committed by those who are under their jurisdiction?

Answer by Zanetachi.—The commandant of Maïna can punish offenders with death; he administers justice according to circumstances. If any one has a complaint to prefer against him, he must have recourse to the authority of the capudan-pasha.

Quest. XI.—Would a house of commerce be safe, and would it be useful in Maïna? What nation would in this case be preferred by the Maïnotti?

Answer by the captain.—A foreign merchant would find it very profitable to establish a house in Maïna. The Maïnotti would consider him as their benefactor, and would unite in a body to promote his success and secure his property.

Answer by Zanetachi.—A house of commerce would be in perfect safety, and would be extremely useful; but attention must be paid to the places and provinces of Maïna. The country is composed of seven small provinces, each of which has its respective customs: there is even a difference in the language, though all speak Greek. In the province of Zarnate there is a good port called Citriés, the capital of Maïna. It lies directly opposite to Coron; the distance across the bay being only fourteen miles: from Citriés to Petalidi is only sixteen miles; from thence to the river called Nisi of Andreossa is fourteen miles; from thence to Calamatte ten miles: Modon is thirty miles from Citriés. Mistra is a journey of eight hours from Citriés, Andreossa of five, Leondari of eight; Tripolitza, fourteen; Caritena, twelve. Such are the towns of the Morea lying nearest to this port. Citriés furnishes silk, oil, and all other sorts of merchandise, vallony excepted. The Maïnotti of this town keep up an intercourse of trade with the Greeks of the Morea. The port will shelter a considerable number of vessels, and is perfectly safe in all winds. It is certainly the most proper place to establish a house of commerce.

Quest. XII.—What are the objects of merchandise brought by foreigners to Maïna? under what flags do they sail? what number of vessels of each nation are employed in the trade?

Answer by the captain.—All the sorts of merchandise are brought to Maïna with which other places in the Levant are furnished: the importations are made by Peloponnesians, or any other people of the Levant, according as they find occasion.

Answer by Zanetachi.—Articles of commerce of various kinds are brought to Maïna, principally under the Turkish and Venetian flags: other flags appear there very rarely.

Quest. XIII.—What is the rate of custom paid by foreign goods imported?

Answer by the captain.—Three per cent. is paid at the custom-house, equally on exports and imports. Some of the most considerable articles however pass free of duty. Most goods are valued by weight.

Answer by Zanetachi.—No particular duties have yet been established upon imports and exports: both pay two per cent.

Quest. XIV.—What are the productions of Maïna? what are the quantities of each annually produced?

Answer by the captain.—The productions of Maïna are oil, vallony, silk, honey, wax, gall-nuts, cotton, vermilion. The quantity of each produced depends very much upon the sterility or abundance of the year. These articles produce all together a pretty considerable sum. With money, good conduct, and experience, a very profitable trade might be established.

Answer by Zanetachi.—The productions of Maïna in a good year are about thirteen thousand barrels of oil; sixteen thousand pounds of silk; of vallony and gall-nuts about fifteen hundred thousand occques each. The other productions are honey, wax, cotton, vermilion, which are bought by people of all descriptions; but I am ignorant of the quantity produced of each.

Quest. XV.—What duty is paid by merchandise exported?

Answer by Zanetachi.—This question is replied to above.

Quest. XVI.—What articles of merchandise from America and France are desirable for Maïna?

Answer by Zanetachi.—Hitherto no merchandise has been brought directly from America or France to Maïna. The house of commerce, when established, would see what articles might be likely to have the preference, as each species is appreciated according to the place and circumstances: they are regulated principally by the towns of the Morea nearest to Maïna.

Quest. XVII.—What would be the best means of procuring things directly from France, and so avoiding the expense of their passing through a third hand? what place in the Morea would be most within the reach of Maïna for this purpose?

Answer by the captain.—There are no other means but the speculations of the merchant.

Answer by Zanetachi.—This, as we have said above, must depend upon the abilities of the merchants, and the practices usual among them. The most proper place under every point of view would be Citriés.

Quest. XVIII.—Do the French import oil from Maïna? and how many vessels are freighted with it in a year?

Answer by the captain.—The French take a small quantity of oil, but they are generally forestalled by other nations.

Answer by Zanetachi.—The French sometimes take oil from Maïna, though very rarely, because they are forestalled by the Sclavonians, who buy up, as much as possible, all the oil.

Quest. XIX.—How many ports are there in Maïna? are they safe for vessels? what are the largest vessels they will admit?

Answer by the captain.—The ports of Maïna are Citriés, Porto Vitilon, Vathi, Marathonisi, and Trinisa; they are all excellent, particularly Porto Vitilon.

Answer by Zanetachi.—There are five principal ports in Maïna: Citriés, at Cape Calamatte; Porto Vitilon, about the middle of the coast; Porto Caillo, opposite the island of Cerigo, and near Cape Matapan; Vathi, on the coast of Pagania; and Trinisa. All these ports are capacious, and might receive vessels of every description from the smallest even to those with three decks.

At Porto Vitilon there is no good water, nor can wood be procured. Water may be procured at Porto Caillo, but in a very small quantity. Citriés is thirty miles distant from Vitilon, and Vitilon twenty-five from Porto Caillo: the remaining ports are about the same distance from each other.

Quest. XX.—What would be the expenses incurred for transporting merchandise from the warehouses on board vessels?

Answer by Zanetachi.—The merchants must make an agreement for the price with the people employed in their service.

Quest. XXI.—Do any of the Maïnotti still retain the custom of wearing iron caps? You are desired to mention all the ancient customs among the men, the women, and the priests, as to morals and religion.

Answer by the captain.—In certain parts of the country many ancient customs are preserved, but not universally; there exist still some who receive an ancient Lacedæmonian education: they are men of great strength and courage.

Answer by Zanetachi.—Some of the Maïnotti, in the neighbourhood of Cape Grosso, wear iron caps. They are the only people who preserve any thing of the ancient manners. They profess, like all the Maïnotti, the religion of Jesus Christ, according to the Greek rite; they respect its dogmas, and are so much attached to it, that they would willingly sacrifice their lives in its defence.

Quest. XXII.—What ancient monuments are to be found in Maïna, either above or under ground?

Answer by the captain.—Great numbers of remains of monuments, castles, tombs, and ancient temples are to be found from St. Sion to the confines of Calamatte, to Cape Matapan, and to the river Eleos: scarcely can five miles of ground be gone over without meeting with some. All people of learning and judgement agree in supposing these monuments to have been erected with the treasures of kings. On the marbles are to be found many inscriptions and sculptures which we do not understand: there are also a number of very deep caverns, many of which have been examined even to their very furthest extremities. It is the country of all the universe where the greatest number of antiquities are to be found. The air of Maïna, in the northern parts, is very salubrious, and the inhabitants enjoy almost unvarying good health; the parts towards the south are less healthy, and the inhabitants not equally robust.

Answer by Zanetachi.—There are many ancient monuments in Maïna, both above and under ground. To give a description of them they must be accurately examined: I cannot therefore reply to this article.

New questions put to Zanetachi.

1. What are the parts of Maïna where the air is wholesome, and those where it is unwholesome?

2. Does Maïna, in which is a population of forty thousand souls, furnish from her own territory a sufficiency of corn, cattle, and wine for her consumption? Whence does she import those articles in which she herself fails either totally or partially?

3. How much Gallo-American coffee and sugar is consumed annually in Maïna? and from what parts are they received?

4. If a French house should be established in Maïna, and these articles should be sold cheaper, would it occasion a great increase in the consumption?

5. What sort of stuffs do the common people, as well as those in easy circumstances, use for their clothing? What among them are manufactured in Maïna? What quantity are imported from abroad, and from what country do they come?

6. What number of musquets, pistols, sabres, daggers, powder and shot, may be sold annually in Maïna? and what nation furnishes these articles?

7. What is the weight of a barrel of oil? and what are the quantities of this article, of vermilion, of cotton, of wax, and of honey, that are, upon an average, produced annually? As there are very large flocks of sheep in Maïna, what quantity of wool do they yield?

8. The question put before upon the character of the Maïnotti, and the manner in which they behave towards foreigners, was not duly answered.

9. What advantages would a merchant derive who should employ his money in forestalling and monopolizing the productions of the country?

10. Is there in Maïna timber proper for ship-building? and are there workmen capable of constructing vessels fitted to navigate the high-seas? Could the Maïnotti carry on trade with such vessels?

11. It is but too well known that the Maïnotti are addicted to piracy: what vessels do they employ for this practice? and what means can be pursued for putting a stop to it? Had the former bey any galley or felucca intended for this service, or has the present bey any?

12. By what order was the Venetian vice-consul acknowledged at Maïna? had he the *exæquatur* of the Grand Signor? A consul, or vice-consul, with a brevet from his own sovereign, and the *exæquatur*, would doubtless be much more respected? Decorum requiring that he should have two janissaries, how much would they cost? Obliged to have a drogman, what languages would it be necessary for him to speak?

13. What are the articles brought to Maïna under the Venetian flag?

14. What are the articles imported into Maïna under the Grand Signor's flag?

15. What are the articles exported under the Grand Signor's flag?

16. What nations make use of that flag?

17. Are the connections of the Maïnotti with the Venetians indissoluble from their antiquity?

18. What conduct should the managers of a new establishment pursue to avoid rivalship with the Venetians? and with what nation would it best suit the Maïnotti to form new connections?

Letter of Zanetachi in answer to the above questions.

SIR,

HAVING read the new questions you transmitted me, many times over with the most serious attention, it appears to me that all the knowledge and abilities of a merchant, who had for a long time studied the commerce of Maïna with attention, would be necessary, in order to answer them with any precision. As my great desire is to follow the truth scrupulously and inviolably, I will not

commit myself by any answers given only at a venture. I can assure you, in the first place, that the character of the Maïnotti is that of all people who are not properly enlightened upon subjects of commerce. The inclination to piracy with which they are reproached is not innate in them. Deprived of the arts and conveniences of life; interest, or often urgent necessity, leads them to seek illicit means of compensating the want of conveniences, of wealth, or even of necessaries. A Maïnote, who has wherewithal to satisfy his wants, never seeks fortune by illicit means.

It is the character of the people of Maïna to receive with great kindness foreigners a connection with whom may be in any way beneficial to them: such is the origin of the friendship which has so long subsisted between them and the Venetians, while the latter are glad to cultivate this friendship. Venetian vessels of war occasionally visit the ports of Maïna: they have been even visited by the high admiral of the republic. The Maïnotti who have gone on board these vessels have always been well received: the primates, besides the usual courtesies, have often received trifling presents; which, though of little value in themselves, were gratefully received as tokens of good-will. The Venetian flag, the only one among Christian nations which frequents the ports of Maïna, ought, for the very reason that it is the only one, to be well received. The idea of rivalship with the Venetians is by no means an invincible obstacle to forming new connections. The Maïnote, finding greater advantages in a direct trade with France, would soon become a convert to it: the frankness and gaiety of the French would easily win the hearts of the Maïnotti. They would, however, regulate their conduct solely by the example and orders of their commanders; and the latter know no other guide for regulating theirs than the will of the bey. Most undoubtedly, if a vice-consul named by the Venetian consul-general in Peloponnesus is held in great respect and consideration at Maïna, an officer regularly accredited by his sovereign, and supported by the Grand Signor's firman, would be much more respected.

The marked politeness with which you have honoured me, sir, has made a deep impression upon my mind. Possessing no language except that which is natural to me, the Greek, I have to regret very deeply that I cannot express my gratitude to you immediately. These sentiments have always rendered me emulous of the honour of being in some way useful to you. The zeal which you evince for the general good offers me an opportunity so much desired. To this happiness is joined the true pleasure I have in replying to your questions.

You have inspired me, sir, with the most entire confidence; and I have, therefore, determined to open my heart to you without reserve. My family, I do not state this from vanity, has always been invested with some of the highest dignities of its country; especially in the time of general Morosini, who honoured John Coutoufari, one of my relations, with the order of knighthood, as may be seen in referring to the pages of history. We were in possession of the lordship of three villages in the district of Calamatte, and we had several mills in Maïna. A very small part of this property remains in my possession since the change in the government of Maïna. The two firmans of the capudan-pasha, which accompanied me, and that of the Grand Signor, which I take the liberty to remit to you, will show the dignity to which I was raised in my country, after having served it as a captain eleven years. But I had not enjoyed the post of bey more than two years when I was under the necessity of quitting Maïna and retiring to Zante. I was not guilty of any action which merited my sovereign's resentment; but I dreaded the capudan-pasha, who too readily believed

the calumnies reported of me by his drogman. This latter had become my implacable enemy from envy, and because he wanted to make me bend to his lofty ideas and unreasonable wishes *.

I earnestly desire to return to my country; and I must confess that I desire still more earnestly to owe my return and re-establishment in my former honours to the powerful protection of your court. To you, sir, I submit my hopes. Should a house of commerce be established in Maïna, I engage to protect its interests at the hazard of my life, as a testimony of my gratitude, and my zeal to serve the French nation. My happiness would be complete, if the officer to be established at Maïna should be your excellent son. The noble sentiments, and amiable qualities of the heart and mind, which I have observed in this young man, give him the strongest claims to my esteem and regard. Perfect master of the Greek language, it would be an infinite satisfaction to me to be able to transact business with him personally, without the intervention of a drogman; a method which, though often necessary, is always tedious, and not always safe. I should be most happy, in concert with your son, to exert all my efforts to promote the interests of France. With renewed expressions of gratitude, and with all due respect,

I am, sir,

Your very sincere and faithful friend,

ZANET-BEY COUTOUFARI.

Zante,
April 6, 1785.

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* Some account of the transactions here referred to will be found at page 104.—TRANSLATOR.

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Zaconia, an ancient name for Laconia, 81.
Zante, the author and his companions disappointed of landing there, 4.—A very rich and fertile island, 422.—The inhabitants very amiable, ibid.
Zantiote soldier, in the French service, his apostasy, 211.
Zea, the island of, anciently Ceos, 235.
Zeitoun, a town in Thessaly, 246.
Zodiac, a curious one in a chapel in Mount Roïno, 114.

ERRATA.

Page 41, line 13, for *Kalilbey* read *Halilbey*.
44, — 6, for *Caki-Shala*, read *Kaki-Scala*.
47, — 2, for *amleds* read *medals*.
111, — 29, after *fifteen* add *hundred*.
130, — 10, before *in consequence* add *it is*.
136, — 18, for *ponards* read *poniards*.
177, — 13, for *shepherds* read *Molossian*.
258, — 4, from the bottom, for *thought his* read *though the*.
327, — 4, dele the semicolon.
401, — 2, for *fish's* read *fishes*.

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